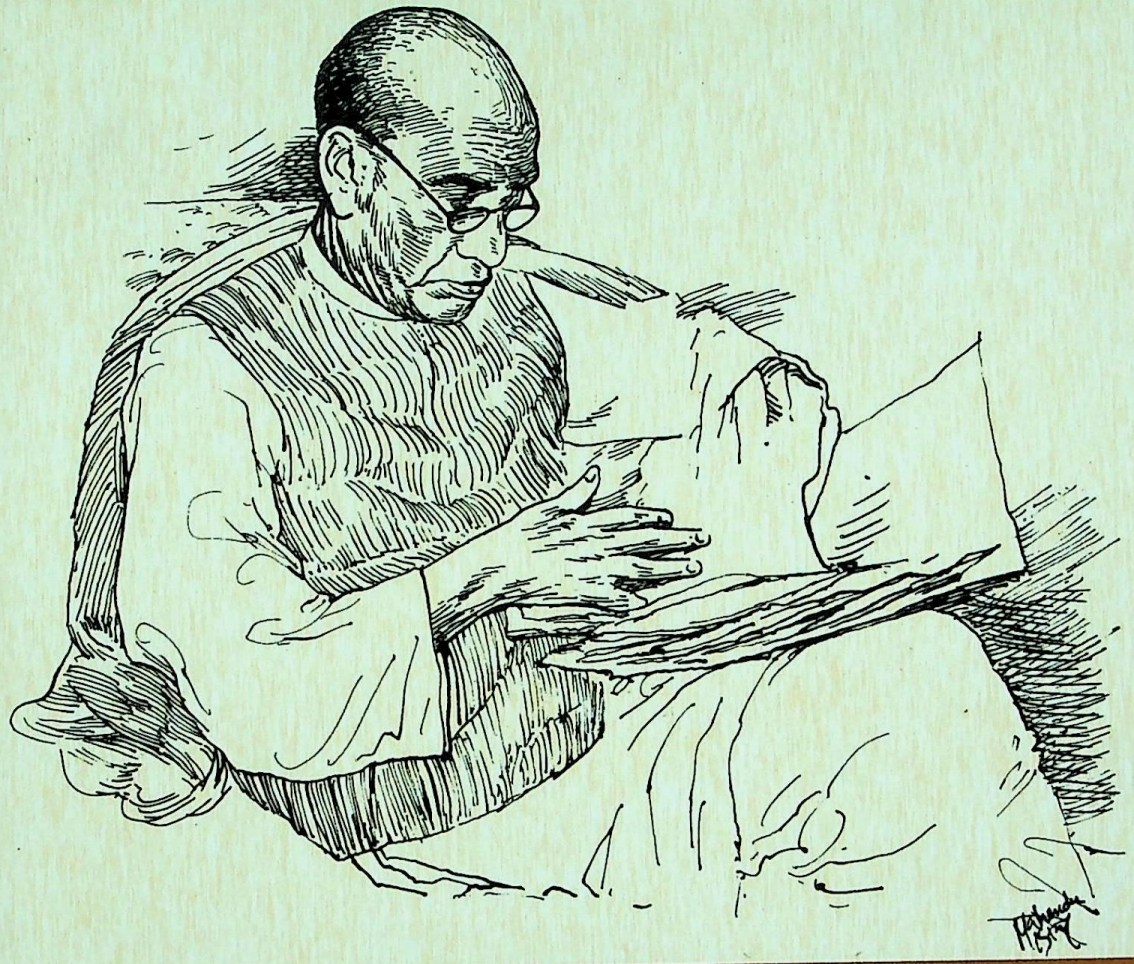
VOLUME 7

- *Integrating Indian States*
- *Police Action in Hyderabad*



SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

• 1945 – 1950 •

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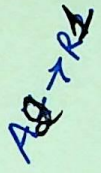
The year 1948 was significant for the introduction of responsible government in many princely states, and also for the attempts of some princes to block this process. Integration talks were launched and new groupings of states came into existence with popular ministers to run them. Not long after their induction, Sardar Patel was called upon to deal with the squabbles within these governments as well as between them and the princely heads of the new unions.

The papers relating to the States of Hyderabad and Junagadh have been brought together, for their case stands apart from that of the other states which voluntarily merged in the Indian Union as a result of the patriotic impulse of their rulers, who read the signs of the times. While the ruler of Junagadh fled to Pakistan, the Nizam dreamt of carving out an independent state in the belly of the Indian Union.

With this end in view, the Nizam's agents went on an arms buying spree in Europe and organised bands of thugs to terrorise the predominantly Hindu population of his State. Secret negotiations were also started with the British for the addition of Bastar State to his domain and the retrocession of Berar, which had been incorporated in the Central Provinces. Advances were made to the Portuguese Government about providing access to Hyderabad through Goa to the Arabian Sea.

Here, as in other instances of princely opposition to joining India, the undercover manoeuvring of British officials and politicians, keen on seeing India weak and divided after independence, played an important part in stiffening the resistance of the Nizam and the feudal clique which supported him. After vain attempts to persuade the Nizam to agree peaceably to joining the Indian Union, as the vast majority of his subjects demanded, the Indian Government organised a 'police action' to effect the merger. The story ends with the Nizam's surrender and expression of complete confidence in Sardar Patel's political sagacity.

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THE NIZAM GREETING SARDAR PATEL ON HIS ARRIVAL AT BEGUMPET AIRPORT, HYDERABAD, AFTER THE "POLICE ACTION"

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SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE
1945-50

VOLUME VII

INTEGRATING INDIAN STATES—POLICE ACTION IN HYDERABAD

EDITED BY
DURGA DAS
Editor-in-Chief, India News & Feature Alliance
Formerly Chief Editor, Hindustan Times, New Delhi
Author of 'India—from Curzon to Nehru and After'

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
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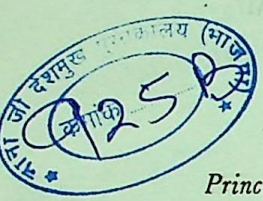
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Principal Collaborators :

SHANKAR PRASADA, ICS (retd.)
Special Secretary, Kashmir Affairs (1958-65)
Chief Commissioner of Delhi (1948-54)

B. L. SHARMA
Former Principal Information Officer, Government of India
Former Special Officer on Kashmir Affairs in the External Affairs Ministry, New Delhi, and author

INDER JIT
Director-Editor, India News and Feature Alliance and
Editor, The States, New Delhi

TREVOR DRIEBERG
Political Commentator and Feature Writer
Former News Editor, The Indian Express, New Delhi

UGGAR SAIN
Former News Editor and Assistant Editor,
The Hindustan Times, New Delhi

Printed and Published by Shantilal Harjivan Shah
Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 380014

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD vii
CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN SARDAR'S LIFE .. xi
FOCUS ON SARDAR xxv
OUTLINE OF I-X VOLUMES xxxiii
HIGHLIGHTS—VOLUMES I-VI AND VIII-X xxxv
CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII xlii
ABBREVIATIONS xlviii
GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS xlix
INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VII li
SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE 1-673
APPENDICES 675
INDEX 705

ILLUSTRATIONS:

The Nizam greeting Sardar Patel on his arrival at Begumpet airport, Hyderabad, after the "police action" *Frontispiece*

Facing p.

The Prince of Berar chatting with the Sardar at the latter's Bombay residence 80

At a tea party during a visit to Hyderabad in February 1949. The Sardar is seen with Maj.-Gen. Chaudhuri, Military Governor, Mrs. Chaudhuri, Mr. V. P. Menon and the Prince of Berar 81

The Sardar addressing a mammoth meeting at Hyderabad's Fateh Maidan 192

Addressing Congress workers at Hyderabad 193

Members of the Nizam's External Affairs Committee: (left to right) Sir Walter Monckton; Ali Yavar Jung, Secretary to Government for Constitutional Affairs; Sir Akbar Hydari, Prime Minister; Mr. John Foster, M.P., Junior of Walter Monckton; Sir Theodore Tasker, Revenue and Home Minister; and Sir Mehdi Yar Jung, Political and Education Minister 320

The Rajpramukh of Saurashtra, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, administers the oath of office to Premier U. N. Dhebar. The Sardar is seated on the left 321

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Addressing the first session of the Malwa Union Assembly in December 1948. 432

The Rajmata of Gwalior in her first public appearance addressing a women's meeting, with Sardar Patel and the Maharaja of Gwalior present 433

Escorted by Mr. A. N. Jha (left) Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, and Mr. Govind Malaviya, the Sardar returning after his speech at the University 560

Greeted by the Maharaja of Mysore and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Dewan, on arrival at Mandakhally airport 561

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FOREWORD

The correspondence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in ten volumes, covers a crucial period in India's history: 1 October 1945 to 13 December 1950, two days before his death in Bombay.

The letters and annexures consist of exchanges between Sardar Patel on the one hand and Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, rulers of Princely States, Premiers of Congress Ministries and scores of Congressmen belonging to the party rank and file, on the other. These relate to various matters which arose in the domestic, international, constitutional, administrative and economic spheres in this period and thus constitute valuable source material of history. They were in the custody of Miss Maniben Patel, the Sardar's daughter, and were deposited by her with the Navajivan Trust in Ahmedabad after his death.

The Trust arranged, under her direction and supervision, to have them typed in Ahmedabad and send the copies to me for editing and compilation. The volumes are thus based on authentic copies of the correspondence deposited with the Trust.

Explaining the time-lag in releasing the correspondence, Maniben said in a long talk she had with me in New Delhi in late 1970 that she had held it back until she was certain that its publication would not be harmful to the nation for which her father had laboured and suffered so much. The letters contain matter relating to affairs of State and party organisation whose untimely disclosure might have embarrassed the Government or the political leaders of the day.

Since, however, some of the correspondence in the possession of other parties and relating to isolated events had been made public, she decided that the time had come to release the correspondence to give a balanced picture of the events to which they relate or of the Sardar's views. "I have been late," she said, "but not too late."

The Navajivan Trust, she added, had agreed to publish the correspondence and thus made it possible for the people of India and the world outside to have access to this valuable material which throws new light on the momentous developments of the period covered by these papers and the calculations made

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by the leading personalities of the day in shaping the course of history.

The significance of the correspondence lies in the light it sheds on the main characters on the Indian stage as they acted and reacted to the challenges of the time and to the problems posed by their differing approach and outlook. There is indeed hardly a national or regional issue of consequence in contemporary history the origin of which cannot be traced to the five crucial years.

Vallabhbhai Patel emerges from the correspondence as a great organiser and consolidator of modern India. Over 70 when he assumed ministerial office for the first time, he carried on his ailing shoulders the crushing burden of building the political infrastructure of the new India. Death prevented him from completing his task, but what he achieved in five short years endures.

These volumes are the bones and sinews of Indian history of a crucial period. To the scholar and researcher, they offer a treasure of source material. To politicians, business men and administrators, they should serve as a guide. To the citizen, they provide inspiration.

Arrangements are in chronological order and not by topic. But the letters have been grouped thematically to retain interrelation of events and negotiations. Correspondence of a routine nature has been omitted and a few excisions have been made out of regard for the susceptibilities of the persons concerned. Such excisions are indicated by dots.

Where an extract or extracts from a letter are published, this is indicated by the word 'Extracts' at the top of the letter. The omissions have been effected by the persons entrusted by Maniben Patel and the Navajivan Trust with selecting the material for publication.

In several instances, letters, enclosures and other documents referred to in the published correspondence are not to be found in these volumes. It is hoped that future researchers will be able to fill these gaps.

Col. Gill and General Mohan Singh have been described in a previous Volume as members of INA of Subhas Bose. They were connected with INA before Bose took over leadership of the Army. Major-General Chatterjee who served as Military Secretary to Governor-General Rajagopalachari, was not a member of INA.

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The yardstick which the Sardar applied to public life and to political and socio-economic issues was forgotten or ignored by his successors with consequences which became apparent in the confused state of politics in the 1960s. India has again entered the most crucial period in the evolution of its polity. The stand taken by the Sardar on various issues and his vision of the road which India should take have acquired a new relevance.

Each volume of the series contains an outline of the contents of the other nine volumes in the form of a summary of the main features. This should help researchers ascertain at a glance what the whole series contains. The details of arrangements for selection and presentation of the correspondence were explained in the Foreword to the first volume, and are not therefore recapitulated here. The feature "Focus on Sardar" giving the views of Maniben Patel and the "Chronology of Principal Events in Sardar's Life" given in Volume I are being reproduced in succeeding volumes.

We owe a word of gratitude to the Sardar's daughter, Kumari Maniben Patel. After the Sardar's death, she preserved these papers with great care and readily agreed to their publication. Not only this, she had a hand in the meticulous scrutiny and compilation of these papers. By her efforts the authenticity of these records has been vouchsafed and the Navajivan Trust has been able to publish them with a sense of redeeming a part of its debt to the Sardar.

Since, in the line of duty I witnessed, chronicled, and even participated in many of the events of this stirring period, I was approached by the Trustees to undertake the arduous task of editing the voluminous correspondence. My colleagues have helped to process this vast accumulation of material with professional skill, arrange it thematically and make it meaningful to the average reader. For me and them it has been a labour of love. We also thank our aides and the staff of the Navajivan Trust for their assistance in bringing this massive undertaking to a successful close.

2, Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi 110001
30 January 1973

Durga Das

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CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN SARDAR'S LIFE

1875 Born on 31 October at Nadiad, Kaira district, Gujarat. Fourth son of Jhaverbhai Patel, a farmer of Karamsad in the same district, and Ladbai. Belonged to agricultural caste known as Leuva Patidar. Schooling up to English third standard at Karamsad.

1891 English 4th and 5th standards at Petlad, a small town seven miles from Karamsad. Lived in a rented room with four or five other boys, with seven days' ration. Walked from Karamsad to Petlad every week.

1893 At the age of 18 married Jhaverba of Gana, a small village three miles from Karamsad.

1897 Matriculated from a high school in Nadiad, Kaira district, at 22.

1900 Passed District Pleaders' Examination. Studied with books borrowed from friends. Set up independent practice at Godhra, headquarters of Panchmahals district, Gujarat. Contracted bubonic plague from a court nazir whom he nursed when an epidemic broke out in Godhra.

1902 Shifted practice to Borsad, where he quickly made a name as a criminal lawyer.

1905 Saved enough money to go to England to become a barrister, but postponed departure in deference to the wishes of his elder brother Vithalbhai, who came to know about his plan and wished to go first. Looked after his brother's wife while he was away.

1909 Wife Jhaverba died after an operation in Bombay. Received a telegram containing news of her death while arguing a murder case in Borsad, but continued case until hearing was completed. In spite of pressure from friends and relations, refused to marry again.

1910 Left for England. Admitted to Middle Temple.

1911 Passed preliminary examination with honours, standing first in Equity. Fell ill with a tropical disease unknown in England. Doctors wanted to amputate his leg, but a German

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doctor intervened and cured him through an operation which he underwent without chloroform.

1912 Took final examination after sixth term instead of usual 12. Stood first in first class, winning a prize of £50 and exemption from two terms. Sailed for India the day after convocation.

1913 Reached Bombay on 13 February. Refused post in Judicial Department as a lecturer in Government Law School, Bombay, and left for Ahmedabad, where he established himself as foremost criminal lawyer.

1915 Member, Gujarat Sabha, which was converted into Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee in 1919.

1917 Elected member of Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Election challenged and set aside. Stood in a by-election and was returned unopposed. Mahatma Gandhi, president of the first Gujarat Provincial Conference, appointed an executive committee with Patel as secretary. Impressed by Gandhi's leadership of the agitation against the British indigo planters of Champaran, Bihar.

Conducted agitation against begar (forced labour for Government purposes). Led agitation against the appointment of a British member of the Indian Civil Service as Municipal Commissioner and secured his removal.

As Chairman of the Sanitary and Public Works Committee of Ahmedabad Municipality, stayed on in city when most of the citizens went away during an epidemic of plague. Took a leading role in helping sufferers and enforcing precautionary measures.

1918 Organised famine relief works in Ahmedabad district. Represented textile mill labour with Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker before a tribunal appointed to hear a dispute between labour and millowners.

Put up a temporary hospital in city with grant from Municipal Board to Gujarat Sabha to combat severe influenza epidemic. Organised no-tax campaign in Kaira district along with Gandhi. During campaign Gandhi said he was testing Patel, adding later that Patel had turned out to be "pure gold."

Helped Gandhi in recruitment drive for British Indian Army. They used to walk together for miles and cooked their own food.

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1919 Chairman, Managing Committee, Ahmedabad Municipal Board.

Organised movement against Rowlatt Bills designed to strangle movement for self-rule. Led big demonstration march in Ahmedabad on 6 April and addressed public meeting against bills. Sold publicly Gandhi's proscribed books Hind Swaraj and Sarvodaya, and published Satyagraha Patrika in Gujarati without official declaration or permission. Government took no action.

Helped local authorities restore peace and order after large-scale disturbances leading to martial law in Ahmedabad after arrest of Gandhi.

Served with a show-cause notice for cancellation of his sanad (permit to practise law) for participating in a public meeting advocating satyagraha. Case ended with a warning. Refused to pay fine imposed by Government as penalty for riots in city. Sofa attached and auctioned for Rs. 100.

1920 Organised campaign of Congress Party in elections to Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Congress captured almost all elected seats. Discarded Western dress and adopted khadi dhoti, kurta and chappals. Burnt all his foreign clothes. Way of life also changed to traditional pattern in Gujarat. Organised a conference of political workers of Gujarat in Ahmedabad and persuaded it to adopt a resolution supporting Gandhi's civil disobedience movement.

In response to Gandhi's call at Nagpur session of Congress to collect money for Tilak Swaraj Fund, promised to raise Rs. 1 million and enrol 300,000 party members in Gujarat. Fulfilled these promises within three months.

1921 Elected chairman of Reception Committee of 36th session of Congress held at Ahmedabad. For first time, delegates sat on floor and the session set new pattern in simplicity, austerity and businesslike proceedings.

Built a hospital and maternity home on 21 acres of land along Sabarmati river at site of session. The fountain built at that time is still there.

1922 Government of Bombay suspended Ahmedabad Municipality after a sharp tussle over supervision of municipal

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schools. Organised schools under People's Primary Education Board with public contributions. Municipality suspended. Collected Rs. 1 million for Gujarat Vidyapith in a tour which took him up to Rangoon.

1923 All-India Congress Committee deputed him to conduct satyagraha at Nagpur in connection with British District Commissioner's ban on flying national flag in cantonment area. Resisted Bombay Government's levy of punitive tax on people of Borsad who were charged with harbouring criminals. Tax withdrawn. Called Suba of Borsad.

1924 Ahmedabad Municipality reinstated. Fresh elections gave Congress Party a decisive majority in enlarged Municipal Council. Elected President of municipality.

1927 Passed a resolution giving notice to Ahmedabad Cantonment to pay water tax from 1920 at rate of eight annas. If tax was not paid, threatened to cut off water connection. Tax paid under protest.

Introduced khadi uniform in municipality. Municipal work was conducted in Gujarati after he became President. His scheme for supplying pure water passed.

Completed drainage scheme during term as President. Collected all arears of municipal tax not paid by high officials, some well-to-do people and municipal councillors by cutting water connections and attaching properties.

Unprecedented rainfall caused great damage and hardship throughout Gujarat. Saved Ahmedabad from floods by getting culverts breached. Organised relief measures for flood sufferers with public contributions. Promoted grow-more food and fodder campaigns and opened shops to sell high-quality gram, cereal and cotton seed for sowing at low cost to farmers. Received more than Rs. 10 million from Government earmarked for famine relief. A new party emerged in Ahmedabad Municipality. Clashed with it over appointment of chief officer.

1928 Resigned presidency. Led peasant agitation in Bardoli taluka, Surat district, against increase in land revenue rates. Bombay Government punished farmers for non-payment by confiscating and auctioning land, crops and other property.

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As agitation continued unabated, Government agreed to restore all unsold confiscated land, release satyagrahis, reinstate dismissed village officers and reduce land tax. Named Sardar of Bardoli and thereafter known as Sardar Patel. Presided over first local self-government conference in Surat.

1929 Presided over Maharashtra Political Conference in Poona. Toured Maharashtra, mobilising public opinion against enhanced land taxes and untouchability.

Presided over Kathiawar Political Conference at Morvi.

Toured Madras Presidency at request of C. Rajagopalachari. Presided over Tamil Nadu Political Conference at Vedaranyam. Reiterated support for Congress resolution on dominion status at conference against supporters of complete independence. Also visited Karnatak and Bihar.

At Calcutta session of Congress advocated support to all-party committee headed by Motilal Nehru which recommended acceptance of dominion status as India's political goal, provided demand was granted within two years. Motilal Nehru, Congress President, moved a resolution from chair congratulating Patel and peasants of Bardoli on victory over British bureaucracy. Nominated in September as a candidate for presidency of Congress session at Lahore but withdrew in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru.

1930 Arrested on 7 March while addressing a public meeting at Ras village, near Borsad, a few days after Gandhi announced march to Dandi near Surat, to break salt law. Preceded marchers to arrange accommodation and food on way. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or three weeks' additional imprisonment. Refused to pay fine and lodged in Sabarmati jail, Ahmedabad.

Went on hunger-strike in jail, requesting C class diet instead of A class. Request granted. Released on 26 June.

Arrested when leading a procession in Bombay on 31 July and sentenced to three months' jail. Taken to Yeravda jail near Poona. On release, made a speech at Khadi Bhandar, for which he was arrested. Sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second week of December.

1931 Released from jail in March under Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Presided over 46th Congress session at Karachi in last

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week of March. Helped Gandhi in his discussions with Viceroy (Lord Irwin) in Simla in last week of August on Congress participation in First Round Table Conference in London.

1932 Arrested at 4 a.m. on 4 January and taken by car to Yeravda and imprisoned with Gandhi there for 16 months. Mother died at Karamsad.

1933 Transferred to Nasik jail on 1 August. Elder brother Vithalbhai died in Switzerland on 22 October. Rejected terms on which Government offered to release him on parole for two days to perform funeral rites.

1934 Developed serious nasal trouble in jail and released on 14 July. Issued statement accepting Gandhi's decision to leave Congress on 24 September. Congress decided at its annual session in Bombay in October to contest elections to Central Legislative Assembly. Undertook tour of many parts of country campaigning for party candidates. British Government allowed Jinnah to go to North-West Frontier. Sardar also sought and obtained permission to do so. But after going there was not allowed to visit Bannu district.

1935 Organised relief work in Borsad taluka where plague had broken out in four successive summers. Organised relief for victims of Quetta earthquake from Bombay, where he was laid low with jaundice.

Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, invited Sardar to a meeting and offered him premiership of Bombay Presidency, but added that land confiscated from farmers in Bardoli and sold would not be returned to owners. Sardar replied: "I am not going to be premier and the land will be returned to the peasants."

President of Third Local Self-Government Conference at Broach.

1936 Collected Rs. 49,000 for Harijan Fund in two days in February. Appointed Chairman of Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee to select party candidates for provincial elections under Government of India Act, 1935.

1937 Involved in a controversy with K. F. Nariman, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, over selection of premier for Bombay Presidency. Guided Congress Ministries after acceptance of office.

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1938 Involved in July in controversy on a constitutional issue with Dr. N. B. Khare, Prime Minister of Central Provinces. Khare accused Sardar of conspiring to oust him from office and resigned from Government and Congress. Efforts to impose central party discipline on provincial leaders earned him title Dictator of India. Presided over Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad. Narrowly escaped attempt to kill him. Visit to Mysore city resulted in Government of Mysore State agreeing to flying of Congress flag in its territory. Flew to Rajkot on 24 December for talks with Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, who signed agreement on release of prisoners in Rajkot State and offered Sardar a portfolio in his Council of Ministers.

1939 Subhas Chandra Bose defied Gandhi, Patel and other members of the Working Committee and got elected President of the Congress at the Tripuri session defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Bose's resolution on mass civil disobedience was defeated at the Tripuri session in February. Bose described Sardar as "shining light of the ruling clique." He resigned presidentship disagreeing with a resolution of the Congress, asking him to nominate the Working Committee on the advice of Gandhiji. The Working Committee appointed a war subcommittee of three, including Vallabhbhai, in August. Warned provincial Congress organisations not to force a political crisis by hasty action.

Thakore Saheb of Rajkot broke agreement and satyagraha was renewed in State early in the year.

1940 Replied in a public speech at Ahmedabad in October to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who had asked in House of Commons whether India was fit for independence. Sardar said: "If you lose the war, you will have lost everything, and even if you win, you will have suffered so heavily that your victory will be an empty one. At the end of the war, I declare no nation will remain subject to another. A great revolution is going to sweep the people everywhere. We shall see a new world emerge out of the fiery ordeal of this war."

Arrested under Defence of India Act on 18 November for participating in satyagraha launched by Gandhi to press Britain for firm commitment on Indian independence. Imprisoned in Sabarmati jail and later transferred to Yeravda.

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1941 Released on 20 August from detention on ground of health. Condemned communal killing in Ahmedabad at first public meeting after release. Treated for acute intestinal disorder.

1942 Participated in talks with Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Favoured acceptance of constitutional proposals put forward by Cripps provided they were modified to suit political conditions in India.

1942 August Supported Quit India resolution at AICC meeting in Bombay on 8 August. Arrested at 4 a.m. on 9 August under Defence of India Act. Detained without trial at Ahmednagar fort with other Working Committee members.

1945 Transferred to Yeravda. Recurrence of intestinal trouble. Released on 15 June.

Went to Simla during political talks between Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and Indian leaders.

Entrusted with organising Congress election campaign for Central and provincial legislatures.

Secured G. V. Mavalankar's election as Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in December.

1946 Issued call to Ministers in Congress Governments to work for eradication of untouchability.

Disapproved Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's proposal for mass conversion of members of Scheduled Castes to other religions. If they changed religion, they could not claim benefits as Harijans.

Persuaded revolting men of Royal Indian Navy to call off agitation in February as "the dawn of freedom is breaking and the sun will rise in a few months."

If political issues between Britain and India could not be solved satisfactorily, India would withdraw from Bretton Woods Conference, Sardar said in a statement in March. Condemned suggestion that sterling balances should be scaled down. "Sterling credit is the economic foundation of India and this country's future progress largely depends upon it."

Opposed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, saying: "It is a monstrous thing that a man can claim a different nationality because he changes his religion." Hindus and Muslims were all basically Indians and thought as such. Congress

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could not accept the theory of Pakistan, happen what may. The two-nation theory would ruin all.

Declared in an exclusive interview with the political correspondent of Reuter that India would be prepared to refer major political issues to an international body for arbitration. Britain could not stay in India indefinitely. "Hand over power either to the Congress or to the Muslim League and go out of India," he said.

Advised withdrawal of trial of leaders of Indian National Army in Delhi.

Pleaded for fuller freedom to legislatures in Princely States and to Praja Mandals to select representatives to Constituent Assembly.

Appealed to Sikhs not to boycott Constituent Assembly even though Cabinet Mission had not done them justice.

Rejected possibility of a coalition between Muslim League and Congress.

Joined Viceroy's Executive Council as Home Member on 3 September. Announced in Central Legislative Assembly that foreigners would be appointed to senior administrative posts only in exceptional cases.

Accepted the principle of state control of industry; told Central Legislative Assembly that it was not desirable to go fast on nationalisation.

Spurned Jinnah's proposal for an exchange of population. Urged Muslim League to join Constituent Assembly and abandon its Pakistan policy.

1947 Talks with British Government representatives on transfer of control of services from Secretary of State to Interim Government and compensation for British officials completed. Statement on All India Radio's language policy announcing changes in existing practice.

Rejoinder to Jinnah: "Let an impartial tribunal decide the Pakistan issue, for Pakistan could be attained only on the basis of justice and understanding and not by force of arms."

Appealed to Muslim League to accept invitation to join talks and agree to arbitration by a "free power" in case of disagreement between League and Congress.

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Told Princes to play their part in shaping India's destiny. Warned North-West Frontier Province Ministry headed by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan that Centre would not submit to rowdyism and threats.

Interim Government's proposals on compensation to British officials accepted by Attlee Government. Demanded dominion status for India "at once" so that a strong Centre could deal firmly with threats to law and order. Statement issued on outbreak of riots in Dera Ismail Khan and elsewhere in NWFP.

Rulers of Dholpur, Nabha and Nawanagar told Sardar in New Delhi of their decision to join Constituent Assembly. States Department created and entrusted to Sardar. Described Jinnah's demand for a land corridor linking West Pakistan with the eastern wing as "fantastic nonsense."

Assured Princes that "internal autonomy" of their states would be respected.

Patel Committee's report on minorities submitted to Constituent Assembly. Report recommended joint electorates, representation in Ministries at Centre and in states and other safeguards.

Insisted on stationing a brigade of Indian Army in Kathiawar to protect states acceding to Indian Union from apprehended attack from Junagadh.

Persuaded Government to overrule Mountbatten and entrust Indian Army with operations against Nawab of Junagadh.

Pledged Government protection to Muslims staying in India. Said forced conversions and marriages would not be recognised.

Announced full agreement between India and Pakistan on all outstanding issues relating to partition, including division of armed forces. Said Kashmir had not been referred to Inter-Dominion Partition Committee. Announced in Constituent Assembly financial settlement between India and Pakistan under which India would transfer Rs. 750 millions to Pakistan as "a great gesture of goodwill."

Addressed Orissa rulers in Cuttack. They agreed to merge their territories with Orissa province.

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Announced at public meeting in Jammu that "everything possible" would be done to save Kashmir, "and this assurance I am conveying on behalf of the Government of India." Praised Sheikh Abdullah's role in ensuring Kashmir's accession to India.

1948 Appealed to labour leaders of West Bengal to support popular Government. Warned Pakistan that if it wanted further division of the country, "let us do it in the open field." Asked Indian Muslims: "In the recent all-India Muslim Conference, why did you not open your mouths on the Kashmir issue? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan? These things create doubts in the minds of the people."

Declared in a statement: "Unless the Kashmir issue is settled, the financial pact between India and Pakistan cannot be implemented. . . . Let there be no mistake that Kashmir belongs to India."

Declared at Patna that abolition of zamindari without compensation would be nothing short of robbery.

Appealed to Nizam of Hyderabad to respect his people's wishes and accede to India.

Inaugurating Rajasthan Union, said that only by coming together could smaller states save themselves from anarchy and confusion.

In message on formation of Vindhya Pradesh, said: "Unification and democratisation would be purposeless if they did not bring about improvement in the lot of the people."

Warned British politicians and Press to halt propaganda against India. Blamed Churchill for India's partition and attendant disasters.

Rejected compromise on Hyderabad. Accession and responsible government were India's minimum demands.

Said in an eve-of-independence speech: "In free India there is no room for divided loyalties."

Informed Parliament that "action would be taken against Hyderabad for breach of the standstill agreement."

Congratulated Defence Services on their remarkable success in the "police action" in Hyderabad.

Indicted UN for mishandling Kashmir issue. "We accepted the UN Commission's cease-fire proposals, but the other

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party did not. We could perform the Kashmir operation without danger if only we could free ourselves from our commitments."

Referring to Pakistan and its anti-Indian propaganda, said: "I wonder whether they are really afraid of us, or is this outburst merely an attempt to preserve their unity?"

Inaugurated Advisory Board of Central India States. Praised Nehru's leadership on his 60th birthday, saying: "Pandit Nehru has led the country through the crisis and has by his great leadership enhanced the prestige of India. We want our leader to remain at the helm for many years."

1949 Announced merger of five Princely States of Rajputana—Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Udaipur—to form Rajasthan Union and hailed it as a momentous development.

Advised Maharaja of Baroda to merge his State with Bombay.

Challenged contention of Nawab of Bhopal that paramountcy had lapsed with British withdrawal from India.

Warned Communists that if they continued to oppose Government and create danger they would be dealt with severely.

Opposed demand for linguistic states because consolidation of country must precede revision of boundaries.

Appealed to members of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh to join Congress.

Advised South Indians to learn Hindi.

Appealed for public contributions to rebuild Somnath temple in Junagadh.

Announced in Hyderabad that responsible government would be introduced in former Nizam's State only after normalcy was restored.

Warned Master Tara Singh in a speech at Amritsar that he was following suicidal policies.

Advised RSS to concentrate on regenerating Hindu society through constitutional and constructive methods.

Inaugurated Rajasthan State in Jaipur.

Announced take-over of administration of Bhopal State by Centre and congratulated Nawab on his understanding

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and self-sacrifice. Declared that welfare of Muslims would be prime concern of State's new administration.

At a public meeting at Indore, warned Congress politicians in newly formed states unions that he would dissolve ministries and administer unions centrally if they did not stop their petty squabbles and tussles for power.

Told All-India Depressed Classes Leagues Confederation: "India's independence will not be completed until every Harijan claims, and actually gets, equality of status."

Moving consideration of report of Advisory Committee on Minorities in Constituent Assembly, said: "Minority concessions, though not good in themselves, have to be treated as purely temporary. Minorities should voluntarily agree to abolition of reservations for them in services and legislatures."

Supported grant of privy purses to princes in return for accession to Indian Union.

1950 Warned Pakistan against pushing Hindus out of eastern wing.

Defended in Parliament use of preventive detention to fight terrorism and violence.

Gave details of democratic set-up for Delhi Union Territory.

Appealed at public meeting in Calcutta for fair trial to Nehru-Liaquat Pact on minorities.

Told public meeting at Indore that Congress "is fully behind Nehru." Called for revolution in system of education in address to Gujarat Vidyapith.

Opened newly constructed building of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad. Purse of Rs. 1.5 million presented on behalf of Gujarat on his 75th birthday, which he immediately handed over to President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Declared that accepting aid from United States did not mean alignment with any power bloc. UNO should be strengthened.

Deplored Chinese intervention in Tibet and use of force against Tibetans.

Fell ill on 15 November. Taken to Bombay on Tuesday 12 December. Died on Friday morning, 15 December.

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FOCUS ON SARDAR

[An illuminating picture of Sardar Patel's activities and style of work was provided by his daughter Maniben. What follows are extracts from the information and views given by her to Trevor Drieberg and the Editor in New Delhi.]

The Sardar was a man of few words. He wrote very little; he hardly kept any record of his public or party work. He destroyed letters addressed to him after reading them and replied by hand, not keeping copies. But after he was appointed Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board in 1934, files relating to its transactions were kept.

When the Sardar fell ill towards the end of the Bardoli satyagraha in 1928, it was suggested that somebody should give him secretarial help. I said: "If someone is to be kept, why not I?" From 1929 until his death, I preserved his correspondence whenever possible. Once, when K. Gopalaswami, political commentator of the Times of India, visited him in his flat on Marine Drive, Bombay, the Sardar called for a letter he had received from C. Rajagopalachari, forgetting that he had torn it up and thrown it in the wastepaper basket. Fortunately, I had collected the pieces. It took me some time to paste them together before passing it on to him. This happened before the Interim Government was formed.

The Sardar travelled second-class by railway before he became a Minister. I would spread his bedding at night and retire to a third-class compartment. But from 1934, when there was much correspondence to attend to even on train journeys and people came to see him at stations, I kept company with him in his second-class compartment. I used to make copies of important letters he wrote in hand, but he would question this, asking why I was taking such trouble and wasting time. I also kept newspaper clippings of important events with which he was associated.

The Sardar read several newspapers and listened to radio news bulletins regularly. This enabled him to keep abreast of developments throughout the country. He also talked to people to get information to supplement other sources.

After 1945, the secretarial functions of the Congress Parliamentary Board were undertaken mainly by Shantilal Shah. The Sardar was undergoing treatment for intestinal trouble at the

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Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, when he sent for Shantilal Shah from Bombay. Shah, a Congress Socialist, hesitated at first because he did not know what was in store for him. But B. G. Kher (Premier of Bombay) advised him to take up the work. The Sardar told Shah he wanted him to act as his secretary at the Parliamentary Board office located at the headquarters of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

The Sardar was a very shrewd judge of character. When he met a person for the first time he looked him up and down, and the assessment he made in that process rarely went wrong.

Once when Mathuradas Trikamji, Mayor of Bombay, asked what kind of men he kept round him, the Sardar replied that his was a "juggler's basket." He kept all kinds of people for the single aim of winning India's freedom. He used different people for different purposes. He was fully aware of their weaknesses and drawbacks but exploited their useful qualities.

The Sardar learnt punctuality in his youth when he had to do everything for himself. This experience taught him to save time by doing things according to schedule. This gave him self-reliance and at the same time an appreciation of the difficulties other people encountered. He walked on business errands rather than use transport. This habit served him well in London when he was attending the Inns of Court. He used to walk from his lodgings to the law library, a distance of several miles daily. He could not afford to buy books for study, and was at the library when the librarian opened it and left at closing time every evening.

The visit to England fulfilled two of my father's ambitions. He wanted to see the country from which people had come to conquer India and to qualify as a barrister. He had seen how even mediocre lawyers had been able to build up a large practice because they had been to London to study for the Bar. On his return to Ahmedabad, he established himself as the city's leading criminal lawyer.

When he was a district pleader at Borsad in the early 1900s, there was a British magistrate who kept a mirror in his court to study the faces of witnesses. This made witnesses nervous and the magistrate drew conclusions from their behaviour about their truthfulness. The Sardar thought of a plan to make the officer behave. He demanded transfer to the district court of a case in which he was appearing before the magistrate. The Sardar presented him with a sealed letter. The magistrate opened the letter and saw his name

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heading the list of witnesses for the defence. He called the Sardar to his chamber for a talk. The accused was acquitted and the magistrate stopped using the mirror, conceding that he had no right to do so. This incident illustrates a facet of my father's character. He had no fear of the British magistracy or administrators.

The Sardar was a man of regular habits and disliked armchair politicians. He read about Gandhiji's action in Champaran and was impressed by his methods of organising peasants to resist exploitation and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi was preoccupied with the agitation in Bihar and wanted somebody who would give up everything and devote all his time to the satyagraha campaign in Kaira district organised as a protest against excessive land revenue. My father volunteered his services, and they were accepted.

Until that time the Sardar wore European dress. He was so fastidious that finding no good laundry in Ahmedabad he got his stiff collars washed in Bombay.

From early youth, the Sardar developed the qualities of leadership and discipline. In later life, these qualities were to help him in organising large groups of people for action. Until the Bardoli movement, he was hardly known outside Gujarat. He did not go out of Gujarat until Gandhiji's sentence of imprisonment for six years in 1922, when he went on a fund-raising mission for the Gujarat Vidyapith as far east as Rangoon.

For years in Gujarat, whenever Gandhiji addressed a public meeting the Sardar did not speak at it and later, when the Sardar spoke, other Congress leaders did not speak. This is an illustration of the discipline observed by Congressmen at the time. The leader spoke for them and the others showed their loyalty by action.

When Gandhiji started the swadeshi movement and burning of foreign clothes, the Sardar burnt all his European clothes, socks and hats. He never wore any type of headgear, even a khadi cap, after he cast aside his black Banglori cap. From then, he always wore dhoti and kurta and a chaddar on his shoulder, adding only a warm jacket in winter.

The satyagraha in Borsad Taluka, Kaira district, lasted a month. The provincial Government had levied a punitive tax of eight annas—a large sum at that time—per person on all the inhabitants for the maintenance of the preventive police. Even children were taxed. The campaign succeeded and in this satyagraha he gained the title Suba of Borsad.

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Another sphere in which the Sardar helped to raise the morale of the people of the area was connected with the activities of dacoits. People dared not leave their houses after 6 p.m. for fear of dacoits who infested the area. They appealed to the Sardar for help. He agreed, provided they did not allow their houses to be used for keeping stolen property.

In the Bardoli satyagraha, there was one organiser for every big village. The Sardar set out at noon from his headquarters and returned at midnight after visiting many villages. There was only one car, so all the other organisers journeyed on foot or by train or cart. The peasants accepted the Sardar as their unquestioned leader. Every morning, he received written reports from each village through volunteer messengers. The title Sardar of Bardoli was conferred on him by a party worker at a public meeting. It gained nationwide currency when Gandhiji started referring to him in this manner.

As head of Ahmedabad Municipality, the Sardar looked far ahead of immediate civic needs and planned accordingly, unlike some of his successors who made changes looking to short-term gains.

His qualities of leadership were recognised when he organised relief measures during the floods that hit Gujarat in 1927. He went round Ahmedabad city with the chief engineer and ordered a culvert to be broken to let the flood waters flow into the Sabarmati river. This saved the city from total inundation. He also persuaded the Bombay Government to provide more than a crore of rupees for relief to the flood victims. He sent help to the Collector of Kaira when the district was cut off from the rest of Gujarat. Only the Collector's bungalow, which stood on a mound, was safe, and all the townfolk had gathered there for safety. The Sardar's men brought food and other necessities.

The Sardar went to Calcutta for the Congress session over which Motilal Nehru presided. Even though his name had become a household word as the hero of Bardoli his physical appearance was not known. The volunteers of the Congress failed to identify him and since he did not carry a ticket he was not admitted to the pandal. The next day he carried his membership card and the volunteers were surprised when they found people shouting for the darshan of the Sardar of Bardoli and that the hero was the person the volunteers had kept out the previous day.

The Sardar was favoured by the provincial Congress committees as the next party president, but Motilal Nehru wrote to

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Gandhiji asking that Jawaharlal should succeed him. Motilal wanted to see his son Congress chief before he died. My father agreed with Bapu (Gandhiji) that Motilal's wish be fulfilled.

It was usual for the Congress President to attend annual sessions with large retinues. The Sardar went to the Karachi session in 1931 with only me and an aide, thus cutting drastically the expenses of the reception committee.

The outlook of the Sardar and of Nehru was vastly different. They agreed to differ, but at the same time worked together for the common cause of India's freedom. The influence of Mridula Sarabhai and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on Nehru was to a large extent responsible for the rift between my father and Jawaharlal.

The Sardar became the party boss from the time he became head of the Parliamentary Board. He was also the party's main fund-raiser. The Congress High Command, of which he was the mainspring, functioned as a moral prop for the Chief Ministers against the administrative machine directed by the British.

I used to sleep by the telephone to take calls that came at odd hours of the night so that the Sardar's sleep was not disturbed. I took down messages and passed them on to him the next morning. One such call came at midnight from Biswanath Das, then Premier of Orissa. He had decided to resign over the choice of a provincial official to act as Governor. The Sardar backed him and the Viceroy yielded.

I may recall a meeting the Sardar had with Bombay Governor Lumley in 1935 at Lumley's request. It lasted about an hour. Lumley told the Sardar that he would be Premier of Bombay, but the lands confiscated from the peasants of Bardoli would never be returned. The Sardar replied: "Note it down that I am not going to be Premier, and also that the lands will be returned to the peasants."

The Sardar took many unpopular decisions in party and Government matters, but his decisions were accepted because he had no axe to grind. He was not amenable to threats or blackmail. He had no property of his own and he was above extraneous considerations. He had nothing to lose, had no ambition and no desire to cling to office.

Once in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji asked in good humour what post he would like to hold after Independence. The Sardar replied he would become a sadhu. In 1945, when it had been decided to replace Azad as Congress President, the Sardar got the largest

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share of votes in the Working Committee. But Kripalani, one of the candidates, withdrew in favour of Nehru and handed a paper to the Sardar to withdraw his nomination as well so that Nehru could be elected unopposed.

Gandhiji, to whom this matter was referred, told Nehru: "I don't want to make you a prop of mine if people don't want you." Nehru kept silent and was selected President. Gandhiji supported Nehru's choice as Prime Minister because he was well known outside India. He compared the Sardar and Nehru to two bullocks yoked to a cart. He felt that if Nehru was made Prime Minister he would be prevented from "making mischief" in the country.

When the Sardar became Home Minister and later on Deputy Prime Minister, anybody could call on him during his morning walk from 4.30 to 6.30. He was a fast walker and few could keep pace with him. They told him what they wanted and then they would drop out when the dialogue was over. He gave brief answers and listened mostly. For party workers and others this was an opportunity for opening their hearts to him. At the end of an hour's listening, the Sardar would probably reply in a couple of words. He arranged assistance for even the humblest party worker who needed it. He provided hospitalisation if necessary. After his illness in March 1948 his medical advisers stopped morning walks completely and restricted his interviews.

In 1941, he was afflicted with severe intestinal trouble. He woke around 3.30 every morning because of pain in the bowels. He spent an hour in the toilet before setting out on his morning walk. He had a cup of tea and breakfast, which consisted of a piece of toast and apple juice. In these early morning hours, before going for a walk, I did my quota of spinning. When he assumed office his Private Secretary V. Shankar came in with office files after breakfast. The Sardar looked through the morning newspapers carefully and rarely missed any significant news. He gave oral instructions to Shankar. As before, he would write as little as possible. When in good health, he left home around 9.30 for the Home Ministry, returned for lunch and after a nap of 15 minutes went to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

I looked after the Sardar's Gujarati correspondence while Shankar attended to that in English. I passed on some of the correspondence in Hindi to Shankar. Morarji Desai had recommended Shankar as Private Secretary. The Sardar invited him to lunch to look him over before selecting him for the post.

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The Partition Committee set up under the Mountbatten Plan and consisting of as many as 30 to 40 officers, would come to the Sardar's house and stay up to lunch receiving instructions from him. Its members had to report back to him in the evening. Every order he issued had to be executed within 24 hours. He rang up Premiers at night when he had a particular issue to discuss with them. He was against wasting money on telephone calls on matters that were not urgent. I kept a diary of all private trunk calls, for which the Sardar paid from his own pocket.

I recall another instance of his method of work. There was a crisis in the jute industry. The Sardar phoned C. C. Desai, Commerce Secretary, and M. P. Birla, Chairman of the Indian Jute Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta, and others every night to check on developments. Similarly, at the time of the Bombay riots and disturbances elsewhere, he made phone calls at night to find out what was happening. He made calls to Punjab, Bengal and UP at the time of the partition troubles.

The Sardar was not impolite or arrogant in his dealings with people. He replied promptly to correspondence. He read all the letters addressed to him personally and generally told the officer concerned how he should reply. He never signed letters or any other document blindly. When he was not fully satisfied with a draft, he would change it himself or ask the officer concerned to redraft it. He liked precision and conciseness in letters. He would say that this was "not a place for essays" or for exhibiting one's command of English.

Mountbatten recognised the Sardar's greatness. I was the only other person present when the Sardar had a talk with Bapu between 4 and 5 p.m. on the day of his assassination. Bapu had decided to release the Sardar from the Ministry at the latter's instance, but Mountbatten strongly opposed this because he felt that the Sardar "had his feet on the ground while Nehru had his in the clouds." He told Gandhiji that he could not release the Sardar. Gandhiji agreed and withdrew his decision.

It was agreed at the conversation on January 30 afternoon that Gandhiji, Nehru and the Sardar should sit together and iron out their differences. But this meeting was never held. The Sardar was greatly upset by the slander campaign against him at that time in certain Congress and Government circles. He was worried at heart that Gandhiji had to defend him continually against these slanders.

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Previously, when Nehru lived at York Road and the Sardar just across on Aurangzeb Road, they used to meet every day, even though for a few minutes. Nehru would sometimes drop in after lunch, or in the evening or at night after dinner. They walked together and discussed matters. The Sardar would walk with Nehru up to the gate of the latter's house on York Road and see him off there or they would return together to Aurangzeb Road.

These daily meetings and talks cleared misunderstandings, but this dialogue became very difficult after Nehru moved to the house of the former Commander-in-Chief on Teen Murti Marg. If he had not moved there on Mountbatten's advice, much of their later differences might never have developed. Because of his illness, the Sardar was not able to go to Nehru's house frequently.

When there were party matters to be attended to, the Sardar requested the AICC General Secretary to call at his house for instructions. The Working Committee met at the Sardar's residence since there was no good AICC office building at that time in Delhi. The Provincial Premiers constantly sought his guidance, and he was a great help to them in their encounters with members of the bureaucracy or party dissidents.

The administrations of the new states formed after integration lacked capable men to guide them. But in those areas where party members had carried out constructive work under the Sardar's direction before independence, such men were available. This was so in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Elsewhere in the country, party workers in the former states had only indulged in agitation and there was no solid foundation for their work.

The Sardar did not aspire to prime ministership or any other high office. He once said that if India had won Swaraj ten years earlier he would have solved the food problem as he had solved that of the states. He added : "But I have not the strength to do so now." He considered food the country's most important problem after consolidation. He was essentially a man of action, averse to writing. His philosophy of life may be summed up in the words: "Why not create history rather than waste time writing it?"

MANIBEN PATEL

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OUTLINE OF I-X VOLUMES

Main Topics

Kashmir Problem

1945-46

Elections

Working of Constituent Assembly and its parliamentary aspects
Interim Government and its working

Negotiations with Indian States—their place in future set-up

Bretton Woods Conference and other international conferences

Indian National Army

Provincial politics—Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces, Madras, Orissa, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and United Provinces.

1947

National Issues

Working of Central Government

(i) Interim Union Government
  (a) Before 15 August 1947
  (b) After 15 August 1947

(ii) External
  (a) Ambassadorial appointments
  (b) Indo-Nepal relations
  (c) United Nations Organisation

Transfer of Power

Partition
Communal flare-up
Refugee problem

States Politics

Hyderabad
Junagadh
Indian States
  (a) Accession
  (b) Integration
  (c) Democratisation

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Indian Provinces

1948

Indian States and their problems
Hyderabad State
Indian Government—its working and problems
Gandhi assassination
Refugee problem—rehabilitation
Provincial politics

1949

Indian States and their problems
Hyderabad
Provincial politics
Central Government and its working and problems
Gandhi murder, Trial of accused

1950

Indian Government and Its Working

Internal—Inter-ministerial correspondence
External—Commonwealth and India
China's aggression in Tibet
Constitutional—Constitution-making
New Head of State under Constitution
Role of Governor

States Politics

Indian States and their problems
Hyderabad issue
Provincial politics

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HIGHLIGHTS—VOLUMES I-VI AND VIII-X

Vol. I : New Light on Kashmir

This absorbing inside story of the events leading up to Independence and continuing subsequently till Sardar Patel's death in 1950 has not been told before. It contains the basic raw material for the research scholar and the historian. The correspondence published in this series opens with the efforts of Maharaja Hari Singh and his counsellors in Srinagar to shore up the feudal structure in Jammu and Kashmir by denial of democratic rights.

The Maharaja unleashed a campaign of repression against the National Conference, the political mouthpiece of the state people, arrested Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, its chief, and charged him with sedition. Jawaharlal Nehru entered Kashmir in defiance of the state Government's ban and courted arrest.

The Maharaja, finding that his hands were forced by the invasion of the state from Pakistan by armed "raiders," opted for India and after signing the instrument of accession, agreed to the formation of a popular government under Sheikh Abdullah. The Maharaja and the Sheikh were soon at loggerheads. The Maharaja, under relentless pressure from New Delhi, surrendered power and placed himself in the hands of the Sardar who, as the correspondence reveals, played a crucial role in the negotiations which led ultimately to the withdrawal of the Maharaja from the state and the succession of his heir, Yuvraj Karan Singh, as regent and finally as constitutional head of the state.

Patel also pointed out how India's case on Kashmir before the United Nations Security Council should have been effectively presented. The exchange of letters between him and the Sheikh foreshadows the strong differences on approach to the Kashmir problem which ultimately led to the Sheikh's removal from the prime ministership of the state in 1953. Abdullah went his own way, heedless of Patel's restraining influence.

Vol. II : Elections to Central & Provincial Legislatures—Direction of Congress Campaign

Soon after the Congress leaders were released from detention in 1944, negotiations opened with the representatives of the British Raj in New Delhi and the leaders of other Indian political

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parties, notably the Muslim League, on new constitutional arrangements to suit the change in the political climate brought about by World War II and to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom.

Patel's guiding hand was evident in these negotiations as well as in the direction and management of the Congress campaign for the elections to the Central and provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. These elections, based on communal electorates with a restricted franchise, were an acid test of the Congress claim to represent the Indian people and to be the recipient of power on their behalf when the British relinquished their authority. The Muslim League, through Mohammed Ali Jinnah, contested this claim, asserting that it was the sole champion of the Muslim "nation" which aspired to a separate existence on the advent of independence.

Patel's role as chief of staff of the Congress High Command, indefatigably marshalling manpower and finances and selection of suitable candidates for the big electoral battle, comes out strikingly in the correspondence in this volume.

Vol. III : Guidance to Ministries—Constituent Assembly Problems—Interim Government Deadlock—Reforms in Indian States

Elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies were followed by the formation of a board consisting of Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to organise elections to the Constituent Assembly as proposed under the Cabinet Mission plan, aiding and guiding Provincial Congress Ministries, including the Coalition Ministry in the Punjab, and supervising the working of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. These tasks fell primarily on the shoulders of Sardar Patel, who functioned as a one-man High Command.

The political situation was complicated by several factors. The Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie, manoeuvred to put in the Muslim League in power. Direct Action Day, observed by the Muslim League on 16 August 1946, resulted in unprecedented communal carnage in Calcutta. There were riots in Bihar. The League refused to agree to the Cabinet Mission plan. Mahatma Gandhi's meetings with Lord Wavell failed to straighten matters. Patel attributed the deadlock over the formation of an Interim Coalition Government to bungling by the Viceroy.

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An Interim Government, headed by Nehru and consisting of Congress party nominees, was formed on 2 September 1946. It was enlarged into a Congress-League coalition in the middle of October 1946. Soon after, Patel described the coalition, which was functioning without joint responsibility, as an arena of party politics and intrigue. He repeatedly drew Wavell's attention to the disruptionist role of the League members of the government. He also tried to persuade him to bring Bengal under virtual martial law to restore peace and tranquillity. Problems of Indian National Army personnel, the Royal Indian Navy uprising, creation of the International Monetary Fund, shipping, trade, and the Secretary of State's Services were firmly and constructively handled by the Sardar.

The movement for reform in the Indian States sponsored by Praja Mandals received an impetus from political developments in British India. The meagre hope of success is revealed in a note Nehru forwarded to the Sardar of his talks with the Nawab of Bhopal in early April 1946. The Sardar, however, guided the movement into the right channel. The correspondence reveals the country in the throes of revolutionary change.

Vol. IV : Transfer of Power—Communal Holocaust and Partition—Administration and Stability

The political deadlock dragged on from 1946 to 1947. All efforts of the Congress to avert partition failed as the League, instigated by sympathisers in the top echelons of the British bureaucracy in India and Britain, stuck out for Pakistan. Finally, the Congress capitulated under heavy pressure and the twin states of secular, democratic India and Islamic, autocratic Pakistan were born, with Governor-General Mountbatten playing the role of midwife.

Partition and transfer of power were accompanied by the tragedy and turmoil of wholesale uprooting of populations, mass murder and looting and other acts of barbarity. The entire socio-economic structure of the affected provinces seemed on the verge of collapse. How the problem of restoring peace and sanity and resettling the uprooted and dispossessed victims of the trauma of partition was handled, primarily by Patel, with courage and firmness, is revealed in the correspondence.

While the Attlee Government in London and Mountbatten in New Delhi appeared to play fair by the Congress and the Indian people, British administrators continued to play politics at

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the lower levels and were instrumental in pushing Pakistan into a military adventure in Kashmir as part of their game to weaken India economically and politically. The Muslim League, which had grabbed power in Pakistan, eagerly collaborated in this game.

Vol. V : Control over Congress Ministries—Indian States' Accession

Creating conditions for stable government and maintaining law and order in the old provinces of British India after the disruption of partition was a major problem which was Patel's prime responsibility as Minister of Home Affairs. Relations between governors and chief ministers had to be redefined in the changed political context, and the Sardar was often called upon to mediate in disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of rules and practices by those in authority.

Problems also arose from the emergence of factionalism in the provincial Congress organisations, and the Sardar had to exert his authority to prevent them from cracking up in the heat of local power struggles. The most notable instance was in Madras, where two rival factions were engaged in a bitter struggle which resulted in the ouster of Chief Minister T. Prakasam.

Rehabilitation of Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan was the key problem encountered in East Punjab, together with the intransigence of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal. In Assam, large-scale infiltration of Muslims created difficulties for the provincial administration in the wake of the loss of Sylhet district to Pakistan. The inclusion of the tribal hill tracts in the province also presented difficulties as the hillsmen, ethnically and culturally different from the dwellers in the Brahmaputra Valley, wanted a separate identity. In the interests of national security in a very sensitive region, they were brought together under one administration.

Bringing the conglomeration of princely states within the ambit of the new integrated nation-state the Congress leaders envisaged after freedom also presented many problems, the solution of which rested on Patel's shoulders as Minister of States.

Vol VI : Patel-Nehru Differences—Assassination of Gandhi—Services Reorganised—Refugee Rehabilitation

Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru came to the brink of relinquishing office in each other's favour over differences, first arising out of communal disturbances in Ajmer-Merwara and later

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snowballing into serious conflict over the definition of the functions of the Prime Minister in relation to his colleagues and the preparation of memoranda by both for presentation to Gandhi for his adjudication. The assassination of Gandhi at this crucial period acted, however, as a cementing bond between them. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and similar organisations were banned.

C. Rajagopalachari was brought to the Centre as Governor-General in succession to Mountbatten. Restoring popular confidence after the Gandhi murder and curbing the extremist elements responsible for it without at the same time causing civil strife was the responsibility of Patel. The correspondence between Nehru and Patel on this subject reveals the different styles with which they functioned. Throughout the year, the influx of fresh waves of refugees and their rehabilitation continued to be a major preoccupation of the government, and it was Patel's lot to co-ordinate these tasks.

The difficulties encountered in providing cohesive and effective administrations in the provinces called for firm directives from Patel. In the United Provinces, the major conflict was between the veteran Congress leader Purushottamdas Tandon and Premier Pant and their political adversary Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This was represented in the Press as a struggle between supporters of Patel and Nehru and a reflection of a power tussle at a higher level. Sharp differences arose in Assam between Governor Akbar Hydari and Chief Minister Gopinath Bardoloi, while Communist activities became a cause of worry in this province and in neighbouring West Bengal.

Vol. VIII : Foreign Policy in Evolution—Constitution-making—Political and Administrative Problems

The future of India's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, ties with Nepal, recognition of Communist China and disputes with Pakistan over canal waters, ill-treatment of minorities in Pakistan and evacuee property were important matters of foreign policy in which the Sardar made a significant contribution. The main task the Sardar undertook was to merge the Unions of Princely States with the adjoining states of the Indian Union, thus creating a bigger territorial unit than existed under the British or any former Raj.

Internally, differences arose over whether the first President of the Indian Republic should be C. Rajagopalachari or Dr. Rajendra

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Prasad. Nehru and Patel took different attitudes to mass agitation by the Akalis in East Punjab. The Hindu Code Bill was another issue on which eminent Congress leaders differed from the government's view.

The sentence of death was passed on 12 February on Nathuram Godse, the principal accused in the Gandhi murder case, and Patel overruled pleas for clemency. As Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he laid down a policy on the use of Hindi for the guidance of All India Radio.

Nehru visited the United States. Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, filled in for him. His confidential fortnightly letter of over 10,000 words to chief ministers of states elaborating his political, economic and administrative philosophy is in the nature of a will and testament.

Vol. IX : Political Controversies—Refugees from East Bengal—Territorial Integration of Princely States

Factionalism continued to cause administrative snarls in the states and provinces and to this were added charges of corruption and abuse of power against those in authority. The Sardar was deeply involved in trying to keep peace among the warring factions and weeding out the corrupt. A controversy erupted in West Bengal over the relative status of Bengali and Hindi for official purposes, and a movement for Greater Bengal, including East Pakistan, raised its head in the province.

Friction within the Madras Ministry was sharpened by popular demands for a separate Andhra Pradesh. Factions within the Punjab Congress came to be identified with Nehru and Patel. In Hyderabad, the Communists as well as communalists became active and caused anxiety to the State administration. The Communist-supported uprising of the peasants of Telengana, who employed force to dispossess the landlords and divide up their property, led to military operations against them.

Communal riots broke out in West Bengal as more refugees streamed in from East Pakistan with stories of atrocities perpetrated on the Hindu minority there. The Congress party split in Andhra Pradesh at the same time as the Communists swung into action in the region. Master Tara Singh strove hard to stir up communal feeling in the Punjab. The Sardar advocated a cautious approach to the language problem in this province.

The partition of Bengal and the consequent loss of jute so necessary for mills in India was a matter of great concern to the

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Sardar who wanted the provinces to put more acreage under its cultivation. Food shortage equally worried him and he urged the provinces to open up waste lands and popularise modern and better techniques of agriculture among farmers. On other economic fronts he appealed to labour to shun strikes for the more reasonable procedure of arbitration of disputes. To Rajendra Prasad's objection that the Hindu Code Bill should not be rushed through the legislature, he said the party had debated it and decided "to support" it. He emphasised that majority party decisions should be accepted and implemented by all members and objectors should quit. He stressed the need for quick action in the cases of suspended government servants.

Vol. X : Acute Power Struggle—Triumph of Mutual Accommodation—Warning against China

The highlight of foreign affairs was the Chinese invasion of Tibet, an event which raised the problem of security along the Himalayan border. In letters to Nehru and C.R., the Sardar underscored the potential threats to India's sovereignty from this source. Pakistan's persecution of minorities, incursions into Indian territory and general hostility were other matters of concern to New Delhi. Efforts were even made to poison the good relations between India and Nepal. After the election of Rajendra Prasad as President, Nehru announced his intention of resigning the office of Prime Minister and devote himself to party activities. The Central Cabinet was reconstituted and CR entered it. There were several exchanges of correspondence between Nehru and Patel on matters of principle, including a definition of the powers of a governor. Finance Minister John Matthai resigned on an issue of principle, and this was followed by a bitter war of words.

In the Congress presidential elections, Nehru and Patel ranged on different sides. Nehru opposed Purushottamdas Tandon's nomination, and when Tandon was elected Nehru refused to join the Congress Working Committee. The Sardar's health began to fail.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII

CHAPTER I HYDERABAD RUMBLINGS 1

Swami Ramanand Tirtha's report on happenings in State; Nizam announces constitutional reforms; Tirtha criticizes reforms scheme; State Congress campaign against scheme; reported British deal on Bastar State with Nizam: Nehru writes to Sardar; future of Berar—transfer to Nizam opposed; an absurd idea, says Sardar; Sir Mirza Ismail visits Berar to explore chances of its retrocession to Hyderabad; controversy over Nizam's flag; Sardar deprecates Free Berar movement

CHAPTER II NIZAM'S INTRANSIGENCE 38

Foreigner involved with Hyderabad Government in arms racket; Sardar warns Bombay to keep watch; Nizam's bid to get arms from Czechoslovakia and England; exchange of telegrams between Nizam and Sir Walter Monckton; Nizam requests Jinnah for services of Zahid Hussain for post of Premier in Hyderabad; confidential reports from Hyderabad of situation in State; Nizam declines to have referendum; Chhatari withdraws resignation as Prime Minister; Monckton's note giving his opinion on Hyderabad situation; Nizam's letter to Mountbatten proposing treaty with India

CHAPTER III TENSION IN PENINSULA 109

Nizam's hesitation on accession; Sardar's note to Mountbatten, suggests referendum to ascertain people's wish; Nizam's firman on Muslim refugees; State purchases military vehicles from Calcutta and Bombay; Baldev Singh's note to Sardar suggesting ban on sale; situation in Hyderabad causes panic in Bombay province; Premier Kher suggests military training to people; Sardar's assurance to Kher; move to cut petrol supplies to Hyderabad to curb activities of Razakars marauding the countryside; correspondence with CP & Madras Chief Ministers regarding security problem in Deccan created by Nizam's threatening attitude; Sardar writes to Defence Minister; Delhi Muslims' bid to get arms from Hyderabad; Raja of Sandur acquaints Sardar with Nizam's design about Tungabhadra river; Hyderabad standstill agreement signed; Hyderabad-Madras border tension; Madras Premier doubts Nizam's intentions regarding agreement; arms to Hyderabad through Goa

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CHAPTER IV ECONOMIC SANCTIONS 140

K. M. Munshi's note on economic vulnerability of Hyderabad; financial situation of Hyderabad and prejudicial actions of Nizam's Government; raising new battalions for internal defence; Munshi's dinner talk with Prime Minister Laik Ali; change of attitude of Nizam; Munshi briefs V. P. Menon on different points raised by Nizam in implementation of standstill agreement; Munshi writes to Sardar about Nizam's intention to break away from Indian Dominion and adopt methods of independent Government

CHAPTER V RAZAKARS AND ITTEHAD 206

Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawab of Chhatari acquaint Nehru with developments in Hyderabad; activities of Razakars and Ittehad condemned; Nehru writes to Sardar; Hindus in panic over Razakar goondaism; Sardar asked for protection; Hyderabad figures in House of Commons debate; Nehru against communal principle in State Legislature, prefers joint electorate; Sardar deplores Jayaprakash Narain's speeches on Hyderabad; Nizam's Government encourages communists; Cabinet discusses Hyderabad question; Sardar in favour of firm and definite action; gun-running between Karachi and Hyderabad; Pakistan organizes military help to state; 14 villages declare independence with State Congress workers' help; Rajagopalachari appeals to Nizam to end sense of insecurity in State; Nizam's reply; Sardar's statement in Constituent Assembly

CHAPTER VI POLICE ACTION 238

Successful termination of police action in Hyderabad; T. Prakasam and Jam Saheb congratulate Sardar; splendid part played by state forces; Nizam's poem which is extremely offensive to Hindu sentiments; trial of Kasim Razvi; Suhrawardy writes about Muslim reaction to police action and about vindictiveness against Muslims of some Hindu leaders; Sardar's reply; Monckton counsels generosity to Nizam in letter to Nehru; all courtesies to be shown to Nizam, says Nehru; Sardar reports to Nehru on situation in Hyderabad after police action; Sardar's visit to Hyderabad; question of amnesty to Razakar prisoners; complaint against Indian troops; Gopalaswami Ayyangar wants Sardar to pull up Military Governor; restoring communal harmony, tour by Vinoba Bhave suggested

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CHAPTER VII STATE CONGRESS RIFT 285
Differences between rival Congress groups; Sardar's intervention sought; State Congress leaders summoned to Delhi; unity move succeeds; Sardar writes to Ramakrishna Rao about undesirable propaganda campaign following agreement among Congress leaders; Ramakrishna Rao complains against Swami Ramanand Tirtha's attitude; problems following police action—communal tension, question of Mulki and non-Mulki, problem of rehabilitation; scurrilous Dawn article on Hyderabad riots; repatriation of Afghan nationals from Hyderabad; Sardar visits state; Sardar commends work of military administration; Sardar and Nizam exchange letters; representation from Muslim and Scheduled Caste deputations; Vinoba Bhave's goodwill mission; Chief Civil Administrator's report on communal riots

CHAPTER VIII SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE 317
B. N. Rau's report regarding Hyderabad question in Security Council; Sardar writes to Nehru on administrative problems in Hyderabad; fixing of constituencies for Constituent Assembly; Shroff's letter to Sadrar; house arrest of Harijan Member of Nizam's Government on forgery charge; correspondence with Gen. Chaudhuri; Umri Bank affair; campaign of falsehood; Shroff's letter to Sardar; bickerings in State Congress; Gen. Chaudhuri's report on talks with Janardhan Rao Desai on functions of Congress party; trial of Laik Ali Ministry; inventories of Nizam; settlement of displaced persons; Hyderabad representation on Constituent Assembly; future of Osmania University; Gen. Chaudhuri relinquishes office of Military Governor of Hyderabad

CHAPTER IX ESCAPE OF LAIK ALI 350
Socialist-sponsored strikes in Hyderabad; nominations to Parliament; differences among party men; Congressmen abstain from swearing-in ceremony of Nizam as Rajpramukh; Sardar calls for explanation; Congress affairs in Hyderabad; rival groups; Laik Ali escapes with family members and servants; Nizam's palace guards strengthened; Vellodi's impression on State Congress affairs; dissensions in party; case against Kasim Razvi for murder; Advocate-General's opinion; Sardar revisits Hyderabad; note on Ajanta and Ellora; Sardar and Nizam exchange photographs; representation from Jamiat-Ulema

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CHAPTER X JUNAGADH'S PERFIDY 382
Chorvad Hindus protest against Junagadh joining Pakistan; Junagadh Dewan rejects New Delhi ¡views on integration; Pakistan's threat; troop concentration along borders of Junagadh; Sardar writes to Mountbatten; Mangrol revokes accession decision; Junagadh accedes to Pakistan; status of Mangrol and Babariawad; Pakistan's claim; Sardar explains position in letter to Mountbatten; Junagadh Dewan wires to Sardar accepting his advice on formation of people's Government; success of people's struggle in Junagadh; congratulatory messages to Sardar on unique achievement in Junagadh; tension on Junagadh frontier; Indian troops go into action; situation under control

CHAPTER XI BIRTH OF RAJASTHAN UNION 395
Manekyalal Varma sworn in as Prime Minister; Nehru attends Udaipur function; hitch over appointment of adviser; Rajpramukh's letter to Sardar who speaks to Varma and resolves issue; Bikaner's case for Bhakra water; East Punjab's refusal to give water; Nehru takes up cause of Bikaner, writes to Sardar; Bikaner's objections to draft constitution of Indian Union; proposal to have broadcasting station; Bikaner Maharaja writes to Sardar for Justice Mahajan's service as adviser; Rajput rallies in states; Mahajan's note; Maharaja of Jodhpur meets Sardar to discuss certain personal matters; Sardar's advice to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to be cautious in his utterances in Rajasthan which he was visiting; Constituent Assembly members from Rajasthan; agitation for United Rajasthan, Dr. Lohia's statement

CHAPTER XII BARODA ACCEDES 449
Baroda signs instrument of accession; Maharaja's sudden departure for Europe causes complications; popular Ministry sworn in; Maharaja becomes constitutional ruler; Sardar's greetings; Deccan States: Raja of Aundh seeks Gandhi's guidance regarding question of merger of State with Bombay province or retaining individual identity; Rajamandal agrees to merger with Bombay; Raja of Ramdurg writes about his privy purse; Menon reports that rulers of Kathiawar want single Kathiawar State and are agreed on the broad principles of the covenant to be ready soon; Mountbatten congratulates Sardar on unification of Kathiawar; Raja of Lunawada writes about merger of Gujarat states with Bombay province; responsible government in Bhavnagar and Morvi;

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reforms in Sachin state; Nawab pledges full democratic Government to people; expresses agreement with Sardar's policy towards Gujarat states; Nawab raises question of privy purses; Saurashtra Rajpramukh summoned to Delhi for consultation; illegal transaction by ruler of Gondal; Dhebar's letter to Sardar; elections to Saurashtra Constituent Assembly

CHAPTER XIII EASTERN INDIA STATES 508

Sardar writes to CP Premier Shukla regarding Jaipal Singh's activities in connection with Jharkhand movement; Rajen Babu's complaint against arrest of two Bihar Congress workers; Sardar asks Mahtab for explanation; Mahtab's clarification; dispute over Seraikella; post-merger problems in Orissa states; some rulers agitate for separate province; Orissa Governor's letter to Sardar on situation; advocates of merger persecuted; controversy over integration of Surguja and Jashpur states; plea for merger of Cooch Behar in West Bengal, Sardar advises caution; Assam Governor sends report to Sardar on his visit to Cooch Behar; Sardar's message on handing over of Cooch Behar to Central administration

CHAPTER XIV MALWA & VINDHYA PRADESH 556

Maharaja of Kolhapur seeks meeting with Sardar; State Praja Parishad representation about alleged highhandedness of Administrator; Administrator's report on situation in Kolhapur; anti-merger propaganda; lapses of Indore Maharaja irk Sardar; former Prime Minister of State writes to Sardar offering his services in bringing about better relations between Maharaja and Sardar; Indore Council passes resolution on integration of Malwa states; Maharaja writes to Sardar regarding scheme for land development; Sardar's advice to Gwalior Maharaja not to get involved in communal activities; inauguration of Malwa Union; Sardar's message; constitution-making in Rewa; Prime Minister's letter to Sardar; affairs of ex-Maharaja; Sardar favours direct elections; split in Praja Mandal; inauguration of Vindhya Pradesh and formation of popular ministry; Sardar's visit to Alwar; Kisan Sabha agitation

CHAPTER XV PEPSU & HIMACHAL PRADESH 603

Sikh ruler's move to form union; Kapurthala Maharaja writes to Sardar for services of Kanwar Dalip Singh as constitutional adviser; Maharaja promises responsible government; Maharaja of Patiala reports to Sardar about activities of Praja

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Mandal in his state; action against Sikh newspapers; formation of Patiala and East Punjab States Union; grouping of Punjab Hill states; memorandum demands one single unit to be called Himachal Pradesh; East Punjab Governor's letter to Sardar; position of Himachal Pradesh and East Punjab States vis-a-vis East Punjab province; people of Pataudi vote for merger with East Punjab; Nawab seeks meeting with Sardar; inauguration of Rampur Legislative Assembly; Nawab thanks Sardar for his reference to Nawab's patriotic role; Maharani of Nabha wants State retained as separate State; Tehri State Praja Mandal demands merger with UP; Tehri Maharaja invites Sardar to inaugurate State Constituent Assembly; Datia ruler goes back on his word, appoints reactionary Government; suppression of political workers; case of abducted Muslim girl; Patiala Maharaja's aid sought; Cutch reforms; people thank Sardar

CHAPTER XVI KARNATAK-MYSORE MERGER 637

Mysore leaders favour union with Karnatak; Sardar's advice to R. R. Diwakar; report on political developments in Mysore; Sardar pulls up Mysore Chief Minister for indiscreet remarks; Ramaswami Mudaliar's report on situation in state; repression in Sandur of pro-merger elements; political situation in Travancore; Prime Minister's telegram to Sardar; installation of popular Ministry in Cochin; loan of Nepalese troops for maintenance of law and order in India; Maharaja of Nepal seeks assistance for his relations married in India, Sardar promises all help; Maharaja's complaint against AIR broadcasts on Nepal and activities of Nepalese leaders in India

CHAPTER XVII INDIA & THE WORLD 662

Princes' houses; UK Government's bid for Jaipur House; Nehru favours proposal; discussion with Cripps on Kashmir and relations with Commonwealth; Dominion Premiers' conference; Nehru-Patel letters on internal affairs; infiltration from Burma into Assam and Manipur; Pak propaganda in Middle East against India; Sardar attaches importance to visit by Nehru to Middle East; Sardar's report on political developments in India; Nehru's meeting with Attlee in London; Nehru's analysis of world developments—Berlin, China, India, Pakistan

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
API	Associated Press of India
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CP	Central Provinces
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
GG	Governor-General
HM	Hon'ble Member
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
UK	United Kingdom
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	United Provinces

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GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

Arya Samaj	A sect of reformist Hindus who are against idol worship
Brahmin (Brahman)	Highest caste of Hindu world. Originally a priestly caste
Goondas	Hooligans
Guru	Spiritual adviser, religious leader; for Gurus in context of Sikhism
Harijans	Children of God, a term coined by Gandhi for untouchables; also title of Gandhi's weekly newspaper (Harijan)
Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen	Unity of community. Volunteer organisation of Muslim connected with pro-Congress Azad Muslim Conference
Jagir	Village or district assigned to any person for internal Government and enjoyment of revenue thereof. But these distinctions have ceased, and existing jagirs are hereditary and free of service.
Jagirdar	Holder of jagir
Jamiat-ul-Ulema	Association of Muslim divines with nationalistic leanings
Ji	Respectful address as in Gandhiji, Shastriji
Kisan	Peasant
Lingayat group	Influential caste in Mysore State
Mahatma	Great Soul
Marwari	Native of Marwar in Rajasthan; often settled elsewhere in India and usually business man; loosely used for bania
Panchayat	Court of arbitration (properly of five persons) to settle petty disputes
Pandit	Title applied to those versed in scriptures but used commonly to denote a Brahmin

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Pardanashin	Woman who covers her face; generally Muslim women
Pucca	Indian word meaning good, correct, substantial, of standard quality of measurement contrasted with kachcha
Pujya	Respected
Pranam	Salute, respectful form of conveying respect in Hindus
Rajpramukh	Literally first among rulers and is the title of head of the new Part 'B' States
Ramzan	Mohammedan month of fasting
RSS	A volunteer organisation founded in Maharashtra with object of protecting religion and culture of Hindus. In course of time it spread to other parts of country
Sahib	Master; respectful form of address
Sardar (*Sirdar*)	Chief, leader; generally applied to Sikhs and equivalent of Mr.; affectionate term of respect for Vallabhbhai Patel
Satyagraha	Holding on to truth; form of protest initiated by Gandhi and developed into a political weapon; concept of truth achieved through non-violent resistance
Taluka	Division of a district
Thana	Police station

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VII

The biggest challenge to Sardar Patel's statesmanship was posed by the Princely States, which were required to accede to the Indian Union or fall in line with the Union's democratic set-up or to merge with the neighbouring administrative units if they were small. In this volume which deals with these events much space has, for obvious reasons, been taken up by Hyderabad and Junagadh. The Nizam of Hyderabad, under the influence of sycophants, Muslim fanatics and senior British officials and constitutional advisers in his employ, cherished the dream of ruling an independent state and, disregarding the advice of the Princess of Berar and others, refused to sign the instrument of accession. Because of Hyderabad's central situation, the Sardar could well visualize the dangerous potentialities of a cancerous tumour detrimental to India's security growing in its belly. It had therefore to be removed, even surgically if necessary.

The Junagadh ruler, on the other hand, after consenting to accede revoked his decision, fled to Pakistan and adopted a hostile attitude. In the case of other state rulers, the majority of whom were Hindus, it was also no plain sailing. They had to be coaxed and cajoled, threatened and pressurised into merging with the Indian Union or democratising their institutions. But by and large their approach was patriotic. The manner in which the Sardar solved the numerous and varied knotty problems raised in this process of India's unification is bound to evoke the interest and admiration of future generations and serve as a model of political sagacity and unflinching determination to reach one's goal.

The difficulties with the Nizam can be traced to pre-independence days. He had been rebuffed by Lord Reading for growing too big for his boots, but sensing the impending departure of the British, the Nizam revived the issue of retrocession of Berar to Hyderabad and started an intrigue to take over Bastar State. The Nizam had in the historical past ceded Berar to the British and now, in exchange, wanted Bastar, about which it was reported that he had entered into an understanding with the British Resident there. Reacting to this Patel wrote: "It would be a strange thing if dispositions are made without our knowledge and behind our back."

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In Berar itself, there were prominent and influential elements who were not "willing to break our bond of love and affinity with free India, let whatever come." The fight in Berar was one "between freedom and slavery—a fight between democracy and autocracy." The Nizams had a history of expanding their domain more through political intrigue than valorous conduct in war. True to tradition, the last Nizam offered handsome donations to the people of Berar for educational and other purposes. Advising the Beraris against acceptance of the Nizam's tainted money, the Sardar inspired them to "stand on their own dignity" and to show by their conduct that they did not "depend upon the Nizam for small mercies or for crumbs. You know the Nizam has not given any donations in any other province. He is doing this with a purpose, and you are either consciously exploiting his weakness or being exploited by him for your weakness."

He assured the Beraris that they need have "no anxiety about the question regarding the suggestion of transfer of Berar to the Nizam. There is no conceivable justification nor the remotest chance of such an event taking place." Deprecating parochialism, which was raising its ugly face in this controversy, the Sardar said: "We are now about to enter into a free India where Indian citizenship will overshadow all castes and creeds."

Soon after, India became independent and the question of the Nizam's accession to the Union came to the forefront. Prolonged negotiations between the Government of India and the Nizam were conducted by emissaries of both. And as the talks developed the intransigence of the Nizam grew, revealing his communal leanings.

The Nizam utilised the interregnum provided by the negotiations to build up his armed strength by importing weapons from private sources in Europe via Pakistan, and reportedly from Goa as well. The Sardar urged Nehru to warn the foreign Governments concerned that supply of armaments to the Nizam would be treated as an unfriendly act. An interesting fact revealed in these documents is that inside information of the Nizam's plans was being conveyed to the Sardar by Aravamudh Aiyengar, an influential member of the Nizam's Executive Council, through letters to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

This pipeline was so effective that Sir Walter Monckton, after staying with Lord Mountbatten in New Delhi, wrote to the Nizam warning him that the States Department seemed to know everything that was going on in Hyderabad, even though it might be extremely confidential. Sir Walter, a British barrister and a friend

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of Mountbatten, was in the Nizam's employ as Constitutional Adviser and assisted in parleys with the Indian Government. His actions lent weight to the suspicion that he was doing everything to gain time to enable the Nizam to prepare better for a confrontation with the Indian Union.

The text of the note dated 15 September 1947 submitted by Monckton to the Nizam's Executive Council and forwarded by A. Aiyengar is most revealing. Monckton advised that "a treaty or agreement, short of accession, preserves independence in law, whereas accession destroys it and involves merger or organic union. . . . That if Pakistan and Hyderabad grew strong enough to warrant it the treaty (with India) can be denounced or the agreement determined, and fresh arrangements can be made, e.g. (if desired) strengthening ties with the other Dominion (Pakistan) and loosening the association with the Dominion of India. But once a state has acceded to the Dominion it will find it hard to extricate itself. . . . I know that Mr. Patel was and is against any extension of time to Hyderabad and that the Viceroy prevailed over the Cabinet of the Dominion to allow him personally two months time to see whether he and I who had known each other intimately for many years publicly and privately could find a compromise satisfactory to both sides. . . . Most Congress leaders including Mr. Patel would be glad to see negotiations ended. And this gives them their chance, especially as the Governor-General no longer attends Cabinet meetings. . . ." (If Monckton's advice was not accepted they (Dominion of India) might ultimately intervene by force.)

Counsels of moderation were not wanting. One of the letters of A. Aiyengar stated that the senior Princess Durre Shewar (the Nizam's daughter-in-law) had advised the Nizam to join the Union as otherwise she feared that the fate that overtook her father (the last Sultan of Turkey) may overtake him too. But these warnings were drowned in the din caused by the drumbeating Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen and its leader Kassim Razvi, who in a letter to the Nizam said: "Mr. Patel belongs to the class of Hitler . . . our Government is temperamentally like Chamberlain which has no courage to face the opponent . . . cannot Hyderabad learn from Mr. Patel the one quality that he possesses—openness? If Mr. Patel is nothing else, he is at least open and candid. Why not state facts straight although they may be bitter?"

Three extracts from the last batch of A. Aiyengar's letters reveal the state of tension and confusion in Hyderabad. In his letter of 9 November he wrote: "Ittehad delegation seems to be

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banking on Pandit Nehru being more accommodating than Sardar Patel and are also pinning their faith to the chance of having a better reception when CR becomes the Governor-General." His letter of 26 November states that "opinion is gaining ground that whatever others might say or do, Sardar Patel will not be bamboozled into a surrender even to the slightest extent."

As for the state of mind of the Nizam he wrote: "On more than one occasion it has been proved that it is impossible to rely on HEH's words. Either he is absolutely insincere or while uttering sentiments which are perfectly reasonable and which are believed, he does (so) in his calm moments. The moment he meets the leaders of the Ittehad, among whom are the Director General of Police and the Military Commander, he at once swerves to their side. But one thing is quite certain and that is that nowadays he is extremely perplexed and does not know what to do or how to ensure the safety of himself and his dynasty."

A. Aiyengar's reports, coupled with those of K. M. Munshi, who had taken over as India's Agent in Hyderabad, were a great help to the Union Government in discussions with the Nizam's representatives. These gave a clear perspective of what was happening in the State.

In one of his letters Munshi summed up the Nizam's attitude thus: "His one fixed idea is to be independent, to be His Majesty. He will not accede; he will not give responsible government; he will not allow popular elements an effective share in the administration. He will not willingly give India even effective control over Defence, External Affairs and Communications, legislative or otherwise. He holds the Government of India in supreme contempt, whom he politely calls 'scoundrels of Delhi.' Verbal protests, even threats, have no effect on him. He is very ably supported by determined and resourceful officials who, though few, hold the whole machinery of the State in their hands. For 36 years, the Nizam was a problem to seasoned Residents, backed by Paramountcy; he knows how to conduct a war of nerves and to wield the power of money. Any negotiation on the basis that he will yield to persuasion or mere psychological pressure is a miscalculation. He only understands stern action; every courtesy, even patience, in another is a sign of weakness only to be exploited for his own advantage. He will not change unless the moment comes when he has to choose between his desire for independence and his wealth and his dynastic rule."

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Various solutions ranging from referendum to a treaty of association short of full accession were discussed at prolonged, time-consuming conferences and rejected by Indian and Hyderabadi delegations. Meanwhile, the economic blockade of the Nizam's territory had begun to tell on the State's economy. The Razakars reacted by hiking their dastardly attacks on innocent people in rural and urban areas, by unabashed, systematic resort to plunder, rape, arson and murder, directed particularly at the Hindus. The threat of a breakdown of internal law and order and deterioration in economic conditions, extending to the neighbouring provinces, became so great that India was compelled to start a police action.

Making a statement on the situation in the Constituent Assembly, the Sardar said: "Our attempt at a settlement, which so often came near to success, ended unfortunately in failure. The reason for this was obvious to us. There are forces at work which are determined not to allow any agreement to be reached between Hyderabad and the Indian Union, and which have progressively gained strength in Hyderabad and seem now completely to control the Government of the State."

After recounting the Nizam's warlike acts, the danger to the bordering provinces and the atrocities of the Razakars, the Sardar added: "The House will agree that we cannot permit such atrocities to continue to be perpetrated with impunity. No one is more conscious than myself of the dangers to India situated as it is today of launching on any action that may ultimately lead to military operations. The heavy task of reconstruction and development is before us calling for immediate attention, and it would be an undoubted waste of opportunity and resources to spend them on unproductive activities, whatever the provocation. I feel also very poignantly that it would be a sad contradiction of the ideals and the principles to which we have repeatedly pledged ourselves right from the beginning to the termination of our struggle for freedom from foreign rule, to launch on anything like armed intervention, but our enemies seem determined to take advantage of this ideological difficulty of ours. We cannot let our attachment to peace ruin the future of India or of those territories that fall by geographical connection within that description."

The police action was short and swift, and the Sardar was lauded in India and abroad for his patience, vision and astuteness in tackling a very complicated situation with dexterity. Even Sir Walter Monckton wrote in a congratulatory letter: "I want to tell

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you how relieved I am that the action which you were eventually driven to take did not result in large-scale communal troubles. I know how anxious you were not to take the action at all, and how hard you struggled to avoid it. I honestly believe that moderate world opinion shared your view rather than the other. Still, however that may be, everyone who wants to see a peaceful and prosperous India will rejoice, as I do, that the episode is quietly finished."

Simultaneously, negotiations were in progress between the Union States Ministry and the States of Rajputana, Deccan States, Central India States and other States falling within or contiguous to the provinces of Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, UP and the Punjab. While some rulers at first resisted for various personal reasons, they subsequently responded to the Sardar's call for accession, some from a sense of patriotism and others to save themselves from unknown dangers. Their accession was followed by the establishment of democratic institutions, paving the way for the early emergence of a united, democratic secular India. This period saw the birth of the Rajasthan Union, Malwa, Vindhya Pradesh, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh.

The Sardar's dealings with the Indian Princes were marked by paternal approach, friendly feelings and an advisory role. For instance, he wrote to the Maharana of Udaipur that "in the complex administrative machinery of today under democratic regimes, something more than ability or talent is (required in) the art of being able to manage with men of different types and of different position. The frequent occurrence of incidents seems to indicate that temperamentally S. V. Ramamurthy (Prime Minister) has not been able to adapt himself to the new ways. A hint from Your Highness that he should do so may mend matters. Otherwise, it is quite possible that his actions might prejudice the relations of Your Highness with the Ministry and might unnecessarily involve your prestige and position."

He did not hesitate to admonish the rulers when necessary, but at the same time always gave them a hearing. In a letter to the Maharaja of Jodhpur, who, it was rumoured, was being cajoled by Jinnah to join Pakistan, the Sardar said: "We have been out of touch with each other for a long time. None has regretted it more than myself that during this interval several reports affecting Your Highness have reached me which are not altogether of a complimentary type. I naturally would not, and indeed could

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not, have taken cognizance of those reports without hearing your point of view and I have, therefore, suspended judgment."

A movement was launched in Eastern India to establish the State of Jharkhand by incorporating the Chhattisgarh States and the areas of Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces, mainly populated by Adivasis. The Sardar opposed this move as it would have damaged the unity of India. He successfully resisted it by resolving the mutual rivalries of the concerned provinces on the merger of various small states and principalities with them. He, however, enjoined on the provincial governments that the claims of the Adivasis should be "sympathetically dealt with and adequate steps taken for their amelioration."

Cooch Behar did not want to merge with West Bengal as there was an anti-Bengali feeling in the State. The Maharaja, it was alleged, was considering the possibility of acceding to East Pakistan. The Sardar ruled out merger with West Bengal and the Maharaja accepted the Sardar's advice and handed over the State to the control of the Centre. In a message to mark the occasion Patel said: "To give up sovereignty over territory is no mean sacrifice. I am grateful to him (Maharaja) for the spirit of accommodation and understanding which he has displayed and the manner in which he accepted our advice."

An outstanding contribution of Sardar Patel to the emotional integration of the nation was the revival of Information Films of India. The production of documentaries which this unit undertook during the British regime had been stopped and the Sardar failed to persuade Liaquat Ali, Finance Minister, to make a provision for it in the pre-independence budget of the Interim Government.

The volume brings out Sardar Patel's unremitting endeavours, even when dogged by ill-health, to weave India into a single political entity and consolidate the gains of independence by political foresight, administrative skill and inspiring leadership.

2 Tolstoy Lane,
New Delhi 110001
30 January 1973

DURGA DAS

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CHAPTER I

HYDERABAD RUMBLINGS

1

C/o Dr. G. S. Melkote
Narayanguda
Hyderabad-Dn.
29 June 1946

My dear Sardarji,

When I met you last time in Delhi, I tried to post you with necessary information regarding the Hyderabad problem. I read in the newspapers day before [yesterday] that you were proceeding to Bhopal to discuss the question of representation of the States to the Constituent Assembly. I, therefore, thought it necessary to give you a correct idea of what is happening in Hyderabad. Hyderabad has a population of 16,338,536 and is entitled to send 17 members. The Government proposes to nominate them probably in the proportion 50:50 for Hindus and Muslims. The population of Muslims is about 11% according to the census of 1941. Inasmuch as the representation to the Constituent Assembly is given on the population basis, the parity between Hindus and Muslims is untenable. I am sure that you will emphasise this aspect whenever the necessity arises.

There is a talk of imminent introduction of reforms in the State. An announcement to this effect is expected within this week. I will send you a copy of it as soon as it is published.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha[1]

[1] Leader of freedom movement in Hyderabad; President of State Congress before Independence; member of CA and Parliament

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2

3 July 1946

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 29 June. I was invited by the Nawab of Bhopal to discuss several questions, including the representation of States to the Constituent Assembly, arising out of the proposed transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

We have not gone into the details of the question of representation, particularly about the communal ratio, but this is left to be discussed by the Negotiating Committee at the proper time. I notice from your letter that the Government of the Nizam's State proposes to give 50% to the Hindus and 50% to the Muslims. I do not know on what source your information is based. But I should like to know more details about it so as to be able to use that information with a sense of accuracy. Often such reports appear to be false and we cannot act upon them.

About the reports regarding immediate introduction of reforms in the State also, we must await with interest the announcement before we can express any opinion. It would indeed be good to hear that the change of conditions in India has been taken seriously by your State.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
C/o Dr. G. S. Melkote
Narayanguda
Hyderabad-Dn.

3

Hyderabad-Dn.
23 July 1946

Dear Sardarji,

Herewith is enclosed a copy of the reforms announced by the Hyderabad Government on 21 July 1946 and also a copy of the statement that I have issued, for your information.

2

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With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha

ENCLOSURE I

HYDERABAD CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
NOTES FROM PRINTED DOCUMENT

History

1. The first Legislative Council was formed in 1893 and was entirely composed of the officers of the Judicial Department. By a firman in 1894 the composition of the Council was altered and necessary rules and regulations for the conduct of the Council were framed. This Council of 15 nominated members mostly consisted of officials and the remaining few belonged to the class of lawyers and jagirdars. With minor changes in between the same pattern prevailed up to 1919.

In 1919, Sir Ali Imam, the then President of the Executive Council, on HEH the Nizam's direction, went into this matter all over again. He was assisted in this work by Rai Balmukund, a retired judge of the High Court. They were to report on the matter of extension of the Legislative Council with due regard to the social and educational advancement of the people. Thanks to intrigues, Ali Imam had to leave Hyderabad even before this work could be complete, and the work actually remained in suspense till up to 1934. Ultimately the matter came for consideration of the External Relations Committee of the Political Secretariat in July 1935. In British India, however, this period was marked with several constitutional changes affecting the governance of the land. But the Executive Council of the Hyderabad Government always shirked this issue on one pretext or another.

The grant of provincial autonomy by the Act of 1935 had stirred the Indian States too and they too started their agitations for some kind of responsible governments in their respective States.

This ultimately necessitated the Hyderabad Government to investigate and report on all suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests in the States with the Government. Dewan Bahadur Aravamudh Aiyengar was the chairman of this commission with four members on it. The chairman at the very first stage ruled out the matter of "responsible government from the terms of reference." The commission interviewed several representatives of the people and associations. In between, the ban was imposed on the Hyderabad State Congress even before its formation. There were satyagrahas of the Hindu Civil Liberties Association and the Arya Samaj against Government's repressive measures on religious liberty etc.

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At last, the Government announced constitutional reforms on 19-7-1939. To nationalist opinion these reforms were entirely reactionary. Muslims were granted a parity which was totally unjustifiable. Jinnah[1] was brought into the picture. He was called to Hyderabad and he gave support to the Government and solicited Muslims to co-operate with the Government. Other political parties, however, condemned these reforms to boycott them.

These reforms raised the total strength of the House from 85 to 132 with a provision for 76 elected seats. Franchise was limited by property ownership of Rs. 100 a year. The basic conception presented by the Reforms Committee for the constitution of the State was that the ruler was both the Supreme of the State and the embodiment of his people's sovereignty.

The reforms of 1946 had the same framework with certain modifications. There was hardly any change with regard to the composition of the House, its elected representation, as also on the question of parity.

Subjects relating to Berar, military and the armed forces, police, criminal investigation, State language, political charges and public debt, State charity and of foreign relation etc. were entirely kept out of the purview of the Legislature.

The Assembly had no power to vote on demand for grants over these subjects. It could only move specific resolutions relating to major or minor heads of expenditure. But these resolutions were not binding on the Executive. One of the strange features of the Constitution was that only a Government member was entitled to move a bill on subjects like State railways, telegraphs, constitution of courts, insurance, banking, monopolies, local government, currency, coinage, taxation, land revenue, settlement fees, duties and censorship etc. The Legislature could move bills only in respect of education and that too for a limited purpose.

Some Opinions

Nehru:

"The new Hyderabad reforms are fantastic and absurd and [are] evidently a means to perpetuate the backward and feudal character of the regime."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:[2]

"The recent reforms introduced in Hyderabad State reminds one of a political Rip Van Winkle overlooking the progress of half a century in the civilized world."

[1] President, All-India Muslim League and first Governor-General of Pakistan

[2] Congress leader of Andhra; President, Jaipur Congress session, 1948-50; President, All-India States Peoples' Conference, 1936 and 1946-48; member, CA, 1946-50; Governor of Madhya Pradesh

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Resolution of the Congress Working Committee

The Congress Working Committee, before concluding its session on Tuesday evening, passed a resolution on the constitutional reforms in Hyderabad State.

The resolution reads: "The Working Committee have considered the proposed constitutional changes which have been recently announced in Hyderabad State. These proposals are wrongly conceived, limited in scope and full of checks and reservations and are apparently intended not to introduce any measure of freedom for the people but to preserve the privileged and vested interest and perpetuate feudal conditions that prevail in the State. They would have been objectionable at any time, as the principles on which they are based are opposed to all canons of justice and democracy. At a time when India is on the eve of independence, they are wholly out of keeping with the minimum demands of the situation and cannot be fitted in with any Constitution for a free India which may be evolved in the near future. The Committee regret that the premier State of India should be backward politically, economically and in regard to essential civil liberties, and averse to progressive change rapidly towards responsible government as autonomous parts of an Independent India.

"The Committee are therefore of the opinion that these proposed changes will, if given effect to, retard progress toward freedom and the new 'Ain' should be withdrawn and replaced by a constitution drawn up with the consent and approval of the people.

"The Committee approve of the decision of the executive of the State Congress [see enclosure, pp. 8-10] to reject this new scheme and not to participate in it."

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ENCLOSURE II

PRESS STATEMENT BY SWAMI RAMANAND TIRTHA, PRESIDENT, HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

In the announcement of the present reforms scheme, the basic structure and the retrograde principles incorporated in the original scheme have been kept intact and whatever modifications have been made are only such that they cannot be said to have made any change in the quality of the whole reforms scheme. The element of majority of elected members over that of nominated members, a little more scope for interpellations and the like, cannot be said to have widened the powers of the Legislature. The franchise, though doubled, does not give even one per cent of the population the right to vote.

The functional basis of representation has been retained intact. One more interest, namely, "owners and tenants of lands and buildings in urban areas," has been added. An increase in the number of seats cannot, in any way, make the scheme democratic and progressive. Our demand was that the functional basis should be wholly dropped and a territorial basis be substituted instead. The parity between Hindus and Muslims right from the Legislature down to the village panchayat, forms one of the fundamentals of the scheme. This is most undemocratic and goes against the canons of any sound democratic constitution. To use words in vogue in international relationship, "it is the most favoured nations" clause. Safeguards for minorities to dispel their fears and to give them security should be sufficient to meet the exigencies of the situation. But to change the position in a manner that makes 11 per cent of population equal to the overwhelming majority is most fantastic and untenable.

The most objectionable and sinister element in the scheme is the provision that 51% of the votes of one's own community are necessary for a candidate to be returned to the legislature and other bodies under the scheme. Originally the provision was 40%. This has been raised to 51%, thus fulfilling the promise contained in the "confidential circular" given to the Muslims. In face of this, to say that the system of joint electorate is maintained is to remain in a fool's paradise. It is introducing separate electorates by third-rate methods and in a worse form. The whole reforms scheme is based on communal considerations and will aggravate communal feelings only.

The Hyderabad Government should have realised the signs of the time and in clear terms recognised the principle of the sovereignty of the people

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by the establishment of responsible government in the State. If the present scheme is put into operation responsible government would remain only a "mirage."

When India is standing on the threshold of freedom and elections for the Constituent Assembly are being held and when States have agreed to enter the Indian Union, these undemocratic reforms in a premier State like Hyderabad set the clock back and belie all hopes of the princely order keeping pace with the times. I am sorry that the Hyderabad Government have not cared to look to the realities of the situation.

In conclusion I have to say that these reforms cannot satisfy any democratic aspirations and as such fall far short of the needs of the time. The reforms scheme stands self-condemned.

I do not want, at this stage, to pass a final verdict on the whole scheme. The provisional executive committee of the Hyderabad State Congress is meeting on 9 August to give regular shape to the State Congress and the duly formed standing council will finally lay down its attitude and policy in this regard.

4

New Delhi
15 August 1946

Dear Friend,

I had received your letter of 23 July with its enclosures. You must have seen the Working Committee's resolution on the reforms scheme announced by the Hyderabad Government. We have approved of your action and I trust you will be able to persuade the people of the State to effectively boycott the reforms announced.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
Hyderabad-Dn.

5

Hyderabad-Dn.
3 September 1946

Dear Sardar,

Our campaign against the reforms scheme is being pursued in full swing. We have chalked out a detailed programme and

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we have decided to approach as many voters as we can. Our demand is that the reforms should be completely withdrawn. The positive aspect is that sovereignty of the people should be recognised. I am enclosing herewith the resolution of the Standing Council of the Hyderabd State Congress for your perusal.

In your letter written to me in the middle of this month, you wished that we should persuade the people to effectively boycott the reforms. But in your letter dated 16 August 1946 addressed to Shri K. S. Vaidya,[1] you have stated that since Sir Mirza Ismail[2] has now assumed office, some good could be expected from him and that we should give him time. The two letters, apparently containing opposite views, are causing a sort of embarrassment. I do not think that you are advising us to slacken the pace of the struggle when we have already taken the decision in our organisational capacity to launch it with all our strength. I have written this to you to get the point cleared.

I take this occasion to greet you on behalf of the Hyderabad State Congress on your assumption of office in the new National Government.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha
President,
Hyderabad State Congress

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION OF THE STANDING COUNCIL OF THE HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

The post-war world is in the midst of a transition to a new democratic social order. The people's forces are victoriously marching ahead towards the realisation of an all-round democracy. The Indian people have to their credit their glorious contribution to the riddance of the imperialist bondage and are fast moving towards their cherished goal of complete independence. The Cabinet Mission's visit to India is therefore due to the strength and sacrifices of the Indian national forces as well as to the new international situation that has arisen. However, their proposals do not envisage an

[1] Advocate from Marathawada; Speaker of Hyderabad Assembly.

[2] Private Secretary to Maharaja of Mysore, 1922; Dewan of Mysore, 1926-41; Prime Minister of Jaipur, June 1942 to July 1946; Prime Minister of Hyderabad, August 1946 to May 1947.

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immediate and unconditional transfer of power. The Standing Council of the Hyderabad State Congress is of opinion that the problem of Indian freedom is pre-eminently a question of sovereignty of the people of India and their unfettered attitude towards the Indian States' people was deplorable in so far as they ignored the people and their representatives. No reference was made also to the autocratic character of the States and the necessity of introducing democracy. No provision has so far been made for the States to send to the Indian Constituent Assembly the elected representatives of the people. The possibilities of the States under autocratic regimes keeping out of the Indian Union is a positive danger to the unity and freedom of India. The Standing Council considers that Free India must be a Federal India, composed of willing and autonomous units constituted and regrouped on a cultural and linguistic basis and having a uniform and democratic constitution.

In the wake of these proposals the so-called reforms scheme is sought to be imposed on the people of Hyderabad. It neither embodies an element of responsible government nor of civil liberties. It is based on the functional representation of vested interests and the invidious and undemocratic principle of communal parity which converts a minority of 12% into an effective majority. The kisans and labourers who form the bulk of the population have no effective voice in it. And strangely enough it neither cares to make necessary provision for the proportional reservation in the elected seats for the Harijans forming 18% of the population, nor does it allow scope for other minorities even to contest the elections. The Legislature is heavily loaded with a nominated element of 56 members in a house of 132, feudal and allied vested interests occupy a dominating position and form a solid block for maintaining the status quo. The franchise is miserably narrow which is estimated to be a little over 1 per cent and the legislative powers are merely recommendatory and woefully hedged.

In fact, the need of the hour is to take rapid and long strides in the direction of a full-fledged democratic government. The sovereignty of the people must be recognised, the people must be accorded the right to frame the constitution of the State as an integral unit of the Free Indian Union in which the fundamental rights of the people shall be incorporated thereby creating a sound basis for a democratic, peaceful and prosperous life free from misery and exploitation. The constitution should provide for responsible government under the aegis of HEH the Nizam and a legislature elected on adult franchise and enjoying full powers. Similarly the States' representatives to the Constituent Assembly must be elected by the people on a population basis.

In view of the foregoing considerations the Standing Council rejects the reforms scheme in its entirety and demands its forthwith withdrawal. It directs

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its Working Committee to work out a plan of action to oppose its introduction and for asserting the aforesaid basic democratic rights.

The Standing Council desires to impress the people the need to assess the gravity of the issues at stake and their non-communal and national character. They are as fundamental and vital for every citizen of the State as they are urgent, when India is on the threshold of laying down the foundation of her future. It therefore calls upon the people to boycott the reforms and establish their rights through struggle and sacrifice under the direction of the State Congress. The Council desires further to impress upon all concerned that the action contemplated by the State Congress shall be organisationally independent of any movements already started or that may be started in future.

6

New Delhi
7 September 1946

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 3rd inst. Evidently you have not been able to reconcile my letter written to you with the letter which I had written to Shri K. S. Vaidya. I do not see any conflict between these two letters. The boycott must be vigorously pursued but any attempt for direct action should not be undertaken at this stage, as I think that it will be better to give Sir Mirza Ismail a chance to understand the situation there and draw up a programme which he may want to initiate. Mere boycott would not be in conflict with this position. But the starting of any struggle would create difficulties in his way. This is my advice from a distance, but you are the best judge there, being on the spot.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
President, Hyderabad State Congress
Hyderabad-Dn.

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7

New Delhi
11 November 1946

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter received by Shri Ravishankar Shukla[1] from one of his friends about a deal which is being made regarding Bastar State to be ceded to the Nizam. Can anything be done in this matter? It would be a strange thing if dispositions are made without our knowledge and behind our back.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Sokra-Nala-Farm
Raipur
5 November 1946

My dear Shuklaji,

I have just heard from Rammu from Nagpur. I expect he paid his respects to you. He wants me to communicate to you such information as I may have about Bastar State. I have no authoritative information but from what I hear it seems that the British Government have made over the State to HEH the Nizam to compensate him to a certain extent for his cessation of Berar. The minor Maharaja of Bastar, when he assumes majority, may be able to fly his flag over the palace, the Court House, etc., may be given the title of Nizamada and a handsome pension by the Nizam. An agreement is said to have been executed between the Resident of the Eastern States on behalf of the minor Maharaja and the Government of the Nizam whereby the Nizam has undertaken to explore and develop Bastar State at his expense and retain financial control over the State till his investment

[1] Represented Swaraj Party in CP Legislative Council, 1923; Minister of Education, July 1937; Premier, August 1938; Chief Minister of CP after Independence and later of reformed State of Madhya Pradesh until 1956

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is recouped from Bastar State income. And in execution of this agreement the Nizam Government have started survey operations to bring in the Railway to the State from the South (the land for the [Nizam's State] Railways to be given free to the Nizam), to generate electricity from the Indravati falls (the biggest falls in the Central Provinces), and to prospect and work out the mineral wealth of the State (one of the biggest deposits of iron ore in India). This is all Mr. Grigson's[1] doing. He was in the Nizam's service and he has brought about this agreement. My belief is that this agreement is ultra vires of the political procedure. The Resident has no power to enter into an agreement of the kind during the minority of the ruler of the State, but he must have done so under the authority of the Crown Representative. So everything is quite just and legal. I am afraid Bastar with its 13,000 square miles will soon be part and parcel of the Nizam's dominions and the poor Murias and Marias of the State will soon have a nice taste of Muslim culture and religion. I am sorry that the Central Provinces is losing quite a big and valuable limb. The rulers of our States may form any number of unions with those of Orissa and Bengal, but they have been a part and parcel of these provinces and must remain so in their own interests. They are, however, being misled by the Political Department and rulers like Bhopal who have their own axes to grind and it is up to our leaders like you to bring them to their senses. They were all zamindars under the Bhonslas and the British separated their territories from these provinces and recognised them as rulers only about the end of the previous century.

My humble opinion is that every effort should be made by the CP Government, as is being done by that of Orissa, to keep these States in the province and Bastar should on no account be allowed to be merged into the Nizam's dominions, and I have very little doubt that the agreement entered into amounts to this. I have also no doubt that if you so wish you can kill it in the bud and upset this illegal and one-sided arrangement. You may remember that in 1901-02 several Tata engineers from America and Germany were prospecting in Dondi Lohara, Kanker and Bastar with headquarters at Rajnandgaon and they had almost decided upon Dondi Lohara as suitable for the creation of Tata's iron and steel works, which later on were started at Jamshedpur because coal was available close by there—the big coal deposits of Korea State were not known at the time. They relied to found the works at Dondi Lohara on the cheap electricity which could be generated from the Indravati falls in Bastar State. Later on in 1916-17 when I was in Bastar service Messrs Martin [Burn] and Co. of Calcutta explored the possibilities of these falls and their engineers prepared plans and estimates amounting to, I think, Rs. 53 lakhs to work it up. One of their engineers

[1] Commissioner in charge of tribal affairs; wrote a monumental work on Adivasis of Bastar; Revenue Member and Police Member in Nizam's Executive Council. Later became Secretary of Refugee Resettlement in Pakistan

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told me that the falls could generate enough power to work electric railways from Cheetalcot (the village where the falls are situated) to Raipur and thence to Nagpur on one side and Chakradharpur on the other. Soon after Sir Benjamin Robertson[1] visited the State and in conference with the engineers, the ruler and the Dewan decided that the time (World War I) was inopportune to take up the project in hand, and it seems nobody took up the matter afterwards. I believe these plans and estimates are still in Bastar offices and Grigson knew all about them. My point of submission is that with its large area and vast forest and mineral wealth Bastar is a very valuable property and its Indravati falls are a great asset, and efforts should be made to keep this property in the province. And herein I make bold to make a suggestion for your consideration; please do not take it as an impertinence. It is that you should have a liaison officer between your Government and the CP States. Besides this Bastar affair there are so many proposals and schemes in progress or in contemplation in these States of which, I believe, the CP Government knows almost nothing, and it is not right and proper to depend on hearsay information in such matters. Wild efforts are being made to discredit your prohibition scheme and make money out of it, and so on. It is in my opinion necessary therefore that your Government have an officer at least for the time being with knowledge and experience of the States to remain in touch with these States and furnish to your Government correct information of what is going on there. I am sure that the Agency will not dare to refuse access to such an officer into the States if your Government so wishes. Please do not think that I am trying to enter service at my age but I can surely recommend for your consideration an upright, efficient and competent man if you decide to have such a liaison officer.

I was expecting to meet you here in the previous week. I think you said that you may be coming over after Diwali. I saw, however, how very busy you were there and it seems you could not find time to come over. I shall be coming over to Nagpur about the middle of the month to give you some trouble.

I saw the tractor I spoke to you about at work. I am afraid I did not think much of it. I will give you the details when I am there.

Please remember me to Mishraji.[2]

With humble respects,

Yours sincerely,
Raghubir Prasad[3]

[1] ICS; Officer on special duty in South Africa in 1914 with commission of enquiry into grievances of Indians in Union

[2] D. P. Mishra: Joined Congress movement in early twenties; MLA Central; opposition whip under Motilal Nehru; Home Minister (CP) 1937-39; member, CWC, 1950; Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, 1963-67; member, Central Parliamentary Board, Congress Working Committee and Treasurer, ruling Congress

[3] Leading citizen of Raipur

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8

Amraoti (Berar)
6 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You will kindly excuse me for troubling you when you are already overburdened with the heaviest responsibilities.

I have nothing more to say than to remind you of the question concerning the transfer of Berar to the Nizam.

I am fully aware of your views and I am absolutely confident that you still hold the same.

It is a great calamity, you know, if we are thrown back on the kind mercies of a State ruler. The very idea is abhorrent.

We have our representatives in the Constituent Assembly, no doubt. But unfortunately we dare not pin our faith on them. We do not feel sure that they are strong enough to stand the temptations a patronizing hand might put forth. All our hopes are centred on you and the Congress High Command whom we trust to be our only protection.

We shall ever stand by you and will do your bidding. We are determined to fight the battle of freedom to the last.

It is not a Hindu-Mussalman struggle. It is a fight between freedom and slavery—a fight between democracy and autocracy. Had there been even a Brahmin ruler I would have fought him with the same fanaticism.

In short, we are not in the least willing to break our bond of love and affinity with the free India of our dream, let whatever come.

Nothing more to add.

I am doing well and hope this finds you same.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
W. G. Joshi[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Congress leader of Amraoti, Berar

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9

New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Veer Wamanrao,

I have received your letter of the 6th instant.

You need have no anxiety about the question regarding the suggestion of transfer of Berar to the Nizam. There is no concievable justification, nor any the remotest chance of such an event taking place. The idea is too absurd to contemplate, and no Berari should have any apprehension about it.

I am glad you are keeping fit.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri W. G. Joshi
Amraoti, Berar

10

TELEGRAM

Akola
15 April 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

BERAR ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE CONVENED 20 APRIL CONSIDERING BERAR RETROCESSION NIZAM. PLEASE WIRE YOUR MESSAGE AND BLESSINGS.

BRIJLAL BIYANI[1]

[1] MLA (Provincial)—CP, 1926-29; President, Vidharbha PCC for 11 years; elected to CA from Central Provinces

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11

TELEGRAM

Camp Bardoli
Gujarat
18 April 1947

Biyani
Akola Berar

ANY ATTEMPT SEPARATE BERAR FROM BRITISH INDIA BOUND TO FAIL. BERAR'S FUTURE DEPENDS SOLELY ON BERARIS. NO OUTSIDE AUTHORITY CAN COMPEL RECOGNITION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER BERAR.

VALLABHBHAI

12

Rajasthan Bhavan
Akola
23 April 1947

Respected Sardarji,

Berar all parties conference was held on the 20th at Akola. Your message was received. It gave a great stimulus and strength to the conference. The conference was successful. I am herewith attaching copy of the resolution passed in the conference. I know as president a heavy responsibility is cast on me. Your guidance and help will only enable me to carry out the work to successful termination. I am reaching Delhi on the 27th and shall speak to you personally.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Brijlal Biyani

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

RESOLUTION I

Whereas Britain has declared its intention to transfer all power to the people of India by June 1948, and

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Whereas efforts are being made for retrocession of Berar, and

Whereas all power and authority of the State is derived from the people and every people have an inalienable right to determine the constitution under which they will live, and

Whereas no treaty or engagement in respect of a people can bind a people unless they are consenting parties to the same, and

Whereas it has become necessary for Berar now to express its opinion on its constitutional future,

This conference of the representatives of all shades of public opinion in Berar declares its firm and solemn resolve not to accept the de jure sovereignty of HEH the Nizam not to form part of the dominions of HEH the Nizam but to form part of the Indian Union, the constitution of which is being framed at present by the Constituent Assembly.

Resolution II

This Assembly invites the attention of His Majesty's Government and HEH Nizam to the declaration of its objectives made in this conference and earnestly desires that HMG and the Nizam should not in future enter into any treaty and agreement concerning Berar. This conference further asserts that in case such an agreement is entered into, it will not be binding on the people of Berar.

Resolution III

It is resolved that a committee be formed to be called Free Berar Committee to devise ways and means for securing the achievement of the objectives agreed upon in this conference, regarding the future of Berar. The Committee will consist of 45 members.

(All the above resolutions were unanimously passed.)

Resolution IV

This conference resolves that no independent private talk be opened or carried directly or indirectly with the Government of HEH Nizam or any of his officers by any Berari regarding the future administration for the status of Berar, as this conference is now the sole authority to determine this question.

This conference earnestly appeals to all those gentlemen who are individually or in their representative capacity invited by Sir Mirza Ismail, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, to discuss the Berar question, not to hold any talks, discussions or negotiations regarding Berar, without the authority of the committee of this conference.

(This resolution was carried by a majority.)

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13

27 April 1947

My dear Brijlal,

I have your letter of the 23rd instant. I am glad that the conference passed off successfully. Let Berar stand united and everything will be all right.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Brijlal Biyani
C/o Birla House
Albuquerque Road
New Delhi

14

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad
8 May 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

HYDERABAD GOVERNMENT ARRESTED JAYAPRAKASH [Narayan] PRABHAVATIDEVI EARLY HOURS FOR DEFYING EXTERNMENT ORDER AND TAKEN OUT OF STATE.

GENERAL SECRETARY
JAYAPRAKASH RECEPTION COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD DN.

15

Nagpur
12 May 1947

Revered Sardar Sahib,

Herewith the report of Mr. C. J. W. Lillie, Commissioner of Berar, on the visit of Sir Mirza Ismail. This is being sent merely for information.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
D. P. Mishra

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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ENCLOSURE

The general impression created by the visit of Sir Mirza Ismail is that if he came to Berar on a special mission he has failed to achieve any success. Sir Mirza Ismail's visit was ostensibly private but there is no doubt that there was some political motive behind it and was intended to keep alive Hyderabad's claim on Berar. So far as Berar is concerned it has made Berar more sure than ever that it does not want to go back to Hyderabad.

C. J. W. Lillie
Commissioner
Berar

Camp Chikalda
2 May 1947

16

14 May 1947

My dear Mishraji,

I have received your letter of the 12th instant along with its enclosure.

I understand Sir Mirza Ismail has left Hyderabad for good. Of course, it is not due to his visit or his activities in Berar, but perhaps His Exalted Highness is dissatisfied with his work, which was perhaps not so communal in spite of his Berar tour. Let us hope that Berar will stand solid against the intrigues, threats and cajolery of Hyderabad State. The State might try to corrupt some of the people by offering bribes, but it is hoped that the people of Berar will stand solid.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra

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17

EXTRACTS

13 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I was much grieved to hear from Shri Shankarraoji [Shankarrao Deo][1] that my activities in connection with the visit of Sir Mirza Ismail to my institution caused you a certain amount of annoyance. . . .

Firstly, the Shri Shivaji Education Society of which I am the permanent president since 1937, has long been associated with the patronage of HEH the Nizam and his Government. It was in 1938 that I, with Messrs V. B. Chaubal, ex-Minister, CP, Pandharinath Patil, MLA, and a few Muslim gentlemen waited in a joint deputation upon the Nizam for aid to the Shri Shivaji Maratha High School, Amraoti, and the Anjuman High School, Khamgaon. Mr. P. K. Deshmukh, MLA, was then vice-president of our society. As a result we were given a donation of Rs. 20,000 each. We constructed a big building costing over Rs. 37,000, named it the Prince of Berar Hostel and invited the Prince to perform the opening ceremony in March 1945. . . .

Besides Amraoti, the Prince visited the Khamgaon High School and went to Akola. The Shri Shivaji Education Society and the Anjuman High School, Khamgaon, then received a further donation of Rs. 30,000 each.

These and other donations that I obtained placed our society in a sound financial position. This made us undertake new activities. Our high school, which for years had an average enrolment of about 260, had 525 boys and girls in 1944-45 when the Prince visited us. In 1945-46 the number went up to 784. I then applied for a further donation of Rs. 2½ lakhs from Hyderabad for starting an arts and science college costing altogether 7½ lakhs. Although once I got a reply in the negative, my perseverance succeeded in obtaining from Sir Mirza a promise of a donation of 2 lakhs. I would like to state it quite clearly and perfectly truthfully that no one ever attached any condition in

[1] Congress leader from Maharashtra; joined non-co-operation movement in 1920; member, AICC and Working Committee; member, CA from Bombay

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giving these donations on behalf of the Nizam or his government either directly or indirectly. There was therefore never any question of my showing any political leanings towards Hyderabad. Not only this, when I presided over the Hyderabad State Maratha and Allied Communities Educational Conference at Aurangabad in May last year I severely criticised the Hyderabad administration and its educational policy. When the Prince came, the Hyderabad Government had itself issued a communique that even that visit was wholly private.

After getting the second donation of Rs. 30,000 we started the Shri Shivaji Arts College in July 1946 and have completed the most successful working of a year with enrolment reaching 88 although it was the very first year. . . .

Having invited Sir Mirza to Amraoti courtesy demanded that I should accompany him when he visited our friends' institution at Khamgaon. But both functions were purely educational, and although Sir Mirza made some casual observations on the position of Berar, very few people in Berar paid any special attention to them. This was so because we are all too familiar with the Hyderabad view. We know that as a matter of fact all our MLAs have to take the Nizam's oath, that his flag flies on all Government buildings side by side with the Union Jack, that people like Sir M. V. Joshi,[1] Rao Bahadur Khare,[2] Dewan Bahadur Brahma,[3] Mr. B. G. Khaparde,[4] etc., used regularly to attend the Nizam's flag salutation ceremony once every year under the presidentship of the Berar Commissioner. I never attended this even when I was Minister for CP and chairman of the Amraoti District Council. Viewed in this setting, Sir Mirza's speeches were regarded as a matter of course in Berar and by almost all leaders of Berar. Only some tried to read sinister meanings and make political capital out of them. The outside papers thought this was a golden opportunity and resorted to all manner of scare-mongering and publicity stunts. . . .

I was one of the first to suggest to the Honourable Mr. Biyani the calling of an all-parties conference at Akola so that Berar may take a united stand against the Nizam. . . . I am also a member of the Free Berar Committee and have already attended two of

1 Congress leader of Berar; Member, Executive Council, Central Provinces
2 Leading citizen of Amraoti, Berar
3 Leading citizen of Amraoti, Berar
4 Advocate of Amraoti (Berar); a colleague of Tilak and member of Council of States in twenties

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its three meetings held at Akola. Every member of the committee knows that I always urge taking a stronger attitude than many.

In passing, I may add that I had written a strong letter to the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps when he came to India with the Cabinet Mission. I urged that the fictitious sovereignty of the Nizam be ended and that the sovereignty of the people of Berar be recognised. . . .

Shri Biyaniji and I had more than one talk with Shankarraoji. It seems he disagrees with us over the formation of the Free Berar Committee and he thinks this lowers the position of the United Maharashtra Parishad, of which he is the president. He naturally views any use of the words "free, independent, separate," etc., with apprehension as he thinks this kills the united Maharashtra idea. We have however always wanted not to prejudice the united Maharashtra issue personally, although as time goes by the united Maharashtra idea is liked less and less by the people of Berar.

With profound respects,

Yours very sincerely,
Punjabrao[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

18

Mussoorie
22 May 1947

My dear Dr. Deshmukh,

I have received your letter of 13 May and I am glad that you have written to me about this matter in such great detail.

Now I must give you my frank opinion about this affair. I agree with you that in the past Berar leaders have not been firm or straightforward in their attitude towards the Nizam. They have often expressed their loyalty and devotion to the Nizam and presented addresses to the Prince. They have even gone to the length of utilising respectable ladies of their families for garlanding the Prince. Donations have also been received in the past. All this conduct on the part of the Berar leaders would certainly have a direct or indirect effect in favour of the Nizam's claim to have Berar under his rule.

[1] Punjabrao Deshmukh: Congress leader of Berar; Minister of State for Agriculture in Nehru Cabinet, 1952-57

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If you would accept my advice, you should never accept any more donations, however unconditional and however good the purpose may be, from the Nizam. You must learn, and make the people of Berar learn, to stand on their own feet. They must contribute for their own education but not take tainted money for educational or other beneficial purposes. The donor's object is obvious, in spite of there being no condition. Berar will have to pay dearly if they will voluntarily keep any contact of this kind in future. The people of Berar must stand on their own dignity and must make it clear by their conduct that they do not depend upon the Nizam for small mercies or for crumbs. You know the Nizam has not given any donations in any other province. He is doing this with a purpose, and you are either consciously exploiting his weakness or being exploited by him for your weakness.

You need not give me any assurance for your incorruptibility. I believe nothing against anybody till I have got clear evidence to justify such an inference. I have already written to Biyaniji about our attitude towards Berar.

I agree with you that Shri Shankarrao Deo has given a wrong lead at this juncture. He is suffering from a narrow, parochial complex, which he thinks is patriotism. The Beraris can afford to disregard him if they stand firm and united.

Don't worry about the Press or Brahmin propaganda, if any. The days of Brahmin-non-Brahmin quarrels are over. We are now about to enter into a free India where Indian citizenship will overshadow all castes and creeds.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Punjabrao S. Deshmukh
Shamsadma
Amraoti Camp

19

TELEGRAM

Akola
8 July 1947

Sardar Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

POSITION OF BERAR IN THE INDIA INDEPENDENCE BILL NOT CLEAR. SOLICIT YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP TO OBTAIN SUITABLE AMENDMENT TO

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THE BILL TO ENABLE BERAR TO FORM PART OF PROPOSED INDIAN DOMINION.

BRIJLAL BIYANI
PRESIDENT
FREE BERAR COMMITTEE

20

TELEGRAM

Nagpur
8 July 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

EXCLUSION OF BERAR FROM INDIAN DOMINION AFFRONT TO BERARIS AND ALSO CONSEMBLY WHERE BERAR ALREADY REPRESENTED. CONSEMBLY MUST DEMAND AMENDMENT INDIA BILL.

P. Y. DESHPANDE

21

TELEGRAM

Amraoti
8 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

THIS MEETING OF FREE BERAR COMMITTEE OF AMRAOTI OPPOSES RETROCESSION OF BERAR TO NIZAM. IT STRONGLY URGES INCLUSION OF BERAR IN INDIAN DOMINION.

KANTILAL LOHIA
SECRETARY

22

TELEGRAM

Daryapur
9 July 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

BAR ASSOCIATION DARYAPUR BERAR REQUESTS YOU TO URGE ON HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT THAT CLAUSE TWO OF SECTION ONE

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OF INDIA INDEPENDENCE BILL BE AMENDED BY ADDING THE WORDS INCLUDING BERAR AFTER THE WORDS BRITISH INDIA.

SECRETARY

23

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 August 1947

From Viceroy
New Delhi
To Governor
C.P.

THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT STATE THAT DEMONSTRATIONS ARE BEING ARRANGED IN BERAR WITH THREATS TO REMOVE NIZAM'S FLAGS FROM BUILDINGS THEY ARE FLOWN. THE HYDERABAD GOVERNMENT HOPE THAT ACTION CAN BE TAKEN TO PREVENT ANY MOVEMENT CALCULATED TO CREATE CONTEMPT OR HATRED AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATE OF HYDERABAD, AND PARTICULARLY TO PREVENT INSULTS TO NIZAM'S FLAG.

2. HAVE YOU ANY INFORMATION OF SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS?

3. NEGOTIATIONS WITH HYDERABAD ARE NOW ENTERING THEIR LAST AND MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST DIFFICULT STAGE. ANY INCIDENTS NOW MIGHT UPSET AGREEMENT BEING REACHED. PLEASE DO ALL YOU CAN TO PREVENT.

24

Nagpur
7 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter we have sent to the States Department with a copy to the Home Department on the subject of the future of Berar. You will notice that our friend, Mr. Brijlal Biyani, has now come out into the open and has signified his intention to boycott the Independence Day celebrations and to declare Berar independent on 15 August. Wily as he is, I am sure that if he is now called upon to explain, he would say that the resolution was carried by the Free Berar Committee in spite of him, but I know it for a fact that barring one or two persons,

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the members of the Berar Committee are his nominees and that he himself is the root cause of the mischief. I am also enclosing herewith copy of a letter from my colleague, Mr. Gokhale. He himself has no hand in the matter but naturally finds himself in an awkward position. May I request you to give us your clear-cut instructions so as to reach me not later than the 12th instant?

Yours sincerely,
R. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

25

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
8 August 1947

Honourable Pandit Shukla
Prime Minister
Nagpur

YOUR LETTER. ON 15 AUGUST NATIONAL FLAG ALONE REPEAT ALONE WILL BE FLOWN EVERYWHERE. CONSEQUENTLY NO DIFFICULTY OR CONFLICT. BUT HAVE ADVISED BIYANI NOT TAKE ANY INDEPENDENT ACTION ABOUT BERAR WITHOUT CONSULTING ME.

VALLABHBHAI

26

New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of 7 August 1947.

I have already sent to you a telegram intimating to you the action I have taken. I quite agree that Berar will put itself in the wrong by taking any independent action and will prejudice its own chances. I have explained this to Biyani and I have asked him to come here. If he does, I shall try to put matters right.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

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27

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
8 August 1947

Brijlal Biyani
Rajasthan Bhavan
Akola (Berar)

YOUR PRESIDING ON FREE BERAR COMMITTEE AND REPORTED INTENTION BOYCOTT INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATIONS AND DECLARE BERAR INDEPENDENT ON THAT DAY REQUIRES CLARIFICATION AND CONFIRMATION. ADVISE TAKE NO INDEPENDENT ACTION WITHOUT CONSULTING ME. ANY SUCH ACTION WILL INJURE BERAR'S CAUSE. YOU MUST KEEP US INFORMED OF YOUR COMMITTEE'S ACTIVITIES AND INTENTIONS. SUGGEST COME HERE IMMEDIATELY.

VALLABHBHAI

28

TELEGRAM

Akola
9 August 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM. FREE BERAR COMMITTEE PASSED RESOLUTION ADVOCATING BOYCOTT GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS ONLY IF NIZAM'S FLAG FLOWN WITH NATIONAL FLAG. RESOLVED REQUESTING PEOPLE DECLARE IN PUBLIC MEETINGS DISOWNING ALLEGIANCE TO NIZAM. ABOVE RESOLUTIONS ALREADY POSTED. CONGRESS COMMITTEES CELEBRATING INDEPENDENCE DAY UNDER THEIR OWN AUSPICES IN FITTING MANNER. IN VIEW YOUR ADVICE CONVENING EMERGENCY MEETING OF FREE BERAR COMMITTEE ON TWELFTH. SHALL KEEP YOU INFORMED. HAD DETAILED TALK WITH SHANKARRAO DEO WHILE HERE YESTERDAY.

BRIJLAL BIYANI

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29

Akola (Berar)
13 August 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Respected Sardarji,

I have sent you the following telegram:

"FREE BERAR COMMITTEE YESTERDAY NIGHT PASSED FOLLOWING RESOLUTION. THE FREE BERAR COMMITTEE MEETING ON 12 AUGUST AT AKOLA HAS GIVEN ITS DEEP CONSIDERATION TO THE TELEGRAM FROM SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL. WHILE GRATEFULLY APPRECIATING THE ADVICE TENDERED THEREIN AND ACKNOWLEDGING THE DESIRABILITY OF AVOIDING PRECIPITATE ACTIONS AS ARE LIKELY TO IMPAIR THE CAUSE OF THE FREEDOM OF BERAR, THIS COMMITTEE IS OF OPINION THAT SINCE THE DECISION OF NOT HOISTING THE FLAG OF HEH THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD ANYWHERE IN BERAR ON THE DAY OF INDEPENDENCE AND THEREAFTER HAS BEEN TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA THIS MEETING POSTPONES THE EXECUTION OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED ON 4 AUGUST 1947 TILL AFTER THE MEETING OF THE PRESIDENT WITH SARDAR VALLABHBHAI WITH A DEPUTATION CONSISTING OF THE FOLLOWING: HON'BLE SHRI BRIJLAL BIYANI, DR. PUNJABRAO DESHMUKH, SHRI BABASAHEB KHAPARDE, BARRISTER M. N. PHADKE, VEER WAMANRAO JOSHI, SHRI V. B. CHAUBAL AND BAR. RAMRAO DESHMUKH.[1] RESOLUTION ENDS. THUS FURTHER ACTION OF PREVIOUS RESOLUTION STAYED. PLEASE GRANT ME TIME TO WAIT UPON YOU WITH A DEPUTATION BY 20TH OR THEREABOUT."

I await your instructions as regards the deputation.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
Brijlal Biyani

[1] Finance Minister, Gwalior Government, 1941-44; member, National Defence Council, 1940-44; High Commissioner for India in South Africa, 1945-47; Prime Minister and Adviser to Raj Pramukh of Vindhya Pradesh, Rewa, 1947-48; Director, Reserve Bank of India, 1949-52; elected to Rajya Sabha, 1952

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30

18 August 1947

My dear Biyani,

I have received your letter. I have also received your telegram. We shall fix the time of the meeting with your deputation after your arrival here on the 20th. I am glad that you are all coming and that you have accepted my advice.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Brijlal Biyani
President, Free Berar Committee
Camp Delhi

31

Bikaner
19 May 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I want to bring to your notice a very serious and extremely dangerous intrigue which is taking place. You know that in CP there is a large Hindu State named Bastar which is enormous in area and extremely rich in resources, especially iron ore. This State is almost next door to the Nizam's State and is now under an Administrator. Recently the Nizam's Government has been given a mining lease in this State by this Administrator with the approval of the Political Department. Also, what is more strange, the Central Government has given them—in spite of the opposition of the Railway Board—a right of extending the Nizam's railways to Bastar. In fact, this ancient Hindu State of 15,000 sq. miles, rich in mineral deposits, has been handed over—during a minority—to the Nizam. It is a part of the dangerous intrigue to strengthen the Nizam in every possible way, e.g., by the sale of the Bren gun factory.

The Bastar case deserves your attention. The present Revenue Minister of Hyderabad, Grigson (ICS), was once an Administrator of Bastar and he is the main agent of the new Asaf Jahi imperialism. You can take it up by asking Matthai[1] to show you

[1] Dr. John Matthai: Educationist and economist; MLC (Madras), 1922-25; Central Minister in Nehru Cabinet, 1947-50; Chairman, Board of Directors, State Bank of India

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the file regarding the railway connection, unless you want to attack the question straight by asking the Political Department about it. This intrigue with the Nizam has to be scotched, otherwise the whole of Hindustan will be undermined.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Panikkar[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

32

Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
23 May 1947

My dear Sardar Panikkar,

I have your letter of the 19th instant.

I spoke to Corfield[2] about Bastar just before he left for England and he was trying to defend his part in this affair. I came to know about the lease about a fortnight ago, and I am trying to find out at what stage actually the matter stands. I understood from Corfield that the matter was not finalised so far as the Government of India was concerned, and perhaps the Works, Mines and Power Department will have a say in the matter. I have already spoken to the Member in charge about it. Anyway, I will do my best to prevent such a catastrophe.

I hope you are doing well. I am returning to Delhi on the 28th morning.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar K. M. Panikkar
Prime Minister of Bikaner
Bikaner

[1] Prime Minister of Bikaner; Ambassador to China, UAR and France
[2] Sir Conrad Corfield: Political Adviser to Lord Mountbatten

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Cuttack
22 May 1947

Revered Sardarji,

I herewith send a copy of the report from our Special Branch dated 1 May. Apart from this report, we have been receiving reports from the Special Branch for the last six months that two mosques are being built in the district of Koraput at a cost of several thousands of rupees although the number of Muslims in the district is very small, and it is less than 1%. These costly mosques aroused our suspicion long ago. Now this report gives some clue to the mystery of the construction of these mosques. We are taking precautionary steps as far as we can. Our Governor also has sent a copy of this report to the Viceroy. I may suggest that this matter should be discussed between the Viceroy and yourself.

Some of the small rulers of our States, I am told, are negotiating with Hyderabad. In the meantime, steps are being taken to wind up the Political Department; but so far as the Orissa States are concerned, unless there is some suitable agreement between the States and the province with regard to administration of some common subjects, winding up of the Political Department will certainly mean confusion both in the province and in the States. The step that should be taken before winding up the Political Department must be to ask the States to come to some agreement with the province. You may please take up this matter with the Viceroy.

Yours sincerely,
H. Mahtab[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Chief Minister, Orissa, 1946-50; Central Government Minister, 1950-52; Governor of Bombay, 1955-56; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1957-60; member of CA from Orissa, 1946-50

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ENCLOSURE

COPY OF AN ORISSA SPECIAL BRANCH OFFICER'S REPORT DATED 1 MAY 1947

Subject: Provincial League president's visit to Hyderabad—left Cuttack on 20-4-47 and returned on 26-4-47

It is learnt that Mr. Fazle Haq, president, Provincial Muslim League, Orissa, was invited by Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan, Hyderabad State, in the capacity of the Provincial League president of Orissa for a discussion with regard to the boundary line of Orissa bordering the Nizam's State.

It is understood that HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad has taken a move demanding from the Government of India the annexation of Bastar State and some portion of Koraput district of Orissa bordering Bastar State and Jeypore Estate of the same district. If the demand is not conceded the Nizam's Government is trying to take these portions by hook or crook after the British quit India in June 1948. Just to have a thorough idea about Koraput district and its inhabitants this interview was said to have been arranged. In the meantime, the Nizam's Government wants to create public opinion in favour of the State through the Muslims of Orissa, and if possible through some interested persons. The Nizam's Government is prepared to spend a lump-sum amount for this purpose. Sir Mirza Ismail, on behalf of HEH the Nizam of Hyderabad, has assured the president of the Provincial Muslim League to look to the interests of the Muslims of Orissa and to help them in all possible ways in the near future if they are in any way harassed by the Provincial Government after the British leave India.

Mr. Haq apprised him of the present administration of the province and the position of the Muslims in the administration and the Muslim League movement in order to enlist his sympathy.

It is also learnt that the Nizam's Government wants the co-operation of the Orissa States and wants that propaganda should be made through the people and the Press of Orissa in his favour. Mr. Haq, it is learnt, will call the Working Committee of the Muslim League during this month and keep the members informed about his talks with Sir Mirza Ismail.

The reason attributed to the visit of Ranjit Mahanti, son of Shri Madhusudan Mahanti of the Radical Democratic Party, is obviously for the purpose of acquainting the Dewan of Hyderabad State with the Orissa State affairs. He was taken by Mr. Haq in order to help him.

The information is based on the facts obtained in course of talks with some prominent Leaguers of Cuttack.

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28 May 1947

My dear Mahtab,

I have received your letter of the 22nd instant. I had already got a report about Hyderabad State having got a mining lease for iron ore from Bastar State and I was making inquiries about it. I had no idea of the Nizam's move demanding from the Government of India the annexation of that State and some portion of Koraput district of Orissa, etc.

2. I have heard all sorts of reports about the Nizam's preparations of aggressive designs in the event of the British quitting India in June 1948.

3. You must have heard about Sir Mirza Ismail's tour in Berar with the same object in view, as suggestions have openly been made for the retrocession of that province. If these reports are true, there is enough cause for us to be on our guard. In Orissa, the Muslim population is infinitely small, and even if the Nizam is able to get the sympathy of all the Muslim population of that province it would nardly be of much help to him in gaining his objective; but it is true that it is a signal which shows which way the wind blows and you have got to be careful.

4. I know that the Political Department in their recent conference of all Residents held in Delhi decided to wind up the Agencies and to transfer some of the existing functions to the States. I am taking up the matter with the Political Department.

5. I am glad you have sent me the report. Any such information of value from your Special Branch officers' reports may be communicated to me so that we may be kept informed of the undercurrents.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab
Prime Minister of Orissa
Cuttack

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35

Nagpur
29 June 1947

Revered Sardar Sahib,

Our Speaker, Shri Guptaji, is keenly interested in Hyderabad. He had done much for the success of satyagraha there in 1938. Recently Swami Ramanand Tirtha met me. I have advised him not to precipitate matters up to 15 August. Accordingly he has asked his workers either to leave the State or to go underground. We in the CP have posted on our border trusted Hindu DCs and DSPs with instructions to help those who are working in Hyderabad. Such workers can agitate in Hyderabad and when pursued can cross back into CP and Berar districts. I had requested Morarji[1] Desai to make similar arrangements in their border districts. Shri Ramanandji has gone to Bombay to see Shri Desai. When I visited Mysore in March last I had spoken to Reddiar and Bhashyam, the two veteran Mysore Congress leaders, to help the Hyderabad workers on the Mysore border. If a similar situation could be created by Dr. Subbarayan[2] on the Andhra border, I think we would have succeeded in throwing a ring round this treacherous State. Of course all this is subject to your approval and you will kindly instruct Guptaji accordingly. I have also advised Swami Ramanandji to see you and I am sure he will meet you soon.

Another matter is regarding the future of our province in view of the linguistic redistribution movement. So far as Berar and Marathi CP districts are concerned, they do not want to join united Maharashtra but would prefer to form what they call Mahavidarbha. But this is merely for your information. What I am more anxious about is naturally Mahakoshal. I feel it is impossible to form a province of only eleven districts. We want four districts of Bundelkhand from the UP; the intervening

[1] Resigned from PCS in 1930 to join civil disobedience movement; Minister, Bombay Government, 1937-39; Home Minister, 1946-52; Chief Minister, 1952-56; Central Minister of Commerce and Industry and later Finance; resigned under Kamraj Plan, 1963; Deputy Prime Minister in Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet, 1967-69

[2] Law Minister (Madras), 1937-39 and 1947-48; Member, CA; Chief Minister of Madras; Indian Ambassador to Indonesia, 1949-51; MP (Rajya Sabha); Union Minister 1954-57; Governor of Bombay

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Central India States and also the Chhattisgarh States including Bastar. I have got a map prepared and Guptaji will show it to you. The UP districts will be willing to come with us. The Maharaja of Orchha is also willing. So are some of the Chhattisgarh States. But if Meerut and Agra districts are taken away from the UP to form a province of Delhi then I am afraid the UP people will not be willing to give us any of their districts. In that case we may be tacked on to the UP. Guptaji and myself are not unwilling to join the UP. But it is no use to say anything without being sure of our position. At the same time we cannot keep quiet long as people have begun to discuss the matter and want a lead from us. I would be obliged if you will advise us in the matter.

Guptaji knows all about the Hasan episode. Your last letter has made Shuklaji anxious. He feels unhappy. In my opinion he is not at all to blame. I hope you will send him a word of encouragement through Guptaji.

Apologising for this long letter,

Yours sincerely,
D. P. Mishra

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

36

6 July 1947

My dear Mishraji,

I had your letter of 29 June. The question of Hyderabad State is under our active consideration.

2. There is at present no proposal to separate Meerut and Agra from the UP. There is loose talk about it from some of the Delhi people who claim to form a separate province. This is not going to materialise for at least some time to come.

3. If UP will be willing to part with Bundelkhand districts, we would have no objection.

4. My letter about Dr. Hasan need not disturb Shuklaji at all, but I have written to him sending copies of my correspondence with Dr. Hasan already.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. D. P. Mishra
Minister of Development
CP & Berar
Nagpur

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37

New Delhi
21 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I spoke to you today after the Assembly meeting about the taking over of arms and ammunition from the licensees in my province and not returning them to the Muslims till their position became definite and clear. You approved of the action taken. I placed before you the main points. I am now writing to you in detail so that, if necessary, you may be able to give further direction.

The circumstances and feelings of the people of Berar and also of other parts of the Central Provinces are in short described in the letter of Pandit Mishra, a copy of which I [gave] you this morning. It is certain that if either by order of the Nizam or by his connivance the goondas of Hyderabad State create trouble in Berar or in the border district of Chanda, the Muslims within my province will also create trouble. It is also quite evident that the Muslims of CP and especially of Berar not only have sympathy with the Nizam but they would even render every help to the Nizam so far as it lies in their power. In view of these facts, some time before I left for Delhi I had issued orders that all Hindu and Muslim licence-holders, except Government servants and exemptees, should deposit their arms and ammunition in the nearest police station house. It was stated in the order that this was only a temporary measure taken to meet an emergent situation. Notwithstanding the fact that arms and ammunition were taken away both from the Hindus and Muslims, the Hindus of Berar heaved a sigh of relief inasmuch as they felt that Muslims, who could create trouble, were deprived of arms. As this surrender of arms was only a temporary measure, I ordered the district magistrates to return to the Hindus their arms, except to such of them as were considered undesirable. A list of these undesirables was to be submitted to the Government with reasons to show why their arms were being withheld. As for the Muslims, I ordered that a list of Muslims whom the district magistrates proposed to return arms and another list of those whom he considered undesirable should be submitted to the Government and arms

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were not to be returned to them unless approved by the Government. I do not propose to return the arms and ammunition of the Muslim licence-holders till it is clear what their attitude is. Perhaps they will never promise or declare that they will not help the Nizam. I, therefore, consider it is not safe to return the arms to them immediately. Though it looks discriminatory, it is justified under the present extraordinary circumstances stated above, and I am glad I have your approval of it. The interview and talk which Pandit Mishra had with Syed Rauf Shah[1] are significant and have a great bearing in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

38

New Delhi,
22 July 1947

My dear Ravishankar,

Thank you for your letter dated 21 July 1947 regarding taking over of arms and ammunition from licensees in the CP. We have separately sent a detailed circular to provincial Governments making some suggestions as to the policy they should pursue in regard to arms, ammunitions and explosives. The procedure which you have suggested is in accord with the suggestions made and I have no objection to your proceeding accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister, CP
New Delhi

[1] Prominent member of Ittehad-ul Mussalmeen; Minister in Laik Ali Ministry, Hyderabad State

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CHAPTER II

NIZAM'S INTRANSIGENCE

39

New Delhi
9 July 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Here is the piece of information which I showed to you. The note is dated 5 July, and is anonymous.

> "The Hyderabad Government have just placed an order for four crores of rupees worth ammunition with Mr. Kral, calling himself representative of the Czechoslovakian Government, and the Army Commander Idrus has left today for Europe to arrange for immediate despatch. Dated 5 July."

It may or may not be of value, but it is certainly worth enquiring into, in so far as you can. I shall try to enquire into the matter by other means.

I am also informed by a reliable authority that the Hyderabad Government has come to an arrangement with the Birmingham Small Arms Company [of Britain] for supply of arms.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

40

New Delhi
17 August 1947

My dear Morarji,

I am sending herewith an extract about a Czech named Karel Bedrech Kral. According to our information, this man is engaged in an armament racket with the Hyderabad Government. Even otherwise it seems he is not a desirable foreigner. I suggest, therefore, that as soon as he comes to Bombay he should be arrested under the Foreigners Act and kept in detention. He

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can then be interrogated and a report made to us about the result when we can decide our future course of action.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Morarji Desai
Home Minister
Bombay

ENCLOSURE

Intelligence Bureau
(Home Department)
Government of India
New Delhi
14 August 1947

My dear Shankar,[1]

We have in the Bureau references to a certain Kral (Karel Bedrech Kral), a Czech national; expert in optical instruments and gun-sights, a graduate from the State Industrial School, Czechoslovakia, now aged about 42. He is known to us since March 1941. In 1945, we did not raise any objection to his being granted a transit visa for the United Kingdom en route to Czechoslovakia. In December 1940, he arrived in India with an emergency certificate issued by HM's Consul at Belgrade under the name of Harold Arthur Whitehead, which he had to assume to facilitate his leaving Europe. In March 1946, he returned to India. On return to India he was employed with a firm in Calcutta. He flew to Karachi on 12-7-47 en route to Czechoslovakia and was suspected of smuggling United States currency out of India. We have no information if he has since returned to India.

From his technical qualifications and recent visit to Czechoslovakia and the information you gave me, I have good reason to believe that in all probability this is the Kral who is suspected to be transacting a deal in firearms for the Nizam. We are making a telegraphic reference to the Karachi CID in regard to him.

Yours sincerely,
T. G. Sanjeevi[2]

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Member,
New Delhi

1 ICS; Sardar Patel's Private Secretary
2 IP, Director, Central Intelligence Bureau

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41

Bombay
22 August 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have received your letter about Karel Bedrech Kral. Instructions have been given to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to detain and interrogate him if he arrives in Bombay. I will let you know the result as soon as there is an opportunity of questioning him.

I attach a copy of the letter written to the Commissioner of Police in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Bombay
21 August 1947

Dear Bharucha,

It is learnt that a Czech named Karel Bedrech Kral may be passing through Bombay soon. According to the information received he is engaged in an armament racket. There are other indications also that he is an undesirable person. I am therefore to request you that if he comes to Bombay, he should be arrested under the Foreigners Act or if necessary under the Bombay Public Security Measures Act and detained. He should also be questioned and a report about him sent as soon as he is detained. In this connection, I enclose for your information an extract about him received from the Director, Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
V. T. Dehejia

J. S. Bharucha, Esq., IP
Commissioner of Police
Bombay

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New Delhi
6 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please see the enclosed extract from a letter which has been received from England. Reports like this have been coming to me from various sources. You will recall the Nizam's desperate attempts to get arms from Czechoslovakia.

2. I feel it is time we told the British Government unreservedly that any supply of arms to the Nizam from Britain would be regarded as a most serious affair by us and that they should use their utmost [efforts] to see that no such supply of arms is made to the Nizam's Government without our concurrence.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED 23 SEPTEMBER 1947 FROM LT.-COL. K. BAHADUR SINGH, STAFF COLLEGE, CAMBERLEY (ENGLAND), TO HIS BROTHER LT.-COL. K. DALEL SINGH, MINISTER-IN-WAITING, KOTAH STATE

I am writing to you for two reasons, one regarding the Hyderabad Army; and secondly about mechanical road repairers.

I know on very reliable authority that Hyderabad State intends to raise three divisions (each division may be 18,000 strong normally). One of the three divisions will be armoured (tanks). This is a force of considerable strength.

General El Edruz [Idrus] C-in-C, Hyderabad, is now in London staying at the Dorchester Hotel to buy equipment for the army, specially tanks.

In my opinion this force can be used [for] one of the following purposes:

(a) suppress the subjects of Hyderabad;

(b) to bring pressure or seize Berar at a time the Govt. of India is involved elsewhere;

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(c) to lend the weight of armed force and thus get India to recognise independence. Failing that, settle the issue by force, perhaps at an opportune moment.

Two or more of these may be aimed at at the same time.

In conclusion, whatever the aim, it brings Hyderabad in conflict with the Government of India.

From the military point of view, it may mean detaching anything up to a division and some air force from our forces to deal with this internal threat at a critical time. Obviously it is a thing to be avoided.

Therefore, I suggest that you bring it to the notice of the proper authorities, who may intervene in the interests of India. I think three departments are concerned—the Commonwealth (Panditji), States Department (Sardar Patel), and the Defence Dept. (S. Baldev Singh[1]). How you deal with it I leave to your better judgment.

Ordinarily, this is a matter which will be dealt with by the military attache of our Govt. in London. At present there is none. So I wrote to Gen. [K. M.] Cariappa[2] some time back. But mail is very unreliable these days. Therefore I am using a duplicate channel. You may liaise with the General too.

I feel that if Hyderabad succeeds in purchasing the equipment, the Government of India should refuse transit. I think enquiry or pressure from Panditji will stop the Government here selling the tanks, etc., at all.

Ministry of States
New Delhi
3 October 1947

[Sardar Patel kept himself informed of happenings in the Nizam's inner counsels through two independent sources. He received reports from India's Agent, Mr. K. M. Munshi, who depended on reliable informants. The Sardar had also a pipeline which brought him reports of the proceedings of the Nizam's Executive Council. These reports were made confidentially almost daily by a member of the Executive Council, Mr. Aravamudh Aiyangar to Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar[3] who passed them on to the Sardar. The latter enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel and joined the Nehru Cabinet in October 1947.

[1] Started political career as Akali leader; Development Minister, Punjab, 1942-46; joined Congress and served as Defence Minister, 1946-52

[2] GOC-in-C, Western Command, 1947; promoted General and Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army, 1949-53

[3] Prime Minister of Kashmir, 1937-43; Member, Constituent Assembly; Minister without portfolio, Government of India, 1947-48; Leader of Indian Delegation to UN Security Council, 1948; Union Minister for Railways and Transport, September 1948 and later of Defence

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Only one of the letters of Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar forwarding Mr. Aravamudh Aiyangar's reports is available. It is dated 25 September 1947, while the matter forwarded to Sardar Patel and included in this volume covers the period 20 August 1947 to 2 December 1947. The voluminous letters being of vital importance in understanding the drama preceding the 'police action' have been made a part of the correspondence instead of being placed as an appendix.]

43

11 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Herewith the first of the Hyderabad letters [from 20 August to 25 September] I have received since I came back to Delhi. Nothing much in it.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

44

Hyderabad-Dn.
20 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I am not in a position to know whether I am boring you by my letters. You have far more important matters to deal with than reading the tales of woe from far off Hyderabad. But, as I have told you once before, I want that you should know the true facts and that misleading and false propaganda should not go uncontradicted.

The statement in the Nizam's letter that it is the partition and the coming into existence of the two dominions that has complicated the situation, so far as he is concerned, is a mere pretence. That has become handy in the hands of his legal adviser, Sir Walter Monckton, and A. Y. [Ali Yavar] Jung.[1]

1 Was successively Minister for Education, Public Health and Home; Constitutional Adviser, 1941-47; resigned in 1947 owing to differences about transfer of power; Vice-Chancellor, Osmania and Aligarh Universities; now Governor of Maharashtra

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You must have read in the papers about all that has happened regarding the Indian national flag. I am enclosing a cutting from the Deccan Chronicle of the 17th instant for your perusal. The reports sent to this paper by the Hindustan Times representative are in the main correct.

For the last two days some portions of Secunderabad have witnessed scenes of communal conflict. People walking on the road with the national flag stuck on to their coats have been molested. You must have seen the recent order prohibiting the ceremonial hoisting of the Indian national flag and prescribing punishment for the disobedience of the order. One would not have complained so much if the action of the police was confined to seeing that the order was observed. I have positive evidence that the police entered houses and belaboured women and children. I am going to ask Chhatari to take steps to restore confidence in the majority community. I do not know what his reaction is going to be.

Sir Walter Monckton is sending a personal letter to Lord Mountbatten[1] suggesting a via media and sending a draft of a sort of an agreement which will neither be complete accession nor a treaty. I have not been able to get a copy of it, but it is being sent most secretly to Lord M.

Chhatari is thinking that both Lord M. and Mr. Jinnah have advised the Nizam to liberalise the administration and to make his Government more responsive to public opinion. The Nizam once turned it down saying that he would see to it afterwards, but the Council is pressing him again to do something. I do not know what the result of it is going to be.

Once again I have to apologise for troubling you with all these details. I do not know when better days will dawn on Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh Aiyangar

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar

[1] Last British Viceroy and Governor-General of India, March 1947-August 1947; carried out partition of India and transfer of power to Dominions of India and Pakistan in August 1947; first Governor-General of Independent India

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ENCLOSURE

On the night of 14-15 August at about 2 p.m. the Bombay-Madras Express steamed into Gulbarga station. As was expected, it carried with it the Indian Union flag pasted to almost every compartment. The very sight of the Indian Union flag seems to have irritated the police posted on the platform. As soon as they saw the flags they rushed to the compartments and began to remove them hurriedly. They even forced the guard to detain the train for about ten minutes in order to see that not even a trace of the flag could be seen. They actually got it rubbed off with the help of water and scratched out with stones. Not only this but they even went to the extent of threatening the passengers inside to be dealt with swords and to be handcuffed. Their behaviour, in short, was not only unmannerly but completely hostile.

Deccan Chronicle
17 August 1947

45

Hyderabad-Dn.
25 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I received your kind letter of the 23rd instant today and I hasten to reply to it so that it may be despatched by tomorrow morning's air mail.

I am glad that all my previous letters have been duly received. I have been emboldened by your writing to me that I am not boring you at all by my letters but that you have been eagerly looking forward to my letters. Hereafter I shall see that I write to you every day.

I am glad to note that the Sardar has seen my letters and is being kept informed.

I am herewith giving you an English translation of the Urdu notification which was issued and published in the Gazette of 13 August 1947.

"No. 1211 dated 13 Mehir 1356 F. Notification of the Home Secretariat.

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'In exercise of the powers vested in him by Rule 58(1) paragraph (b) of the Defence of Hyderabad Rules (which correspond to the Defence of India Rules), it is hereby ordered that no person shall unfurl in a ceremonial fashion at any public function the flag of any foreign country nor salute it. Any disobedience of this order will be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.' "

Taking their stand on this rule, several people who carried flags, whether ceremonially or not, were molested. Some were arrested. Even boys who had stuck the flag to their coats were molested. But I gather that subsequently flags which were asked to be taken down from the former British post office buildings were allowed to remain.

As regards the communal clash, you must have seen in the papers that I myself with another Member of the Council went round Secunderabad exhorting people to be peaceful and not to get away in panic. During those trips I went also to the hospital to see the wounded, to ascertain who is the aggressor. It is enough to know that of the ten people who died eight were Hindus and two Muslims. Of the injured, about 80 or 82 were Hindus and 20 or 18 were Muslims. I also saw with my own eyes a Madrasi hotel having been looted, all the pictures and photos of national heroes thrown down, the glass frames broken and bottles also broken. The Muslims assert that the initial aggression was on the part of the Hindus who threw a countrymade bomb or stones, according to two different versions, on a group of Muslims while they were praying in their mosques. The Hindus assert that this is a false complaint made with a view to justify the unjustifiable attack made on Hindu houses. All the houses and shops that have been burnt, which I believe are about half a dozen, are all of them Hindu shops. After I went through the bazars in Secunderabad, some confidence was restored among the Hindu public, but still the exodus has not stopped. All this is due to the fact that the police is entirely manned by Muslims and the Muslim policeman is unwilling to protect the life or property of a Hindu if he is attacked by a Muslim mob. The other point is that armed Pathans, Rohillas and Arabs are allowed to roam about without let or hindrance, terrorizing the people.

I must say that the Chief Commissioner of Police is a good man and he is doing his best in making arrangements for the safety of the inhabitants, but the lower ranks of the police service are

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responsible for the mob attacks upon Hindu houses and Hindus generally. A Hindu sub-inspector was himself brutally assaulted and was the victim of a knife attack. This position has now very much improved.

Whomsoever I meet I am telling them that whatever they may do with their women and children, male members of the majority community should not leave the place.

As regards the API message that not only Chhatari and Monckton but Ali Yavar Jung also resigned, I may inform you that this information is correct. It is not a canard.

Ali Yavar Jung has sent in his resignation and HEH however asked him to have the Constitutional Affairs portfolio till the conclusion of the Delhi talks and thereafter he would relieve him of this portfolio and would confine him to Education, Medical and Public Health. So far he has not yielded.

I learn on good authority that he has sent a reply to the effect that so long as a party on which HEH relies has no confidence in him and that party happens to belong to the Muslim community, he cannot continue any longer. That is the position so far as Ali Yavar Jung is concerned up to the present moment.

Chhatari has also sent in his resignation. That too has not been accepted by the Nizam. I learn that Chhatari also was told to his face that HEH has no confidence in him, but Chhatari at first explained it away by saying that it was not meant for him but for Ali Yavar Jung. But subsequently he seems to have realised that it must have been meant for him also and so he also sent in his resignation. It was understood that Chhatari was to leave for Delhi today by train with a long letter from HEH addressed personally to Lord M. stating that as he is willing to enter into an agreement with the Indian Government he should not be forced to accede to the Union. It was also rumoured that the local League party has advised HEH that he need not any longer negotiate with the States Department but that as HEH has become independent, he should only deal with the External Affairs Department.

As regards Sir Walter Monckton, he also has flatly and distinctly told HEH that he is not going to advise the delegation unless and until the local League party that passed a resolution of want of confidence in him withdraws it and promises not to make any more attacks upon his loyalty to Hyderabad and the Nizam. The Nizam is reported to have replied that it was not

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possible for him to get such an assurance from the party. It is further learnt that Abdur Rahim, one of the members of the delegation whom Sir Walter Monckton always calls a perfect fool, has replied to the suggestion made by Sir Walter to the effect that Sir Walter Monckton is the person who has been responsible for all the troubles that have befallen Hyderabad and that notwithstanding the fact that he has made several lakhs of rupees by way of fees, nothing has been done which is of any value to the State. To the same effect was their specific resolution passed by the League party against Ali Yavar Jung that not one inch of land has been added to the State in spite of the expenditure of lakhs of rupees during the last decade or so.

It further appears that Sir Walter Monckton has decided to go back to London and that he has written a personal and confidential letter to Lord M. informing him of the circumstances under which he is obliged to go away because of the virulent opposition of the Muslim League party here and requesting Lord M. to allow the Nizam to put forward his case within the period of two months that has been vouchsafed to him for finishing the negotiations regarding his accession to the Indian Union or otherwise. I have also learnt that Lord M. had requested Sir Walter and Lady Monckton (Lady Carlisle who has just been married to Sir Walter) to be his guests in Delhi but that Sir Walter has wired apologising for his inability to comply with the request made on the ground that it will lead to a great deal of misconstruction. The present situation is like this.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh Aiyangar

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

46

Hyderabad (Dn.)
22 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

A crisis has arisen here owing to the nefarious propaganda made by the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen with the Nizam that the latter has been persuaded to think that neither Chhatari nor Ali Yavar Jung has been of much use to him in regard to the

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negotiations. They want to make a strong line by appointing members of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen to conduct the negotiations. Unfortunately, there is no one in that body who knows anything about constitution or law or diplomacy.

HEH openly told Ali Yavar Jung that he had lost confidence in him, but when Ali Yavar Jung protested, he seems to have said, "I did not say that I have lost confidence but it is the Muslims who have lost confidence." Be that as it may, the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen yesterday passed a resolution that as they have no confidence in Chhatari, Monckton or Ali Yavar Jung, all of them should resign. On that I am reliably informed Sir Walter Monckton also has tendered his resignation, at any rate he has refused to advise the present negotiating committee in regard to these negotiations. He has sent a sort of an ultimatum to HEH. Developments are, therefore, awaited every minute here.

In the meantime, communal tension is deteriorating every day and although there are no incidents in Secunderabad for the last three or four days, the destruction wrought to the property of Hindus has been very great. This is due to the fact that the police has been functioning absolutely partially, with the result that the Government is about to resort to repression on a state-wide scale by incarcerating all State Congress leaders both in Hyderabad and in the districts. The situation is being watched with great excitement by the public.

I am not at all sure if my letters are of any help to you in understanding the situation here. I am daily becoming more and more conscious of the fact that I am intruding myself upon you and taking up some of your valuable time by making you read my letters.

Trusting you are keeping quite fit,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh Aiyangar

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

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Hyderabad (Dn.)
26 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

There has been no change in the situation.

Ali Yavar Jung is still firm in his attitude not to go back unless HEH assures him that he (Ali Yavar Jung) will not be traduced by the Muslim League party. All wish that he continues to be firm although till now he has earned the reputation of being extremely unreliable and that for very good reasons.

The president of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen (the local Muslim League party) was contemplating to go to Karachi to consult Mr. Jinnah. He has not been able to secure an air passage yet.

The Legislative Assembly of this place is going on. The Independent party has completely boycotted this session and has put forward a number of demands which, in my opinion, are modest and reasonable.

One or two friends have asked me to resign. My period expires by the end of September and there are rumours that HEH may not extend my term of office but nothing is yet settled. I should like to have your advice as to whether in the unlikely event of my being asked to continue, I should agree or not.

Just now I learnt that in consequence of HEH sending a telegram to Lord M. asking him to invite Sir Walter Monckton, the latter has received an invitation to which he is likely to respond. It is stated that he is likely to leave tomorrow for New Delhi, stay there for two or three days and return and thereafter go back. He is further going to make a statement to the effect that owing to the opposition of the local Muslims he has had to resign his job as legal adviser to the Nizam in regard to these negotiations and that he is going to Delhi at the earnest request of H.E. the G.G. and that he will report to him the situation.

Ali Yavar Jung seems to entertain the hope that this attitude of his will pave the way for his being included in the Indian Cabinet as a representation therein in the States Dept. is said to be in contemplation. It is rumoured that it is likely that

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one Laik Ali, an industrial magnate of this place, will be sent to Delhi for the purpose of negotiations, as he is an out and out League man.

Since writing the above portion, I learn Sir Walter Monckton is leaving for Delhi tomorrow morning. He has asked me to translate for him a statement in Urdu made by the leader of the local Muslim League party which has been published in one of the well-known newspapers of this place. That statement contains a most scurrilous attack on Sir Walter Monckton. He is evidently taking that statement to show it to Lord M. inasmuch as that statement abounds also in severe attacks against Lord M.'s impartiality. I am sending a copy of that statement for your perusal. You will know from a perusal of that statement the way in which the local Muslim League party thinks. That is the party on whose sole advice the Nizam is conducting his administration.

Jinnah has advised the Nizam to employ as many Muslims as possible in his service. As it is, the representation of non-Muslims in the services is extremely negligible.

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh Aiyangar

भारत जी. देशमुख पुस्तकालय (भाजपा)

48

Hyderabad Dn.
28 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

There was an extraordinary meeting of the Council yesterday at which was read a letter which HEH has written to Lord M. in which he has in plaintive terms implored him that as he belongs to the royal family of England he will have sympathy with the house of the faithful ally of that royal family. He has also issued a firman by way of eyewash disapproving of the resolution of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen in which they passed a resolution of want of confidence in the Prime Minister, Ali Yavar Jung, and Monckton.

He has also issued a firman saying that a committee is to be set up composed of five members of the Assembly for the purpose of proposing measures for enlarging the powers of the Assembly. It was decided in the Council that in addition to the members of the Assembly, there should be two officials who should be

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members of Government, and myself and the Police Member were nominated for the purpose. Being the senior member, it was proposed that I should be chairman as I had already been the chairman of the previous Reforms Committee. I have very grave doubts whether HEH will sanction this proposal and even if he does, whether he will endorse the decision that I should be chairman.

Today the president of the Local Congress, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, who is now under detention in the Central Jail, is to be brought to the police office in order that two non-officials, one belonging to the League and the other a rich Sowakar, are to interview him. This is to be at 4.30 p.m. Arrest of Congress workers is going on.

I am told that HEH has without reference to the Council donated Rs. 50,000 for Chittagong flood relief, not from his privy purse, but from the State funds. I will know it definitely tomorrow.

Communal tension has arisen in Raichur and the Muslims there have telegraphed for lorries with arms.

I also learn that HEH, curiously enough, while expressing no confidence in Ali Yavar Jung, has recommended him for the Dewan's place in Baroda to succeed Sir B. L. Mitter and also to Rampur.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. Aravamudh Aiyangar

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

49

Hyderabad (Dn.)
29 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I learn on reliable authority the Governor-General had telegraphed to the Nizam asking him whether he was agreeable to have a referendum being taken as regards the question of accession [to] the Indian Union and that the Nizam had replied that he was not willing under the existing circumstances. You must have now known by this time.

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Another rumour is now afloat that in order to induce Sir Walter Monckton not to lose heart but be earnest in his endeavours on behalf of the Nizam, the latter has wired to Monckton informing him that Kassim Razvi, the president of the local Muslim League, has written to him (Nizam) that he has confidence in Monckton and that therefore he may go ahead with his attempts. It is curious that, while there is no public announcement either by the Nizam or by Kassim Razvi contradicting the statement that he has made and which has been published in the Hyderabad newspapers, it is stated that a private letter has been received from the president of the local League. The correctness of this fact is discounted here and it is stated that it is merely an eyewash intended to pacify Monckton.

One of the assistants in my office, who was in charge of the legal work for which I and my son had to make arrangements, was arrested yesterday. Although his name is on the rolls of the State Congress and he suffered incarceration during the last satyagraha movement, he did not take part in any of the Congress activities this time. Evidently they are having a general round-up of persons who have once been members of the Congress.

It is learnt that some proposals were placed before Swami Ramanand Tirtha regarding the appointment of a committee for revising the constitution and drawing up a new constitution of the State and the Executive Council should be enlarged by the appointment of 12 members of whom eight shall be non-officials selected from the Assembly and four officials and that there should be parity between Hindus and Muslims. Swami Ramanand Tirtha said that he would consider the matter and then give an answer within three days. He has been sent back to the Central Jail.

Chhatari has been prevailed upon to withdraw his resignation and I am told that he has been asked to go to Delhi and that he is leaving on Tuesday or Wednesday after knowing the result of Monckton's mission. Monckton is returning tomorrow. A special plane has been arranged for Monckton to fly back to England. Monckton has further wired to HEH that he cannot any longer carry on negotiations and that unless he sends somebody to take his place it would not be possible for him to carry on.

The rumour is very much prevalent here that the local Muslim League, which has been well organised and supplied with arms, is only waiting for an opportunity to attack the Hindus en masse. It is rumoured that the date fixed is the second or third of

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September and that if Hyderabad joins the Union there will be mass slaughter on a large scale. I learnt this from a prominent member of the Independent party that has abstained from attending this session of the Legislative Assembly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. Aravamudh Aiyangar

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

50

Hyderabad (Dn.)
30 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

You would have learnt from the Hindu of today that the contribution of the Nizam towards the Chittagong relief fund is Rs. 50,000.

Chhatari remarked that even Gandhiji has said that the place of the nationalist Muslims is only in the League and he says that it is after such a long time that this truth has dawned on Gandhiji.

Measures are being taken to increase the police force by 57 sub-inspectors and 200 head constables.

After hearing the news in the radio which has been reproduced in the Hindu of today on page 10 regarding Hyderabad and the Union, Chhatari remarked that it is such things that provoke the Nizam very much.

The telegram from the States Department regarding the action taken by this Govt. about the Indian Union flag was read today before the Council and a reply has been written that it is because of the unilateral declaration of the British Govt. that Hyderabad has to consider Britain and India as foreign, so much so that they had prohibited not only the Indian flag but the Union Jack also. But the prohibition was only against ceremonial hoisting and not as regards ordinary hoisting. We have no objection to private persons flying their flags on their houses or on their motor cars. Although this reply is given to the Govt. of India, what was happening here is something quite different. But I must say that there is not the same kind of police action now as it used to.

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The US Consulate from Madras has addressed the Chief Secretary of this Government asking him whether without reference to Delhi this State is willing to enter into direct correspondence with the US Consulate in Madras as regards various matters. I believe they do not relate to any political matters, but I believe to trade and other similar matters.

The Independent party in the Legislative Assembly here has sent a sort of ultimatum to the Govt. mentioning their demands. They are now saying that if these demands are not complied with, they will resign in a body and the Member in the Council representing that party has also been asked to resign. They came and asked me that I should also resign, but I told them that I am considering about it and that when the time comes I shall do so. I believe I have already written to you about this.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh Aiyangar

Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
New Delhi

51

Hyderabad (Dn.)
31 August 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

Monckton returned yesterday. He seems to have stayed at the Governor-General's House on the 28th until the G.G. left for Lahore on the 29th inst.

Monckton has written a long letter to HEH complaining about the manner in which the president of the local Muslim League has attacked him, expressing want of confidence in him and that the G.G. also agreed with him that unless and until the allegations were withdrawn and the statement about want of confidence also withdrawn, it would not be possible for him to continue the negotiations. But in his letter he has adverted to two points which I consider to be unnecessary.

1. He has warned the Nizam that the States Department seems to know everything that is going on here even though it may be extremely confidential. I think there was no need for him to make that statement,

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2. He has stated that he would try to prolong the negotiations as long as he can. In the meantime, the Nizam may consider about what he is going to do. He has also promised that he will try to persuade the Union to consider some via media which will neither be a treaty nor an accession but will be in the form of an agreement. The Nizam's reaction is not yet known.

Lord M. seems to have sent a very strong letter to Monckton criticising the attitude of the Nizam as regards his attempt to get arms through Pakistan. He has referred to the conversation he has had with the Prime Minister of India while they were going together in the plane. That letter is a strongly-worded one and says that it makes his (G.G.'s) position very difficult. While on the one hand he is requested to persuade the Indian Union to stretch a point or two in favour of Hyderabad, the way in which the Nizam is acting is likely to alienate the sympathies of the Union Govt. He seems to have remarked further that he (G.G.) has been told that the respite of two months is being utilised by the Nizam to arm himself with a view to crushing the Hindu subjects.

Today in the Council the President brought to the notice of the Council the fact that the Czechoslovakian Government had informed the Indian Dominion Government that the Hyderabad Government had approached them for the purchase of arms and ammunition to the tune of three crores of rupees and what they had to say. It seems the Indian Government sent a reply to the effect that if they complied with the order they would be regarded as doing an unfriendly act. This Government is going to reply that they were only negotiating but that they had not yet got the arms or ammunition.

The situation in Secunderabad has not yet come to normal. People are still going away and warrants, I understand, are being issued against members of the Andhra Sangham because it is on the strength of their being there that some of the Hindu families are bold enough to stay on.

Mr. Brunyate, the solicitor who has accompanied Monckton, is preparing the standstill agreement. I do not know if an advance copy of the proposed draft which will be submitted by this Govt. would be considered useful. If so, I shall send it on.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

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52

5 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I am herewith enclosing the drafts prepared by Brunyate, the solicitor, regarding Hyderabad's proposals for entering into a standstill agreement. They have been framed, as he says, with a view to this Government publishing them in the event of there being no compromise between this Government and the Dominion of India, as a result of the negotiations that are now going to be carried out.

Yours sincerely,
S. Aravamudh Aiyangar

ENCLOSURE

1. Defence by Indian Dominion by its forces in case there is internal commotion in the State or external aggression by its neighbours. A cantonment will be essential at Madhopur to effectively achieve this purpose. This is an immediate matter. Border of the State is really the Indian Dominion border and will have to be protected. Ammunition and petrol arrangements to be made.
2. Line of communication between the State and India to be immediately constructed. Telephone system with Madhopur. Telegraph system with the same place. Free traffic on canal road, bridge over the Ravi. Meantime existing bridge to be modified and made fit for heavy vehicular traffic.
3. Indian Dominion and Congress not to encourage secretly or openly agitation in the State for constitutional reforms and responsible government, which in other words means Pakistan, i.e., till the communal mentality remains, State administration to be left to deal with this problem without external pressure.

[For details see Appendix I.]

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17 September 1947

There was a special meeting of the Executive Council convened with two objects, namely, (1) Monckton wanted to submit a report to the Council about what he had done all these days, and gave a statement as to what advice he tendered to HEH. (2) Before returning to England he wanted to say goodbye to the members of Council. The discussion turned round the point as to whether it is advisable to send a letter on the lines drafted for HEH for being delivered to Lord Mountbatten. The letter begins by saying that further negotiations will be continued only if the Indian Union proceeds on the basis that Hyderabad is not going to accede. The majority of the members felt that it would be better if the letter did not contain that expression and so it was resolved that Chhatari should inform HEH that the members requested that the letter may be shown to them so that they may offer their criticism. So Chhatari is going to request HEH to give permission for the letter being shown to the members.

Another suggestion was that somehow or other some more time be asked for and obtained, in order that the interval may be utilised for consolidating Hyderabad's position politically and from the military standpoint. It was also thought that by that time they will know the effects of the propaganda which Mr. Laik Ali is going to make in the UK and the USA. That was the principal reason why they manoeuvred to get Laik Ali selected as a member of the Pakistan delegation to the UNO.

Another event of importance is that it is rumoured that the senior princess Durru Shewar has advised HEH to join the Union as otherwise she feared that the fate that overtook her father (the last of the Sultans of Turkey) may overtake HEH. This idea of hers is likely to be reinforced by a letter which Monckton is writing to her informing her of the Nizam's reactionary attitude.

Various attempts are being made to disrupt the Hindu Party in the legislature while on the other hand overtures are being made for some kind of settlement or other. Everyone is waiting to see what reactions are going to develop after Sir Sultan Ahmed[1] comes.

[1]Judge, Patna High Court, 1919-20; Member, Governor's Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa, 1932; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1941-45; Legal Adviser to Chamber of Princes, 1945-47

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Crores of rupees are expected to be spent by way of propaganda both in the USA and the UK.

54

Hyderabad
18 September 1947

The Nizam has issued a firman stating that only Muslim refugees should be allowed to enter the State.

The Nizam's delegation is leaving on Friday to hand over the letter to Lord Mountbatten. The letter is said to contain the views of the Nizam. He has said that he is not prepared to negotiate on the basis of accession. He is prepared to face the consequences. This is his final reply in the matter.

It appears Ali Nawaz Jung, former Chief Engineer of Hyderabad, is also a member of the delegation. He is a fanatic Muslim in whom the Hindus have no confidence. He is most untrustworthy.

NOTE FOR COUNCIL BY SIR WALTER MONCKTON DATED 15 SEPTEMBER 1947

I wanted an opportunity before my departure to England to explain my policy and give a final opinion on the situation.

1. My object has been to advise a course calculated to obtain for Hyderabad the maximum degree of real, practical independence, compatible with its prosperity and security.
2. In working for that object we have to recognise and take into account the facts as they are and remember that they may not all be permanent.
3. The overmastering immediate facts include the facts
   a. that Hyderabad is landlocked in the belly of Hindustan;
   b. that Pakistan is not yet in a sufficiently established state to be able to give effective help;
   c. that therefore if Hyderabad is to remain independent, she must stand on her own feet.
4. I have therefore been in favour of the policy which HEH has adopted in the firmans, speeches and letters which I have drafted on his instructions. They will be printed in the brochure shortly to be published to which I have also contributed a foreword. I am content that my work over the past five months should be judged on the basis of that brochure.

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5. The guiding principle has been to avoid executing an instrument of accession. But our geographical and economic position manifestly calls for a policy ensuring, short of accession, the good will and co-operation and not the hostility of the dominion which surrounds us. I have, therefore, advised an attempt to negotiate a treaty of association with that dominion.

6. The main reasons for preferring a treaty or, if the word proved an impregnable obstacle in negotiations, an agreement of association are:

   a. that a treaty or agreement, short of accession, preserves independence in law, whereas accession destroys it and involves merger or organic union;

   b. that, when circumstances change, e.g., if Pakistan and Hyderabad grew strong enough to warrant it, the treaty can be denounced or the agreement determined, and fresh arrangements can be made, e.g., (if desired) strengthening ties with the other dominion and [loosening] the association with the dominion of India. But once a State has acceded to the dominion, it will find it hard to extricate itself.

7. I wanted the negotiations to continue for Hyderabad as long as possible after 15 August. I thought (and think) the longer they continue the better for us for

   a. we have a breathing space to get ready for the economic and political conflict if it comes;

   b. we may find that the Dominion of India itself is in its early months in too great difficulties to encourage it to take too intransigent a line with Hyderabad. The troubles in the Punjab and New Delhi may illustrate this.

8. I know that Mr. Patel was and is against any extension of time to Hyderabad and that the Viceroy prevailed over the Cabinet of the dominion to allow him personally two months' time to see whether he and I, who had known each other intimately for many years publicly and privately, could find a compromise satisfactory to both sides. The Viceroy, now the Governor-General, has himself informed the President orally and HEH by telegram of this.

9. Unfortunately before I saw him last time I had (together with the President and the Constitutional Member) lost the confidence of organised Moslem opinion in the State. The Governor-General pointed out to me that the Hindus in the State would naturally wish to accede and it was not much good his trying to satisfy me with concessions because I could not speak for the Moslems. He added that HEH had expressed by telegram and letter in emphatic terms his complete confidence in me but that the days when this would be enough were over,

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10. The present situation is of course that the Moslem lack of confidence in me has been reaffirmed and I am returning to England. But HEH has asked me to see the Governor-General with the President before I go and to deliver his letter, declining to continue negotiations unless accession is treated as out of the question. He wants me, if possible, to keep the negotiations alive on a treaty basis.

11. I shall do my best but I think the chances of success remote. I regret, though only from the point of view of tactics, the passage in this last letter from HEH which in effect rules about negotiations unless it is first agreed that Hyderabad will not accede. I should have preferred, while maintaining the decision not to accede, not to make acceptance of this position a condition precedent to further negotiations. Most of the Congress Ministers, including Mr. Patel, would be glad to see negotiations ended. And this gives them their chance, especially as the Governor-General no longer attends Cabinet meetings.

12. The Council should, therefore, in my opinion assume that there will be a breakdown in negotiations. I think that the situation, if this happens, is better than it would have been on 15 August, in one respect at least. I do not think that the Dominion Government will now indulge in an open economic boycott. I have pressed the Governor-General hard about this and he has informed HEH through me that he will not be a party to any improper pressure on the State and that he has received the necessary assurances from his Ministers.

13. What I think Hyderabad must be prepared to meet is

    a. a violent propaganda campaign against the State inside India and in England and the US;

    b. a recrudescence of trouble from the State Congress who are likely to get financial help from the Congress Party (not of course from Dominion Government as such);

    c. a great deal of covert economic, financial and business pressure and obstacles.

14. There is moreover the fear that at a later stage, if it becomes necessary to deal severely with hostile Hindu elements in the State, the Dominion Government might find an excuse (however specious) to say they cannot stand by and see the Hindus oppressed and ill-treated in the State, which is wholly within their borders; they might then ultimately intervene by force. Or again, if there were interruptions in railway, telegraphic or telephonic communications in the State, the dominion might make an opportunity to intervene on the ground that these are through communications vital to the security of the dominion.

15. HEH has asked me to continue to serve his interests in England and I propose to do my best to see that the most influential political and

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Press circles in the United Kingdom, the USA and Europe are fully acquainted with HEH's policy as set out in the forthcoming brochure. I shall hope that for this purpose the Hyderabad Government will from time to time keep me informed of major changes in the political situation.

55

LETTER FROM NIZAM TO LORD MOUNTBATTEN

18 September 1947

1. By my letter of 8 August 1947 (to which I would refer for its full terms) I offered to enter into a treaty with the Dominion of India of which the important features were
   a. that I would undertake that the foreign policy of Hyderabad would be conducted in general conformity with that of the Dominion of India;
   b. that Hyderabad would contribute an agreed number of troops for the defence of the Dominion of India; (though it was stipulated that if the Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan pursued mutually hostile policies, Hyderabad would remain neutral);
   c. that reasonable provisions should be included as to communications so as to ensure the maintenance of all-India standards of safety, the provision of interchange and through traffic facilities.
2. My object in offering to negotiate a treaty of this nature is to co-operate fully in the mutual interests of Hyderabad and the Dominion of India while maintaining the integrity and independent identity of my State. I want Hyderabad to be an independent sovereign State in close association with the Dominion of India.
3. Hyderabad is half the size of France and has a population of 17 million, more than twice as many as any other Indian State and considerably more than Canada or any other British Dominion outside India. It has been under Moslem rule for seven centuries and under the Asafia dynasty for more than two. But there has been little communal strife: indeed what there has been is negligible compared with communal discord in British India. Where it has occurred in the State, it has not been indigenous but an infection from outside. All communities here have been loyal to me and my forefathers

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and have been proud to be Hyderabadis whatever their creed. In these circumstances, Hyderabad is fully entitled to retain its separate identity. But, short of accession, it is ready and willing to make such a treaty of association with the dominion as will not only secure friendly relations but will lead to the fullest co-operation. Moreover, we shall welcome suggestions from the dominion of terms calculated to make our association more real and binding.

4. But if Hyderabad were to accede to the dominion, it would lose its independent identity, for accession would involve organic union and giving the dominion power to make laws for the State. When I explained my policy in my firman of 11 June 1947 I expressly referred to my unwillingness to join either of the new dominions and by so doing to seem to take sides in what has become a communal division of India. Since the transfer of power on 15 August 1947 the political effects of division of territory and government on a purely communal basis have become tragically clear. I am apprehensive that accession would introduce the same ruinous disturbance and bloodshed into my State and I am satisfied that it is my duty in the interests of my subjects to avoid this: I am confident that Your Excellency understands my difficulties and the special circumstances of my State. I am sure that in any event you will not tolerate any pressure being brought to bear upon Hyderabad to drive me (when all responsible leaders of opinion in the UK and in India have promised me a free choice) to accept one particular alternative which if I feel in my conscience and after grave deliberation that I am bound to reject it.

5. My Ministers have accordingly prepared for your consideration a first tentative draft of heads of agreement upon which such a treaty as I have suggested could eventually be based and they are prepared under my instructions to consider any suggestions for the improvement of the document which Your Excellency's Ministers may put forward.

6. If, however, the dominion are unwilling even to consider and discuss any solution short of accession, I fear that there is no useful purpose to be served by further negotiations at present. May I be permitted to assure Your Excellency how deeply and sincerely I should deplore such a conclusion and how much I hope in the mutual interests of the Dominion and the State that even now it can be avoided?

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7. If, which God forbid, a breakdown should occur in our negotiations I shall have to publish the communications which have passed between us, so as to make my position clear before my subjects and the general public of the world in order that they may be in a position to judge how far my attitude and my offer have been just and proper.

56

Hyderabad (Dn.)
22 Sept. 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I am herewith enclosing a translation of an extract from the Rahbar-e-Deccan newspaper dated 20-9-47. Rahbar-e-Deccan is the organ of the Muslim League here and is venomous, if not more venomous, than the Dawn. This is just to let you know how this newspaper is inculcating communal passions. It may be that there is some truth in the disarming, but I have no doubt that there is good deal of exaggeration.

It is rumoured that HEH is very much perturbed over the present position and people say that but for his fear of the virulent opposition of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, he might agree to accede.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM RAHBAR DATED 20-9-1947

(This is said to have been a report received from Akola, Berar)

The Muslims of Berar have always been peace-loving and the Congress would not be able to show one instance of any breach of law on the part of Muslims. Despite all this, the oppression of the Government has become unbearable so far as the Muslims are concerned.

The CP Government is snatching away all arms from even Muslims who have been having them under a licence. These arms are necessary for the Muslims who are cultivators in order to keep off wild animals when the Muslims are in the field.

After the 15th of August, these arms have been snatched. Not only were the arms snatched but houses were searched; purdah nashin ladies who had

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veils over their faces, without any regard for their purdah, they were asked to shake the garments they were wearing just to see if they hid any arms, the gudgis of young children were torn open up to their belly just to see if arms had been hidden.

After the riots in Delhi, the Hindu refugees have been brought and kept near Muslim houses fully armed. In a cinema hall about 2,500 refugees have been kept and the Hindus have been told not to buy any houses or property belonging to the Muslims, and it has also been organised that the Hindu should not purchase the produce of the Muslim khashtgar [farmer]. The situation being so intolerable that if the Nizam's Government and the Muslims of Hyderabad do not give them an assurance that they would support them, living would be impossible for the Muslims in Berar. The Muslims of Berar appeal to the Nizam's government and the Muslims of Hyderabad to give their support.

It is also brought to the notice of the Hyderabadis that over the tehsil of Berar there used to be the flag of the Nizam and that of the British. But after 15 August 1947, the flag of the Nizam was flying. Now it has been brought down.

57

Hyderabad-Dn.
23 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

Today I have only one matter to write to you about.

Just as there has been a tussle between Junagadh and Mangrol which is said to be a tributary state of Junagadh, there may be the same phenomenon in Hyderabad too.

There are several feudatory chiefs under Hyderabad, such as, Gadwal, Wanparti, Jatprole, Amarchinta, etc. These petty principalities have got their connections with the Kurnool district of Madras Presidency. Some of them are paying Peshkash (tribute) to the Nizam.

So far as Gadwal is concerned, that state has been in existence from a time long anterior to the advent of Nizam-ul-Mulk to Hyderabad. That state has been a tributary to the Vijainagar and Bahamini kingdoms and in Aitchison's Treaties, latest edition, you will find that there is a passage to the [effect] that Gadwal is independent so long as it pays the annual Peshkash to the Nizam. Now that the treaties between the Nizam and the British Government have been abrogated, the question arises as to what the

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relation between these tributary states and the Nizam's State is. In one of the treaties it is stated that in the event of the feudatory chiefs not paying the necessary tribute, the British Government will help the Nizam to coerce those feudatory states into submission. Owing to the lapse of those treaties, they revert to their original position, but although they possess police and judicial powers, recently, that is, within the last one week, a resolution has been passed in the Council that their police and judicial powers should be taken over by Hyderabad State. I was the solitary dissentient to that proposal. As a matter of fact, these small estates or chieftainships are not strong enough to rebel and establish their rights of independence.

I should like the States Department to bear this in mind and tender advice when the time comes.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

58

25 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

It is learnt on reliable authority that HEH asked Sir Nizamat Jung and Sir Ameen Jung (Ahmed Hussain who is a Madrasi) to go to Delhi for negotiations. Both of them declined. So HEH seems to be very angry. It is rumoured that nowadays he has become extremely irritable and melancholy.

I learnt that on a requisition by telegram by Pakistan 16,000 ampules of cholera vaccine have been despatched, as it was reported that cholera had broken out in a virulent form in Pakistan. It was not stated where it had broken out, may be in Eastern Pakistan.

The delegation from Hyderabad returned day before yesterday. My information is that they had no talks with Sardar Patel but only with Lord M. Lord M. seems to have told these people that he already knew the viewpoint of the Prime Minister and Sir Walter Monckton. What is it that the other two delegates had to say? Ali Nawaz Jung, it seems, was the spokesman and he said that HEH definitely declines to accede. It seems Lord M. told him, "Do you know what grim consequences will follow such a decision?" to which the Nawab replied that they knew it.

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Hyderabad is quite prepared for it. It may affect it for two years but after that everything would become normal as Hyderabad was big enough to be an independent State. Then, it seems, the Governor-General told them to leave the papers and that he would intimate to them what decision his Government would come to.

The version from the official side is that it is no longer the State that has got to initiate anything but it is now the Indian Union to re-establish contacts and initiate any further negotiations.

Chhatari is expecting to leave for good on Saturday. He is giving a farewell dinner tomorrow night to the Members of the Executive Council.

Nothing is known about who is to succeed. Rumours are to the effect that Ali Nawaz Jung is to succeed and some say Laik Ali, who has gone to the UNO, is going to succeed. A third version is the Nizam is going to carry on his own administration without a Prime Minister which he did years ago.

Yesterday, it seems, a telegram was received from V. P. Menon to Monckton enquiring as to why the Nizam issued the ordinance regarding the Government of Berar, to which a reply has been sent by Monckton saying that he was the author of it and that it was only meant to continue the existing position without a break and that it was not intended to assume powers which were not already existing.

Monckton seems to have written a private letter to Lord M. to the effect that if communal strife begins, the Hindus will suffer in Hyderabad city, while in the districts and villages the Muslims are likely to be wiped out.

There is absolutely no doubt that every Englishman is pro-Pakistan and pro-Muslim. Griggson, who was till recently Revenue Member, and Major Maunsell, who was secretary to the Resident, have got employed in Pakistan. Mr. Savidge, who is the Director General of Revenue, is going to Pakistan. Mr. Anderson, who was the Director General of Police, is in quest of employment in Pakistan.

The Berar legislation was the joint handly work of Monckton and Ali Yavar Jung. As I have already told you, Ali Yavar Jung, though he is considered to be not so very extreme in his views, is sufficiently mischievous and unreliable. I want that the States Department should know this, because there is an impression here that he is considered to be a safe man by them, which is not the case.

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I am herewith enclosing two documents, one dated 15 September 1947 being a note submitted by Sir Walter Monckton to the Council, explaining his policy and giving a final opinion and warning on the situation; the other, dated 18 September 1947, is the corrected copy of the letter which HEH has sent to Lord M. I dare say that the latter document must be in the hands of the States Department by now. Perhaps, the former document will be interesting as showing the mentality of the Constitutional Adviser.

You will remember that I wrote to you some time back that HEH has handed over letters prepared presumably by Sir Walter Monckton for being handed over to His Majesty the King, Mr. Attlee and other prominent Members of the British Cabinet. That letter was sent through a special messenger and that messenger is no other than Mr. Laik Ali who was, I understand, especially appointed as additional representative to the UNO on behalf of Pakistan, although he is not a Pakistani subject, simply to show to the world that he is being sent to the UNO whereas really he was carrying these letters to be delivered to the abovementioned people. Yesterday, it seems a cablegram has been received to the effect that the letter to His Majesty was handed in Scotland and that the other letters to Mr. Attlee and others were duly handed over, that Mr. Attlee was very sympathetic and that everything was very hopeful there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

[Second batch of Hyderabad letters received by Gopalaswami Ayyangar and passed on to Sardar Patel.]

59

27 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

On receipt of an urgent telegram from Sir Sultan Ahmed that there has been a change of attitude on the part of the Indian Union and in consequence of a frantic appeal made by him not to send away Monckton, Monckton has postponed his departure. Sir Sultan Ahmed himself is expected here tomorrow.

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The Nawab of Chhatari gave us a farewell dinner last night, but it was ascertained there that he also has been asked to stay on. So he has also postponed his departure, otherwise he should have left today.

Yesterday, in the course of conversation, Chhatari was saying that the main reason why the Indian Union is very insistent upon Hyderabad acceding is the fear that Hyderabad might join Pakistan, but they have been assured that Hyderabad does not intend to join Pakistan. He also said that if only Hyderabad accedes there is absolutely no doubt that there will be bloodshed here. He went on to say, however, that the Indian Union does not seem to realise that with a very slight and absolutely trivial concession their object may be achieved without altering a single word or syllable in the instrument of accession. If they simply alter the wording of it and say that it is an agreement of association or a treaty instead of calling it an instrument of accession, their object would be gained and the disinclination of Hyderabad to join the Union will also have been removed.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

PS.

I hear that refugees are coming in their hundreds and the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen are giving them shelter. In consequence of the large influx of these people, Hindus, who had gone out and who were expecting to return now, are holding back and are not returning, and it is stated that the houses of those Hindu evacuees are being given into the possession of Muslims according to the usual technique in their places.

60

28 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

The only items of information that I have got today are

1. that Sir Sultan Ahmed arrives today;
2. Monckton is leaving for Bombay tomorrow and is returning on Thursday and will await the availability of a boat from Bombay;

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3. Mr. V. P. Menon[1] has asked this Government whether it will agree to having a representative from the Government of India here to which, I understand, this Government has replied declining to agree;
4. it seems the Governor-General has wired to Monckton that he may as well leave the place as there does not seem to be any benefit or object in his staying on here.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar

61

29 September 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

The reply of Lord M. to the letter of the Nizam enclosing heads of agreement together with the notes of discussion at the meeting held between the representatives of the Govt. of India and the Hyderabad delegation have been received by HEH, but as regards the latter, HEH has not yet been apprised of the correct record of the proceedings received from the Govt. of India. It is learnt that the version submitted to HEH is not complete in that it has omitted to indicate the firm attitude which the Governor-General and the States Department have taken. Nevertheless, there is sufficient [indication] even in the diluted version to make it plain to HEH that unless Hyderabad accedes, the Dominion of India is not going to agree to the several demands made by Hyderabad and it has been equally made plain that if only Hyderabad accedes great many concessions which otherwise Hyderabad would not have got would be given.

I am told, Monckton is partially responsible for this suppressio veri. Monckton is leaving for Bombay today and is returning day after tomorrow. Sir Sultan Ahmed is somehow or other inducing HEH to retain Monckton or, even if he goes to England for a short while, to recall him. They seem to be of the opinion here that actually the Dominion of India will not resort to economic sanctions for some time to come as their hands are now full with the Punjab happenings.

[1] Reforms Commissioner; Secretary, Ministry of States; Adviser, Ministry of States; acting Governor of Orissa; played important role under Patel in integration of Princely States

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The committee for the expansion of the legislature's powers has been promulgated with Raja Bahadur S. Aravamudh Aiyangar as chairman.

Everywhere the Hyderabad delegation is stressing on the probability of rioting and mass assaults and killings of the majority community in the event of Hyderabad acceding.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar

62

3 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

Letters have not been written regularly for the last two or three days because it was not certain where you would be.

Two extracts from the Rahbar-e-Deccan newspaper dated 28-9-47 and 30-9-47 respectively are attached herewith for your information. They are the index of the mentality that is pervading the Muslim mind. The Rahbar-e-Deccan is a most influential newspaper which is the organ of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen and is being promoted by several officials of this Government.

Recently a police report seems to have been sent to HEH to the effect that the Hindu Samasthans in this State are intending to accede to the Indian Union. It is true that such an agitation among the people of these Samasthans who have relations in the Andhra districts of Madras province exists. On learning it, HEH asked his Prime Minister to contact the holders of these Samasthans and get from them written assurances that they are not going to join the Indian Union. Under the circumstances in which they are now placed some of them have given such assurances in writing. HEH has intimated this fact to Lord M. in his letter to him.

Monckton is suddenly leaving for Delhi by today's plane and is returning tomorrow. It is understood that when he returns, he will be returning with Mr. V. P. Menon. It is strongly rumoured that Monckton has persuaded Lord M. to agree to a kind of loose agreement of association for a period of six months. People here are apprehensive that this respite may give the Nizam sufficient time to consolidate his position. They attribute this development to the fact that the Govt. of India has got

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sufficient troubles in consequence of the Punjab situation and the Junagadh trouble that they do not want to add to their troubles. I do not know how far it is true.

In the meantime, the influx of refugees is going on at a very rapid pace. At least 1,000 to 1,500 refugees are coming in daily and it is thought that the total number of refugees is somewhere between 15,000 and 25,000. Some of them have been sent to the Thungabhadra project for employment and some are given promises of employment.

It is rumoured that the police will be sufficient for a mass attack on the Hindus in the city. As regards the districts, it is stated that troops will be sent and most of these refugees will also be armed and sent to the districts. This is all rumour.

More particulars will be furnished when there is less apprehension of correspondence being censored.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

63

4 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

The extracts from the Rahbar-e-Deccan which were said to have been enclosed in yesterday's letter were omitted to be despatched by mistake. They are being sent today by today's post.

The assurances by the Samasthan holders have been acknowledged by HEH appreciating the loyal sentiments expressed in their assurances. This has been sent to Gadwal Samasthan. The other Samasthans have not yet sent their assurances.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM RAHBAR-E-DECCAN DATED 28-9-1947

1. Forecast by one Mohd. Sadik Baghbanpuri from Lahore:

The Pakistan Government will reach the height of its glory on 11 March 1957. Till 21 May 1949 there will be deficit in its income and in its business. The Muslims will be united. There won't be any invasion against Pakistan. From 6 June 1954 there will be a confederation of Muslims formed. On 4 May 1957 Pakistan will invade Hindustan.

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2. There will be feuds and trouble in Hindustan and from 14 October 1947 there will be a dispute between Sikhs and Hindus. The Sikhs will try to establish their State and both Sikhs and Hindus will suffer heavy loss. The Muslim residents in small villages in Hindustan should go and reside in Hyderabad (Dn.), the Muslim residents in the city should stick to the city.
3. There will be endless trouble in Kashmir and the Raja and his family will run away.
4. Russia will not join Hindustan.
5. After 27 September 1951 Gandhiji will not see Hindustan. One leader will distress the other leader in Hindustan. In 1957 there will be a battle between Pakistan and Hindustan.

EXTRACT FROM EDITORIAL IN RAHBAR-E-DECCAN DATED 30-9-47

It is a matter to be noted that in spite of the persuasion and sometimes threat of the Indian Union, Kashmir, whose Raja is a Hindu, has decided not to join the Indian Union. This is a matter of defeat for Messrs. Nehru, Kripalani[1] and Gandhi. These people, one after another, had gone to Kashmir to frighten the Maharaja and also to persuade him. After this decision of Kashmir we are not able to understand on what basis the Congress wants to push Hyderabad into the Indian Union. It is now found that the relationship between Hindustan and Pakistan is getting strained every day and on account of the unjustifiable [attitude] of Hindustan to Pakistan, the position will get worse. Under such circumstances, why should Hyderabad get into the Union and thus get itself mixed in this scramble? After the decision of Kashmir the case of Hyderabad has become stronger. It is understood that after Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur joined the negotiating committee further negotiations between the Indian Union and Hyderabad stopped. This information is a matter of great consolation to all loyal citizens. Hyderabad had made it quite clear that it would be aloof and would not join the Indian Union but would enter into treaty relationship with the same. In these circumstances, what is the meaning of the Union insisting upon Hyderabad to sign the instrument of accession? There can be no question of treaty after signing. Now that the Indian Union does not want any friendly relationship with Hyderabad, it would be for the Hyderabad Govt. to start negotiations with Pakistan, and it ought to make it clear to the Indian Union that it is desirous to enter into treaty relations, otherwise it will have its own way.

[1] Congress General Secretary, 1934-46; party President, 1946-47; member of CA, 1946-50; resigned from Congress in 1951; MP intermittantly, 1952-70

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64

5 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I write this letter in the expectation that you would have returned from Lahore. It is not definitely known whether you have shifted to Jullundur or you merely go there off and on in connection with official duties.

Monckton returned yesterday. It is rumoured that the G.G. is not willing to break off negotiations now but is sending V. P. Menon to discuss the heads of agreement which has been drafted and sent. I am afraid that this is likely to be understood here as a sign of weakness. It would have been better if these terms were discussed there alone. I am told Mr. Menon is arriving here on the 8th instant.

The refugee problem here is rather getting worse. Whatever is or is not done, the one point on which insistence will be necessary is the keeping in the cantonment of Secunderabad a large number of troops of the Indian Army. The Nizam is frantically wiring that the troops should be withdrawn and it is rumoured here that Monckton's hurried trip is also in connection with the movement of the troops from here.

You must have seen the categorical statement made in the Indian Express (dated 4-10-47). I cannot but think that there is a great deal of truth in what has been stated in that article. It may be that there is a slight exaggeration here and there but I think the report is substantially correct. If that precaution is not taken, I am afraid the lives of Hindus here cannot be safe. Mere contradiction or repudiation cannot be relied on.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

65

6 October 1947

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

On learning from the radio that you have returned to Delhi from Lahore this letter is written.

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Some of the letters from here seem to have been handed over to Lord M. who in turn has handed over a copy of the letter of 15 September 1947 along with his own covering letter, to the Constitutional Adviser.

As regards some of the letters, the writer was apprehensive lest his identity may be disclosed. That point has got to be carefully remembered.

So far as this particular letter is concerned the writer understands that a telegram has been received by the Constitutional Adviser from the private secretary, asking him to burn it.

This letter is particularly written so that very strict care is taken that the identity is not disclosed.

66

7 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

Your letter of the 1st instant.

Everybody is glad that you have entered the Cabinet.

The whole of the Hindu population here is anxiously looking forward to the visit of Mr. V. P. Menon and consider that by his advent here the situation would become better. I do not know if Lord M.'s visit to Junagadh is going to materialize. If that is so, people here also expect that his presence would settle things here finally in a moment. After all the Nizam is a great coward. He is merely boosted up by the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen.

The postmaster of the Residency post office, a Muslim, seems to be a quisling and it is through him that the palace gets every information regarding telegrams that pass to and from this place.

The Nizam and the extreme Muslim public here are most anxious about the complete evacuation of the Indian Dominion troops from the State. There can be no other reason for it except the desire that mass attacks on the Hindus would go unchecked if there are no troops of the Indian Dominion near at hand.

Yesterday for no reason whatever, a band of Arabs entered a mission school in Secunderabad and on the pretext of the school management not having handed over to them a boy who, they alleged, had stoned them, marched three of the teachers to the police station where they were let off. The Arabs, however, were all armed and a lorry load of them were seen by me while I was going to Secunderabad.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

67

8 October 1947

My dear Gopalaswami Ayyangar,

I do not know the reason why Mr. V. P. Menon's coming over here has been cancelled, but the people here attribute it to two circumstances:

1. There were many groups of individuals of different communities and political thought. They wanted to interview and inform him of the real situation here, and that was distasteful to the authorities here.
2. If Mr. Menon was to have contact with HEH or with Members of the Council, the duplicity played by Monckton would be exposed.

The feeling here seems to be that Monckton has not yet been quite straightforward in his negotiations. He has been saying one thing to the Nizam and quite another thing to people there and if in the course of conversation anything turns up regarding what Monckton told those people, it may make Monckton look small in the eyes of these people.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Aravamudh

68

11 October 1947

Two points have to be noted:

(1) You must have read the propaganda in the London Times about Junagadh's accession. That shows how the British papers have been influenced by the British element here. One is disheartened by the tone of such papers as the Manchester Guardian.

(2) You must have read in the papers about Liaquat Ali Khan's[1] statement that no Muslims from provinces other than the Punjab would be admitted into Pakistan. That being the case,

[1] Member of UP legislature, 1926-39; MLA (Central), 1941 and Deputy Leader of Muslim League; Finance Minister in Interim Government formed by Nehru in 1946; Prime Minister of Pakistan after partition; assassinated on 16 October, 1951

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there are ever so many Muslims coming in here who are being feted like sons-in-law in the father-in-law's house.

Hindustan Times is perfectly right when it says that there is far more in Liaquat Ali Khan's statement than meets the eye, and there is also a cartoon which shows that, while saying with the right hand, "Don't come", by the left hand from behind he points to Hyderabad as a place of refuge. The Hyderabad Women and Children's Welfare Association presided over by the younger Princess Niloufer, for which huge grants have been made by the Government, that out of the funds of the Association blankets are being provided to the refugees.

When I was attending a garden party the other day, I happened to meet the brother of Dr. Hassan, ex-Minister of the CP. The information that I received was that Dr. Hassan used to impart information derived by him as Minister to his brother who transmitted that information to Mr. Jinnah and that, they say, was the reason why the CP Ministry did not take Dr. Hassan into their confidence afterwards and used to transact business without him. That man whose name is Izzuddin, complained to me about the manner in which Muslims are being treated in the CP. He said that there were wholesale searches ostensibly for finding out arms and that really even small pen-knives were taken away from the Muslims. I do not know how far it is true.

69

12 October 1947

A firman has been issued to the effect that if Sheikh Abdullah[1] of Kashmir comes to Hyderabad, he should be turned back and if he insists, he should be arrested and interned.

Nothing special to write excepting that the refugee situation is day by day getting worse.

The Hyderabad Agent-General's remarks are not his own but what he has been directed to say, and in the latest statement that he has issued, he has only repeated the draft that was prepared by Monckton and was sent to him for broadcasting. He is well known and he is not a person who can be regarded as a Leaguer. He is a sane man.

1 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah: first President of Muslim Conference (later converted it into National Conference) 1932; President, All India States Peoples' Conference; Prime Minister of J & K State, 1948-1953; arrested in August 1953 for anti-State activities; released in January 1958; thereafter arrested and released several times for political activities

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13 October 1947

The Hyderabad delegation returned yesterday and today in the Council they are going to discuss the draft which evidently they have left with the States Department for their scrutiny.

The point which is of the utmost importance here is that of law and order in so far as the majority community is concerned. It is believed that the States Dept. is in full possession of the events that have happened for the last two months:

(1) Stabbing and killing in Nallagutta;

(2) The burning of Welcome Hotel and one or two houses in Market Street, Secunderabad, stabbings in connection therewith;

(3) The incidents in Aliabad Darwaza;

(4) The very recent incident in Dhoolpet; and

(5) The Arabs' marching teachers of St. Mary's School along the public road to the police station for no fault of theirs.

All these have got a family likeness and although it was stated that the article in the Indian Express was couched in most exaggerated terms, there is no doubt that the technique in all cases is the same. It is always the story of the wolf and the lamb. Stories of small assaults, stone-throwing, bomb explosions are either invented or exaggerated for the purpose of justifying the regular campaign of depriving the majority community of even small things like pen-knife, scissors, etc. and also the tools of workmen. The result of the latest two incidents has been that at a time when people who had evacuated were thinking of returning to Secunderabad the Arab scare has had the result of preventing the persons who had left from returning and a fresh stimulus has been given to the exodus of people from Secunderabad. Similarly, the Dhoolpet incident has resulted in a number of Lodha workmen evacuating, some of whom have taken shelter in the various dharamsalas in Sultan Bazar and other places where there is a predominantly Hindu population.

While this is going on with regard to the majority community, people calling themselves refugees are pouring in large numbers by every train. They are being feted all the way. It is

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also reported that the moment the train comes in to the Hyderabad frontier, Muslim goondas throw people out of the railway carriages. The Member in-charge of the refugees camp himself [thinks] that their number is 50,000.

In regard to the subject of communications, the policy of the British Govt. in not allowing the various States to have jurisdiction over the railway was found to be a very wise decision. The absence of such a decision is likely to be productive of much avoidable trouble.

It is learnt that there was an urgent meeting of the Council today at which all the members of the negotiating committee, including Sir Sultan Ahmed, were present and discussed the draft terms of the standstill agreement that is to be entered into between the Union of India and Hyderabad State. Opinion was, it is understood, divided, some being of the opinion that the period for which this standstill agreement is to last was to be two years, while others, it appears, said that it need be for one year only. It was also, it seems, said that the Union was not inclined to fix any period of time but wanted to have it terminable at three months' notice and that it is in consequence of Monckton's efforts that the Union Govt. had been persuaded to agree to one year with the option of extending it by another year by the consent of both parties. Some of the members, it is learnt, were of opinion that this is the most opportune time to press the Union Govt. hard because they are in difficulties and that they would not have climbed down even to this extent but for the situation in which they found themselves now.

It is also stated that several of the Indian princes will protest if Hyderabad is treated in a different manner from those people.

It seems some Muslim princes are also jealous of the possibility of Hyderabad achieving more than they have been able to do. One or two were of opinion that this is the most opportune time to court a breakdown so that intense propaganda may be made in the UK and the USA by corrupting people at the highest level by lavish bribery inasmuch as every man has his price.

It was stated that the terms are known to the States Department. In fact, a copy was left with the Secretary. They laid emphasis on the fact about which Lord M. has given prominence in his recent letter as also in his talk with the delegation to the effect that terrible consequences in the shape of disturbances in South India will take place in the same manner as they have taken place in the North. Some members, it is understood, were

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of opinion that if only such a thing takes place, it is only the Indian Union's prestige that will suffer.

TRANSLATION OF THE STATEMENT GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ITTEHAD-UL-MUSSALMEEN DATED 14 OCTOBER 1947 AND REPORTED IN RAHBAR-E-DECCAN ON 15-1-57 FASLI

"Black is black" whatever one may call it. That sentence is used by the Hindu daily regarding the negotiations of the Hyderabad delegation at Delhi. He says, "I ask what practical difference there is if it is called an agreement or contract or co-operation and in it are embodied the terms of the instrument of accession."

Mr. Patel belongs to the class of Hitler and would not even like to change the name. Our Government is temperamentally like Chamberlain which has no courage to face the opponent. It is afraid merely by the name of accession. Mountbatten like a Daniel has come in to remove both of these from this intricate position. That Mr. Patel who has handed over the heads of the 60 per cent of the Muslims to the Sikhs, that person who witnessed coolly the mass slaughter of Muslims at Delhi and that individual who got the Muslims who were in peace slaughtered with his police and army and that Stalin consoles us by saying that the conditions would be like the instrument of accession but it would be called an agreement of co-operation. The fear of Hyderabad is allayed by making us believe that it is a document of co-operation.

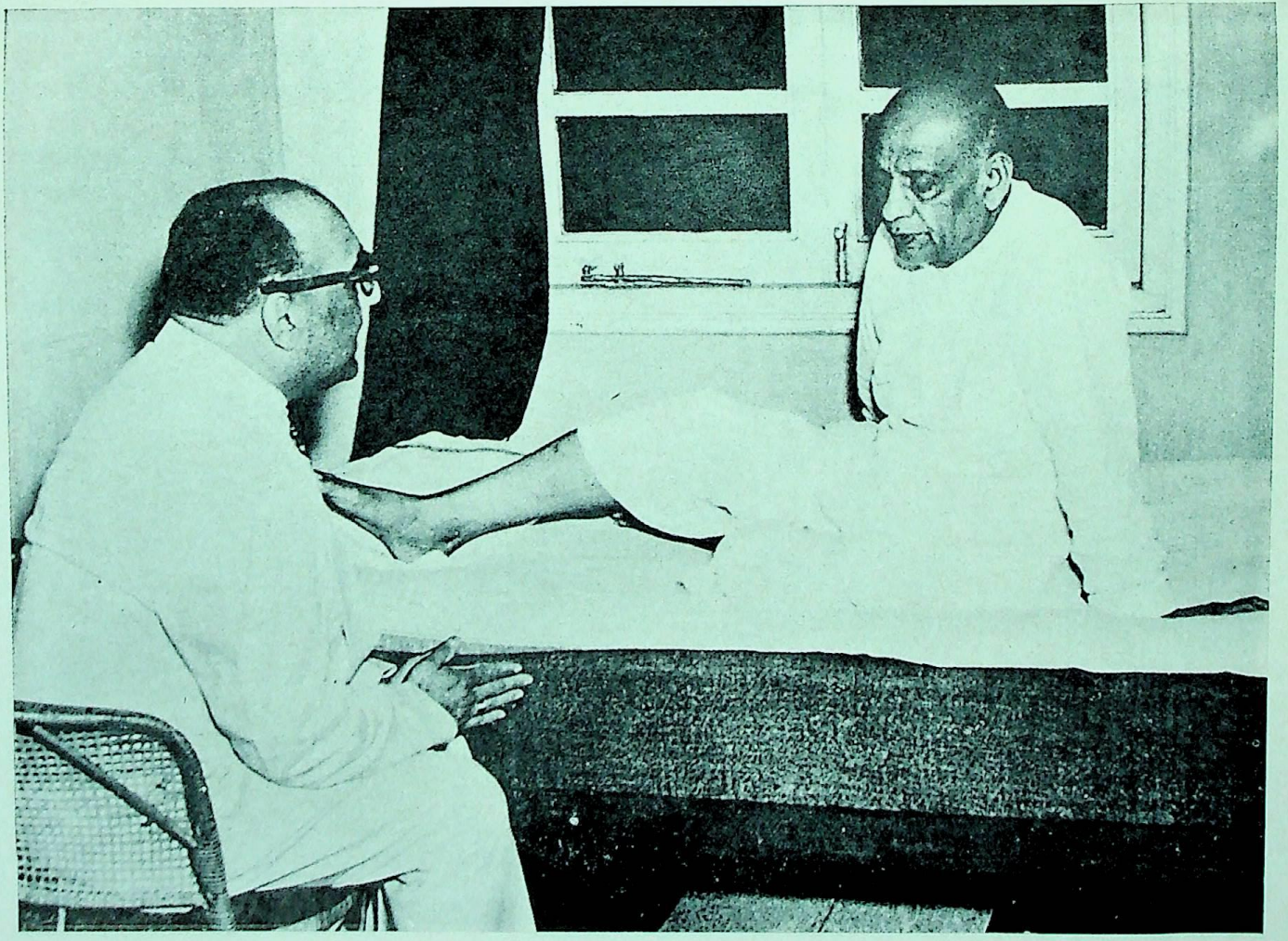
A fraud has been practised on Hyderabad. The import of the words "faithful ally" has so soon been forgotten. After all, the faithful ally has become a faithful servant, or in other words, it has become a subdued country.

If friendship can be converted into paramountcy then there is nothing to prevent accession turning out to be subjugation.

If the conjectures and the forecast made by the Hindu newspapers are voicing the opinion of somebody inside, then whether it is accession or association, in either respect it is nothing better than slavery in which destruction is sure to come. Whenever Mr. Patel uses the word "destruction," he always has in his mind the destruction of the Muslims. In the Hindu newspapers it is stated that Hyderabad would be independent in external affairs and it would be in a position to have relationship with outside countries including Pakistan, but this relationship would not be of embassies, and if Hyderabad does want to have embassies such embassies would be subject to the supervision of the Indian ambassador. What a nice co-operation is this! What a complete independence is this!

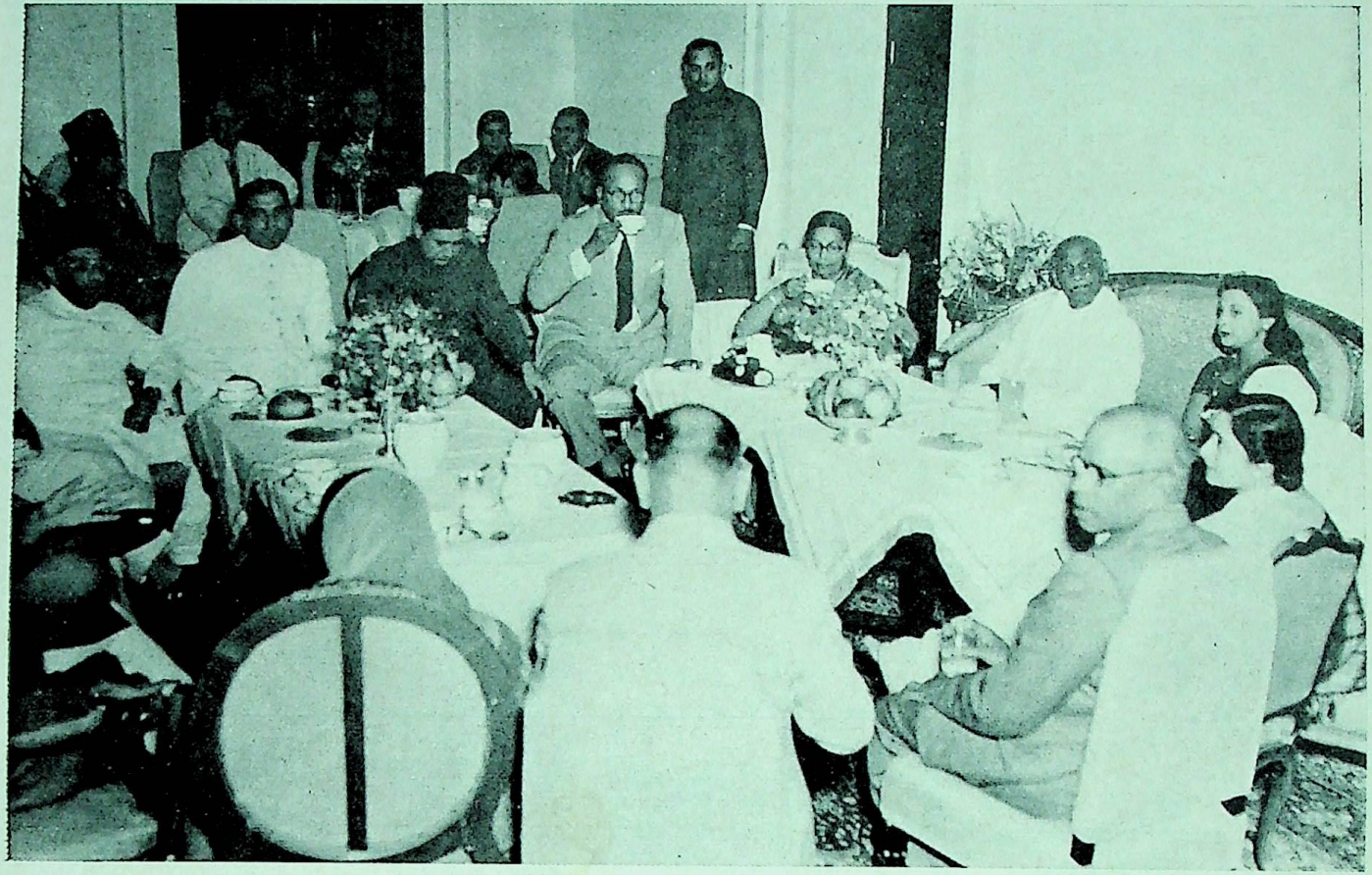
They say that independent Hyderabad would be at liberty to issue passports, but this passport would not be valid until some competent officer of India countersigns it. This is independence!

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THE PRINCE OF BERAR CHATTING WITH THE SARDAR AT THE LATTER'S BOMBAY RESIDENCE

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AT A TEA PARTY DURING A VISIT TO HYDERABAD IN FEBRUARY 1949. THE SARDAR IS SEEN WITH MAJ.-GEN. CHAUDHURI, MILITARY GOVERNOR, MRS. CHAUDHURI, MR. V. P. MENON AND THE PRINCE OF BERAR

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In the matter of defence, these Hindu newspapers state that Hyderabad could have a powerful army, but there will be this condition that Hyderabad could not import arms or ammunition or manufacture them. What a defence is this! This [type of] military is going to protect and safeguard the independence of Hyderabad and it is also stated that in times of need this empty-handed military would support India in the event of outside aggression and over this India would have control! Probably this would be a [suicide] squad. A good army is that which could die and which would be fodder for the cannon. If this independence which is going to be achieved not by accession but by co-operation, what is the good of mere quibbling in words and what is the good of hiding clear facts? Cannot Hyderabad learn from Mr. Patel the one quality that he possesses—openness? If Mr. Patel is nothing else, he is at least open and candid. Why not state facts straight although they may be [bitter]. This the tottering Government of Hyderabad can never do. The fate of lakhs of blind people is in the hands of a body which is paralytic and which is called Government. What an unfortunate position it is for Hyderabad that among the four members of the delegation, three who are to shape the destiny of Hyderabad are not Hyderabadis; of these three, two are such whose life and fortune are in the hands of Patel and his Government! The third one who is a friend and a countryman of a person who considers that his duty to completely destroy the Muslims would not be complete until Hyderabad, which is now in peace and prosperity, is thrown into this fire of hell which is called the Indian Union! The fourth member is a straight and an honest man and an Antideluvian.

You Hyderabadis, who are living in peace and prosperity, you are on the brink of ruin. You are in the throes of a volcano which is to burst and all this is being done by people who are against you. All this is being done on account of your neglect. Why not somebody ask this so-called Government, what is there to prevent carrying on negotiations with Pakistan and other Muslim and non-Muslim countries after the Hyderabad Independence Act and His Majesty the Nizam's firman? There is nothing to prevent. It is merely the threat of Mr. Patel. It is only the fear of a general massacre as at Delhi and the anger of the Malik of the prison (in which Muslims are incarcerated) at the old Fort.

The Government deludes us by saying that Jinnah is a Muslim and Pakistan is a Muslim country. Pakistan cannot have any other relationship but friendly whether we negotiate with it or not. What a delusion! By this act and their statements they are making every one of the Muslims in Pakistan their enemy.

I appeal on behalf of the lakhs of peace-loving and independent Hyderabadis that either they should start negotiations immediately with Pakistan or stop further negotiations with Hindustan. Otherwise, the Muslims will have become architects of their own fortune.

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14 October 1947

It is understood that at the Council meeting today three matters were discussed:

1. Regarding the right of Hyderabad to appoint diplomatic representatives in foreign countries. It was originally proposed that the right of sending trade representatives should be left unfettered but there should be no power to send diplomatic representatives. Now, owing to the opposition of some Members, it is understood, the draft is worded in such a way that diplomatic representatives can be appointed in Commonwealth countries. This phraseology has been adopted so that Pakistan may be included and they do not want to specifically mention Pakistan. It was also provided that trade representatives may be appointed to any country. The opposition centred round on the stipulation that any political representation should be made only through the representatives of the dominion.
2. The next point on which there is said to be controversy was the right to purchase arms and ammunition. The original draft contained the words that such purchase should be done after consultation with the Dominion of India, but it was altered in such a way that the State may request the dominion to supply it with arms and ammunition fixing a time-limit within which that should be supplied, and if even after the lapse of a reasonable period after that date, the dominion does not comply with the request, they should be at liberty to obtain it from other sources.
3. The clause regarding arbitration referred to the Arbitration Act of 1899. It was stated that that is the Act referred to in all the instruments of accession which have been signed by the various Indian States. It is surprising how the repealed Act of 1899 is mentioned there when that Act was repealed by the Act of 1940. A question, it seems, arose as to which court will have jurisdiction in regard to arbitration, that is, if any party omits to appoint an arbitrator which it is bound to appoint, which court will have the jurisdiction to appoint the arbitrator.

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15 October 1947

It is learnt:

Today when the Members assembled at the usual time for the meeting of the Executive Council, the President, the Nawab of Chhatari, was not there. Two or three Members waited. The Nawab Sahib after an hour or so came and intimated that three of the Members who were either the nominees of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen organisation or were supporting it did not come. It seems that the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen sent a memorandum to HEH saying that simultaneously with entering into a standstill agreement with the Dominion of India, they should also enter into a standstill agreement with Pakistan. The Nizam became perplexed and it was intimated to him that such a course would not be possible. If that was his idea, then there is no use in continuing the negotiations. There should be a breakdown.

Chhatari seems to have remarked that he told HEH that he was a foreigner, non-Hyderabadi, Monckton was also in that category and so was Sir Sultan Ahmed. That being the case, it is up to him to take the advice of a Hyderabadi. This seems to have caused a great deal of confusion in the Nizam's mind and the Members that had gone to attend the meeting were asked to go home and come back when sent for. It appears that they were sent for again after an hour or so.

In the meantime, these Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen members seem to have had a consultation among themselves and seem to have come to the conclusion that there should not be a breakdown. So all Members were again sent for and the draft, as finally approved, is likely to be taken to Delhi by tomorrow's plane by the members of the delegation consisting of Chhatari, Monckton, Sultan Ahmed and Ali Nawaz Jung.

What alterations were made in the draft as settled yesterday is not clear. Anyhow, one thing was certain, viz., that nobody seemed to want a breakdown. Even those members who valiantly said that there might be an immediate breakdown and if it is so, what happens, also came round to the view that there ought not to be a breakdown and Ali Nawaz Jung was also of the opinion that as far as possible there ought to be no breakdown.

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It is therefore considered by all well-informed persons here that there is no need for the Indian Dominion to hesitate to be as firm as possible. There may not be any magic in the expression "instrument of accession" so long as the conditions that usually find a place therein do also find a place in whatever document is sought to be exchanged between the two Governments.

Monckton seems to have told those members who expressed the view that the document, although not called an instrument of accession, was still virtually an instrument of accession, that the two things that they were able to get from the Indian Dominion which other States have not got are

1. that dominion legislation will not proprio vigore apply to Hyderabad, and
2. that there will be mutual exchange of representatives instead of merely the Dominion of India sending its representative to Hyderabad and this is something like having ambassadors and finally the assurance seems to have been given that Hyderabad cannot be said to have acceded as other States have. It appears that the correct and complete version of Lord M.'s speeches has not been given to HEH.

Two more points have to be stressed:

1. The words "unity of India" were stated in the draft which was said to have been shown to the States Dept. Secretary by the Hyderabad delegation when they left Delhi. Here they have changed it into "the stability of India as a whole." The object underlying was that if the words "unity of India" were there, it could somehow or other construe as if there was some unity between the Dominion of India and Hyderabad. The opinion here is that amendment should be resisted.
2. The question of refugees is assuming very great importance here. The number has, it is understood, swelled to nearly two lakhs according to some, but the official estimate is 60,000. But the way in which they are feted and supplied with arms seems to be a dangerous portent. Attempts are being made by the inhabitants of Secunderabad to see that they are not at least allowed into the town but are kept far away from the town area and are not allowed to infiltrate. That question has got to be kept in view.

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18 October 1947

1. A Member of Government has been priding himself on the fact that this Government has been able to get two lakhs of Muslim refugees who could be depended upon.

2. Since day before yesterday, refugees have without actual permission been encouraged to get into the plague camps, with the result that from two such camps the Hindus occupying those camps have gone back to their homes. The police is unable to prevent their occupation. The Health Department is hard put to see that the health of the city does not deteriorate.

The Ministers for Refugees, Police and the Health Department all of them express their helplessness in this matter.

3. A correct translation of the statement issued by Qasim Razvi,[1] president of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen organisation, delivered on 14 October 1947 is enclosed. A translation of the editorial of the same newspaper dated 18-10-1947 is also enclosed.

TRANSLATION OF AN EDITORIAL OF RAHBAR-E-DECCAN DATED 18-10-47

About a week ago we drew the attention of Nawab Liakat Jung, the Army Member, to the existence of an outside army here and we also told him that if there is no army here it might be made clear by a communique so that people might have peace of mind. It is most unfortunate that the Government does not issue any such notice and is merely paving the way for interference in future.

A country cannot be completely independent in the presence of outside forces. For the exercise of complete independence the first thing that countries do is to get rid of outside forces and it won't rest content till the last sepoy goes out. We can take the instance of Egypt which has completely got rid of British forces.

At a time when friendly negotiations are going on the retaining of the forces would amount to the Union exercising coercion and it would, therefore, be necessary that the Hyderabad Govt. should refuse to negotiate until

[1] Small town pleader; President, Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen; organized Razakar movement against Hindus

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all the troops are removed. If the Govt. is going to neglect this, the consequences would be more serious.

We are telling the Army Member that if he has given any more time to the outside forces to stay on the people at large would not brook it. He would be held responsible for the consequences. He has merely got to muster courage and get rid of the forces.

On 15 August 1947 it was these forces that hoisted the Union flag in the cantonment area against the orders of the Nizam's Govt. and also attempted to stop processions and when our military forces expressed discontent and protested, the Indian Union had to come down on its knees. If the Govt. abandons its lethargy in getting rid of the forces, surely there would not be one sepoy left here.

74

23 October 1947

It is understood that today Sir Walter Monckton explained the significance of the standstill agreement and the collateral agreement to be signed by the Nizam. It was stated that certain terms have been achieved for this State which no other Indian State has been given, for instance,

1. the provision for exchange of representatives at Hyderabad and Delhi, and
2. stationing of troops permanently has been abandoned.

It was understood that the Governor-General will send a reply to the collateral letter agreeing to the terms contained therein. It seems that the provisions which were considered to be detrimental to the present status of the State, were

i regarding informing in advance of the names of the trade representatives that this Government is to appoint in foreign countries;

ii the absence of any provision enabling this Govt. to appoint Political Representatives even in Commonwealth countries, including Pakistan.

It was stated that although the very same standstill agreement was rejected by the Dominion Govt. previously, they have now agreed, without accession, to the entering into a standstill agreement because of the pressure of circumstances, inasmuch as they have got there very serious difficulties facing them in the Punjab with Kashmir and Junagadh, not to speak of Pakistan itself. It was also stated that apprehension was entertained that if for a period of one year the present arrangement worked smoothly,

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it would be open to the Hyderabad Govt. to say now that the present arrangement has worked well where is the need for an accession hereafter after the lapse of the one-year period mentioned in the agreement. Much was made of the Governor-General's statement that the Govt. of India did not wish trouble in South India similar to the one that has occurred in Northern India. It was pointed out that it is a case of take it or leave it, although some Members are said to have stated that this is the time to press hard because later on the Indian Dominion would have got rid of its difficulties and it would not be possible to get at that time terms which it is possible to get now. It is also stated that there were two standstill agreements that were proposed one by the late Political Department and the other after the Political Dept. had ceased to exist and that this agreement was an improvement upon the original one.

No final decisions were arrived at and it is understood that there is to be a meeting tomorrow also, by which time the position will be examined as to in what matters there exist agreements between the two Governments and which of them could be regarded as being appurtenant to the powers exercised under Paramountcy and which not.

It is reliably understood that some prominent Muslims here are jubilant over the fact that Mr. Monckton is said to have seccretly advised the Hyderabad Govt. to adopt the following method in regard to smuggling of arms.

It is said that this Govt. should make Pakistan its agent for the purpose of procuring the said arms, ammunition or other material to be smuggled. The price also should be paid in foreign countries by Pakistan and that the commodity should reach Hyderabad as if from Pakistan, internal arrangement being made for paying Pakistan any amount that Pakistan will have to pay towards the cost of the commodities.

As soon as it is ascertained what the nature of the agreements that exist is in regard to Defence and External Affairs, the position will be examined as to whether there is to be any specific alteration to be suggested in the standstill agreement or the collateral letter or not.

It is reliably learnt that one Lancaster landed at Begumpet aerodrome direct from Pakistan. It is suspected that it contained arms and ammunition. A number of the police force was there which took delivery of the contents of the 'plane and boxes were

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transported from the 'plane into lorries which had been sent for the purpose of carrying them and they were taken direct to the Police Headquarters. It is not possible to say with accuracy at which place they were unloaded.

In the previous agreement there was a provision that this Government would pass parallel legislation to that which could be passed by the Govt. of India. No such provision is made in this draft. It is not known whether it is a deliberate omission or whether it is due to oversight.

75

23 October 1947

Among the members of the Hyderabad delegation there seems to be a feeling that Monckton adopted a very stiff attitude towards Menon and that at one stage of the negotiations, Monckton sent Menon out of his room and even when the Governor-General sent for him, he stipulated that he would not see him unless he saw him alone without Menon, and the idea is propagated that it is due to the very strong attitude taken by Monckton that he was able to achieve this result, viz., that there should be a standstill agreement for one year even without accession.

76

24 October 1947

It is understood that further discussion took place today.

It is stated that Members put forward their respective points of view. One of them said that the standstill agreement is absolutely disadvantageous to Hyderabad but what they had to see was whether it is possible for them to make it disadvantageous and with that object in view he wanted

1. that a clause should be inserted that the standstill agreement would be without prejudice to the independence of Hyderabad;
2. that the stipulation that the Hyderabad Government would be at liberty to purchase arms from anywhere in the world, in the event of the Indian Dominion either not supplying arms they want or do not supply them within a period fixed by this Govt.;

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3. that the existing arrangement by which there can be no increase or any decrease in the Hyderabad Army without the consent of the Govt. of India, should be abrogated and that there should be no restriction placed on the unqualified right to get arms.

Another Member is reported to have said that in addition to these things this agreement should not be entered into unless and until the last Indian soldier leaves Hyderabad State.

The third Member attacked the Hyderabad delegation for not having been firm in regard to its negotiations with the Dominion Govt. and insisted that there should be a standstill agreement with Pakistan also and ended by saying that if this agreement was entered into it meant Hyderabad's ruin.

It appears to have been resolved that the discussion will continue tomorrow also. In the meantime, Monckton has, it seems, promised to let the Council have in a tabular form the advantages and disadvantages.

The opinion of four of the Members was that there should be a breakdown but that breakdown should not occur in consequence of Hyderabad declining to accept the present draft but that certain amendments will be proposed to these drafts which are certainly not going to be agreed to by the Indian Dominion, with the result that there is certain to be a breakdown. But in that event, the responsibility for the breakdown would be thrown on the Dominion of India and thereafter the correspondence may be published for the world to know how reasonable Hyderabad was as against the unreasonable attitude of the Indian Dominion.

The delegation does not propose to start on Sunday but is likely to ask for a postponement till Tuesday for discussion in Delhi and for that purpose they propose, it is understood, to start only on Monday.

It is reported that the advocates of a breakdown stressed their point on the following grounds, viz., that already the Dominion of India has got great many troubles and problems to solve, e.g., the Punjab exchange of populations and rehabilitation of refugees. Again, there is the Kashmir imbroglio which they have got to cope with. The position of Kashmir State is said to be very precarious in view of the hostile attitude adopted by the Pakistan Government. They have also the Junagadh trouble on their hands. They cannot afford to add to their troubles by adding Hyderabad to the above. Hence it is contended that this is the time to strike hard.

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REPORT IN RAHBAR-E-DECCAN, DATED 25-10-1947

1. The Committee of Action of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen passed a resolution to the following effect on the news in The Hindu that the Prime Minister of the Central Provinces was invited by the Prime Minister of Hyderabad to come and take back the refugees:

> "We are sure that this news has been broadcast in order to create a feeling of hatred against Hyderabad in the minds of the Muslims of India and also to prejudice the opinion of the international organisation. Such an action could not be expected of the Sadr-e-Azam of Hyderabad. The Muslims of Hyderabad are giving this assurance to the refugee brethren that they are in sympathy with them in their troubles and that if the Hyderabad Government sends them away without helping them, we will not keep quiet and we will undergo any sacrifice for this purpose."

2. It is understood that nearly 800 Muslim refugees are staying near Balharshah because they are not able to move into Hyderabad for want of facility for transport.

3. Messrs. Kasinath Rao Vaidya, Narasinga Rao and Ramachari have been served with a notice that they should not leave the city limits until further notice.

77

25 October 1947

It is learnt that today further discussions took place and as a result thereof, HEH sent three modifications to the collateral letter which the Hyderabad delegation brought and which, it is understood, is known to the States Department. They are as follows:

1. that [he is] signing the collateral letter on the distinct understanding that he is an independent sovereign and that in the period of the one year contemplated in the standstill agreement, he will not exercise most of the powers which he enjoys as an independent ruler.

2. that in the event of there being hostilities between the Dominion of India and that of Pakistan, Hyderabad will be strictly neutral.

3. that in the event of the Indian Dominion seceding from the British Commonwealth of Nations, then Hyderabad will be at liberty to review its attitude and position,

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One Member immediately said that he did not want any standstill agreement at all and has recorded the following reasons:

1. that he considers this standstill agreement is completely abdicating the independence of Hyderabad;
2. that he has absolutely no doubt in his mind that there will be a change of Government in the Dominion of India very soon in consequence of the strong difference of opinion between Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel;
3. that if we [have] a breakdown now, while the Indian Union will get more and more weakened by their troubles and by the internecine quarrels in the Cabinet, Hyderabad can consolidate itself and make itself self-sufficient during this period; whereas if we wait for one year it may be that the Indian Dominion will recover from the present troubles and become much stronger than it is today.

Another Member wanted to add one more amendment to the three amendments suggested by HEH, viz., that there should be a diplomatic representative in the Commonwealth countries (meaning thereby only Pakistan). When pressed whether he would regard a non-compliance with it as a breaking point, he said "no."

Three other Members said more or less the same thing. Two Muslim Members and one Hindu Member, with the President, seem to have been of the opinion that a breakdown should be avoided at all costs, subject, of course, to compliance with HEH's commands.

The matter is going to be discussed the whole of tomorrow by HEH with the Negotiating Committee and the delegation is starting, it is understood, on Monday of which intimation by wire has been sent by HEH to the Governor-General. If the three amendments suggested by HEH are to be incorporated into the collateral letter, the letter of acceptance by the Governor-General of this collateral letter will also have to incorporate his reply to these points.

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78

29 October 1947

It is stated that a small development has taken place since the decision to send a fresh delegation. The Independent Progressive Party had objected to Mr. Venkat Rama Reddy[1] being a member of this new delegation and as a consequence thereof he is said to have written to the Prime Minister asking him to convey to HEH his inability to be a member of the delegation. If that happens, it is stated that the claim that the two elected Members, one a Hindu and the other a Muslim, are in favour of the latest draft which is being sent through the new delegation, will vanish. This, it is stated, will cut the ground under the assertion that public opinion here favours this latest move.

79

31 October 1947

The situation here is worsening day by day.

In consequence of Venkat Rama Reddy having decided to be a member of the delegation the Independent party is reported to have sent a wire to Delhi narrating the facts and intimating that Reddy does not represent the Hindus but is being commanded to go. He cannot be said to be a willing member of the delegation.

Every day there are incidents happening which plainly exhibit the extremely partial attitude adopted by this Government. While on Monday last, when a vast crowd of armed Muslims paraded the streets of Hyderabad, even surrounding the house of the Prime Minister, there was no cordoning. They were allowed to roam about with arms on foot and on lorries without let or hindrance. Whereas today when the Hindu Sabha wanted to have a peaceful procession merely to represent their grievances to the Nizam, the whole area was cordoned off and when one of the leaders insisted on going, he was very seriously wounded and is lying in hospital. Ever since there has been a lathi charge in which about 50 persons are alleged to have been injured.

[1] Member of the Nizam's Executive Council

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An unprovoked assault was made on the inmates of the Reddy Vidyalaya and glass panes were smashed and furniture was burnt and the reason for which is not apparent. While doing so, the mob scaled the compound wall of a retired High Court judge.

Similar discrimination is apparent as between the treatment that has been accorded to two Hindu newspapers, Mohib-e-Vatan and Rayyat, and one Muslim newspaper, the Waqt. Although the attention of the Council was called by HEH by means of a firman stating that the article was provocative and objectionable and that not taking action against this paper would be construed as partiality, the Police Member, who is the leader of the present delegation that went to Delhi today, stated that he had read the article and that it was not objectionable and that no action should be taken.

80

9 November 1947

1. The new Hyderabad delegation has returned. From reports received, it appears that they have not been able to achieve much, but, it is understood that the States Department will not object to the Nizam's signing the standstill agreement with a reservation that his independence will be preserved intact. The opinion here is that the de jure independence is there but the de facto is not. This may probably have been regarded as having been achieved by the statement from the Nizam that for the period of the standstill agreement, he does not propose to exercise his independence in certain particulars. If that is satisfactory to the States Dept. as moderate opinion seems to think that it may be regarded as satisfactory, then there is nothing more to be said about it.

2. The second point is: What would happen if there is a war between India and Pakistan?

It is learnt that the States Department expressed its indifference towards the attitude of the Nizam. Indifference does not mean that they would be agreeable to his joining Pakistan, it means only that even if he is neutral, they would not mind it. If negotiations are likely to break on the insistence on that point, it is considered that the attitude of the States Dept. may not be open to objection.

3. The third thing is whether in the event of India breaking away from the Commonwealth, Hyderabad would have the opportunity to reconsider its attitude. It is not clear what the States

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Department's attitude is on this point, but having regard to the proceedings in the House of Commons at the time of the passing of the Indian Independence Act and the existence of that clause in most of the instruments of accession, this ought not to be a matter on which a breakdown need occur.

4. The next question relates to the employing of political representatives in Commonwealth countries. It is understood that the States Dept. was firm as regards this point, but seems to have relaxed a little by permitting such appointments in Commonwealth countries, including Pakistan, provided the Hyderabad representative is made subordinate to India's representative. So far so good. But the reservation cannot prevent subterranean propaganda, but it must be stated that even if the man is a trade representative, what is there to prevent him from secretly and clandestinely indulging in such tactics? So, probably this may not lead to any break-up.

5. It is learnt that the States Department was particularly firm in regard to the import of arms and ammunition. That restriction is considered to be very essential. Hours seemed to have been spent over the draft regarding that point by trying to evade the issue and saying that mere intimation would be sufficient, but it is considered satisfactory that the States Dept. did not yield on that point, and rightly so.

6. As regards preventing and counteracting subversive activities on the borders of both the States, India and Hyderabad, much importance is not attached to it. It will depend upon what is considered subversive activity. If the activity is to counteract lawlessness and tyranny against any particular community in a State, then that could not be regarded as subversive activity. After all action under that clause will depend upon the circumstances existing at any given time. So that need not be a breaking point.

7. From all the above, it seems that so far as the States Dept. is concerned, there is no likelihood of a breakdown if Hyderabad agrees to the Monckton-Chhatari draft with the modifications suggested at the instance of the Nizam referred to above.

8. The reactions of the Nizam to the report of the leader of the delegation are not yet known. The other two members of the delegation, it appears, were not called in.

9. As regards the general situation here, the Director-General of Police has issued a helpful statement to the Press representatives. If only he sees to it that the sentiments expressed therein

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are implemented and the police forces obey those instructions, things may yet improve here. The evacuation is very large.

10. The delegation seem to have interviewed Maulana Azad,[1] Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai[2] and Dr. Zakir Hussain.[3]

Maulana Azad seems to have told them very strongly that unless Hyderabad accedes there was no chance for the State or the ruling family and that he gave that advice as a Muslim interested in a State ruled by a Muslim ruler.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai seems to have said that the matters on which the delegation was insisting were reasonable and that he would speak to Pandit Nehru.

Zakir Hussain seems to have pleaded absolute ignorance of political matters and seems to have also promised to speak to Nehru. So the delegation, though it has no backing here except from the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, seems to be banking on Pandit Nehru's being more accommodating than Sardar Patel and are also pinning their faith to the chance of having a better reception when C. R. becomes Governor-General.

81

13 November 1947

It is understood that today was the last meeting of the Council for submission of the resolution adopted by the Council to HEH.

A resolution seems to have been taken to the effect that in the collateral letter the following four matters may be added, viz.,

(1) preservation of independence;

(2) the reciprocal suppression of subversive activities;

(3) arms and ammunition to be obtained on intimation to the Indian Govt. if the Indian Government fails to supply

[1] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Leading Muslim divine; a staunch nationalist from Khilafat days; Congress President, 1939-46; member, CA; Education Minister in Nehru Cabinet

[2] Member and whip, Swaraj Party, in Central Assembly, 1926-29; Minister in UP, 1936-39 and 1946; member, CA; Central Minister of Communication and Food in Nehru Cabinet

[3] Educationist; co-founder of Wardha Scheme of Education; Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia, 1926-53; Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University; Governor of Bihar, 1957-62; Vice-President of Indian Union, 1962-67; President of Indian Union, 1967; died in May 1969

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arms and ammunition required within the prescribed time; and

(4) political representatives to be appointed in all Commonwealth countries.

The whole Council seems to have agreed to the addition of the first three clauses on the assurance of the leader of the delegation, Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, that the Indian Union Govt. is likely to agree to these three points.

As regards the fourth point, only one Member, Abdur Rahim, wants to make it a breaking point if the Indian Govt. does not agree to it.

Another member does not want the treaties made with the Crown to be kept intact but only those agreements in regard to matters of common concern, made with the Govt. of India.

As regards item No. 3,—arms and ammunition—the idea seems to be that although the Indian Union Govt. has not explicitly stated that it would agree, the impression is that it might agree. But it is surmised that they may say, "We will agree to your getting from any quarter provided that that quarter is the one that we prescribe."

One of the Members seems to be of the opinion that the proposal to have diplomatic representatives may be agreed to even the condition of their subordination to the Indian representatives is insisted upon by the other side. Abdur Rahim, it appears, hinted at the possibility of there being another demonstration similar to the one made on the 27th of last month if his points are not agreed to.

In some quarters there is the opinion that it would have been better if the delegation had decided upon continuing the negotiations with the Acting Governor-General rather than wait until the permanent Governor-General returns.

The pressure for the formation of an interim Cabinet is also there, but the object seems to be to make a show of expansion of the Cabinet by taking members from the present Legislative Assembly which is absolutely a non-representative one, having regard to the fact that the Congress party and the Hindu Mahasabha, the Depressed Classes Federation and other institutions have boycotted the elections. The idea seems to be that four Hindus, four Muslims and four officials, besides the President and the Vice-President, should constitute the Cabinet. Among the Hindus, the suggestion is that two alone should be caste Hindus, one a

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depressed class man who will practically be a Muslim representative and one Lingayat who will also be very nearly the same, and among the officials there should be only one Hindu or, if there are two Hindus, one of them should be a caste Hindu and the other a depressed class man, or one belonging to the minority communities, such as Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, etc. The Council, it appears, has not yet considered this proposal in its final form nor are the reactions of the members known.

It is further understood that the clause regarding arbitration should be so framed as to apply not merely to the stand-still agreement but also to the clauses in the collateral letter.

The resolution together with the dissentient notes is likely to be sent to HEH tomorrow and his reactions will be known thereafter.

That Moin Nawaz Jung is only a careerist is evident from the fact that he accounted for the failure of his mission to achieve anything by attributing wanton misrepresentation to Sir Sultan Ahmed regarding the situation here. He is said to have stated in so many words that but for the misrepresentation made by Sultan Ahmed, his mission would have been much more successful.

The interesting feature of the situation seems to be that it is reported that he got a resolution passed by the Council regarding their appreciation of the efforts which he made as leader of the delegation, and of the very successful way in which he conducted them.

82

15 November 1947

No fresh developments have taken place since the morning of the 13th instant excepting the exchange of telegrams between Sir Walter Monckton and HEH. HEH, it seems, first wanted Monckton to come back and on receipt of a letter from him, presumably intimating that he was going home, the wire asking him to come back was cancelled and he was instructed to see Lord M. at London before his departure. It seems that Monckton has wired back saying that he is prepared to come here if so desired and that he is also prepared to go to Delhi to meet Lord M. and then go to London. In the telegram he seems to have also indicated that there is not much hope of help from the quarter to which he had gone in Lahore.

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While it was decided that the delegation should go back to Delhi on the 25th inst. after the permanent Governor-General returns on the 24th inst. it is reported that the leader of the delegation has proposed that the delegation may start from here on the 21st only so that they may have preparatory talks with various persons before the main talks on the 25th inst. take place.

The latest speech of Sardar Patel, it seems, has been the subject of a declaration of protest.

Two drafts have, it seems, been sent to HEH for his approval. It is not known whether he would approve of any.

The process of evacuation by Hindus is still going on.

The Hindu tributary chieftains under HEH are afraid to openly express their preference to join the Indian Union for the fear of being ruined by the Nizam. Otherwise, their friends and relations and contacts are all people in Kurnool and Bellary districts of the Madras Presidency who naturally persuade them to join the Indian Union. This fear has been accentuated by the action taken by this Government in regard to the Wanaparthy Samasthan the Raja of which is considered by the Government to be secretly planning to join the Indian Union.

83

16 November 1947

Although from the Press one could gather that there has been an exchange of telegrams between HEH and Monckton, the details are not made public. The telegrams that have passed between the 12th and the 15th instant are enclosed. That would confirm

i. that it is impossible to trust the Ruler;
ii. that Monckton utilises his supposed friendship to Lord Mountbatten to the utmost for his own personal ends; and
iii. that Pakistan has not got much to offer by way of help.

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84

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad Residency P.O.
12 November 1947

Sir Walter Monckton
Care Harry Gordon
Palace Hotel
Karachi

YOUR TELEGRAM. IF POSSIBLE MEET OTHER SIDE NEXT THURSDAY IN KARACHI AND IF MATTER URGENT TO REPORT TO ME BY HIS [Jinnah's] ADVICE THEN INFORM ME. IN THAT CASE I CAN ARRANGE TO SEND PLANE FOR YOU TO COME HERE FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS. HAVE TODAY SENT LETTER FOR YOU THROUGH SPECIAL MESSENGER. DELEGATION GOING TO DELHI TWENTYFOURTH NOVEMBER AFTER RETURN OF GOVERNOR GENERAL TO INDIA.

NIZAM

85

TELEGRAM

King Kothi
Hyderabad Residency P.O.
12 November 1947

Sir Walter Monckton
Palace Hotel
Karachi

IN CONTINUATION MY TELEGRAM TO YOU THIS MORNING I RECEIVED YOUR LETTER FROM KARACHI AND HAVE NOTED ITS CONTENTS. IF POSSIBLE PLEASE SEE OTHER PARTY IN KARACHI AND IF TIME PERMITS YOU SHOULD COME HERE TO SEE ME BEFORE YOU LEAVE FOR ENGLAND. OTHERWISE IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE THEN SEND ME REPORT THROUGH SPECIAL MESSENGER AND GO TO ENGLAND STRAIGHT AS I WANT YOU TO SEE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN ENGLAND WHO ALREADY LEFT INDIA LAST MONDAY.

NIZAM

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86

TELEGRAM

Karachi
12 November 1947

HEH Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar
King Kothi Mubarak
Hyderabad-Dn.

SPENT LAST NIGHT WITH MUDIE[1] LAHORE. HAD THE INTERVIEW YOU DESIRED THIS MORNING BUT OWING TO ILLNESS OF OTHER PARTY IT WAS SHORT. HE [Jinnah] WAS VERY FRIENDLY BUT KNEW LITTLE OF THE AFFAIRS IN QUESTION AND GAVE NO ADVICE. AM PREPARING HIM NOTE AT HIS REQUEST WHICH HE WILL GET TOMORROW EVENING. HE IS LIKELY TO RETURN HERE THURSDAY. IF SO WE SHALL PROBABLY MEET AGAIN. MEANTIME I AM PREPARING MEMO OF TODAY'S TALK FOR YOU. BUT IT DOES NOT AMOUNT TO MUCH EXCEPT THAT CANDIDATE YOU WANT WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE. AIR COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN HERE AND YOU VERY DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE. SHALL I WAIT FOR NEXT TALK AND EITHER SEND REPORT AS SOON AS I CAN ARRANGE OR IF ANYTHING TRANSPIRES PAY VISIT MYSELF TO YOU BY A SPECIAL PLANE? RESPECTS.

WALTER MONCKTON

87

TELEGRAM

Karachi
14 November 1947

HEH Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar
King Kothi
Hyderabad-Dn.

YOUR TWO TELEGRAMS OF TWELFTH RECEIVED. OTHER PARTY STILL UNWELL AND UNLIKELY TO RETURN HERE BEFORE SUNDAY SIXTEENTH EARLIEST. I SHALL TRY TO STAY HERE TILL THURSDAY

[1] Sir Francis Mudie: ICS; Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council; Governor of Sind; Governor of West Punjab (Pakistan), 1947-49

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TWENTIETH IN CASE ANOTHER INTERVIEW CAN BE ARRANGED. I COULD THEN EITHER FLY TO ENGLAND IN TIME FOR INTERVIEW THERE NEXT EVENING TWENTYFIRST OR IF YOU PREFERRED IT COME TO HYDERABAD BY AEROPLANE WHICH I COULD CHARTER HERE AND THEN GO HOME VIA DELHI HAVING THE INTERVIEW DELHI. I AM PREPARED IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES TO POSTPONE MY RETURN TO ENGLAND TO END OF THE MONTH IF YOU WISH IT. PLEASE INFORM ME URGENTLY OF YOUR WISHES IN THIS RESPECT AND ALSO WHETHER YOU WANT ME TO COME TO YOU WHETHER OR NOT I HAVE ANOTHER INTERVIEW HERE. MY PLAN TO START ON THURSDAY TWENTIETH DEPENDS ON GETTING SEATS WHICH IS NOT YET CERTAIN. IF THIS PROVES IMPOSSIBLE SHALL HAVE TO START TUESDAY EIGHTEENTH. RESPECTS.

WALTER MONCKTON

88

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad-Dn.
15 November 1947

Sir Walter Monckton
Palace Hotel
Karachi

YOUR TELEGRAM. IN CASE OTHER PARTY [Jinnah] COMES TO KARACHI THEN HAVE FULL AND DETAILED INTERVIEW AND IF SOMETHING IS IMPORTANT THEN COME HERE FOR A DAY OR TWO TO INFORM ME OTHERWISE LET ME KNOW RESULT BY LETTER AND THEN GO TO ENGLAND WHEN ARRANGEMENTS FOR YOUR PASSAGE MADE. IN CASE YOU ARE TO STAY IN INDIA TILL THE END OF NOVEMBER THEN GO AND SEE DICKIE AT DELHI AND INFORM HIM ABOUT AFFAIRS OF HYDERABAD AND ALSO RESULT OF YOUR INTERVIEW WITH THE OTHER PARTY WHICHEVER SEEMS TO BE POSSIBLE. I TRUST YOU RECEIVED MY LETTER SENT THROUGH SPECIAL MESSENGER TO KARACHI.

NIZAM

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89

TELEGRAM

Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
Temple
London EC 4

LORD MOUNTBATTEN IS TRYING AGAIN TO COME HERE TO PERSUADE ME TO JOIN THE INDIAN UNION BUT I HAVE INFORMED HIM THROUGH HYDERABAD AGENT GENERAL ZAIN YAR JUNG THAT IT IS NOT ADVISABLE FOR HIM TO COME HERE WITH THIS OBJECT SINCE I CANNOT CHANGE MY FINAL DECISION NOT TO JOIN. BUT IF HE COMES HERE AS FRIEND HE WILL BE WELCOMED IN FEBRUARY. YOU REMEMBER HE HAD TRIED BEFORE THE DIVISION OF INDIA TOOK PLACE WHEN YOU HAD STOPPED HIM TO COME WITH THIS PURPOSE. IN MY OPINION HE HAD BETTER NOT INTERFERE WITH THIS MATTER SINCE POLITICAL SITUATION MAY AGGRAVATE IF HE DOES SO. GANDHI HAS COMMENCED HIS FAST TO DEATH IN CONNECTION WITH AMITY BEING RESTORED BETWEEN [Hindus] MUSLIMS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. REALLY I CANNOT UNDERSTAND THE FUTILE METHOD OF THIS OLD FELLOW'S DUBIOUS CHARACTER.

NIZAM

90

TELEGRAM

Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
Temple
London EC 4

RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM IN ANSWER TO MINE. AS FAR AS POSSIBLE PLEASE COME HERE SOON SINCE AFFAIRS ARE NOT SATISFACTORY BETWEEN HYDERABAD AND UNION GOVERNMENT OWING TO UNFRIENDLY ACTS OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT. FOR INSTANCE THEY HAVE MADE A FUSS OVER HYDERABAD SECURITIES BEING EXCHANGED WITH THOSE OF PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT FOR CONVENIENCE OF EXCHANGE LAST NOVEMBER BEFORE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED UPTO THE LIMIT

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OF TWENTY CRORES. REALLY I CANNOT SEE WHAT OBJECTION WAS THERE IN OUR SO DOING. THIS SHOWS THAT RASCALS OF THAT GOVERNMENT DO NOT WISH TO SHOW FRIENDLY TREATMENT TO HYDERABAD. IF WORSE IS TO COME THEN HYDERABAD IS READY TO FACE IT AS THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT THIS ALONE. PLEASE BRING ALL THINGS TO THE NOTICE OF HIGH AUTHORITIES IN ENGLAND.

NIZAM OF HYDERABAD

91

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad-Dn.
18 November 1947

To
H.E. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah
Governor-General Pakistan
Lahore

YOUR LETTER OF 10 NOVEMBER. WILL YOU PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHETHER YOU CAN LEND ME SERVICES OF ZAHID HUSSAIN[1] WHO IS NOW YOUR AMBASSADOR AT DELHI FOR ONE YEAR FOR POST OF PREMIER IN HYDERABAD? I SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR A PROMPT REPLY. LAIK ALI HESITATES TO ACCEPT OFFER ON ACCOUNT OF HIS COMMITMENTS MADE WITH PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT TOO SUBJECT TO YOUR APPROVAL. HOPE YOU ARE PROGRESSING SATISFACTORILY.

NIZAM

92

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad-Dn.
18 November 1947

To
Zahid Hussain

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF PAKISTAN COULD NOT LEND ME SERVICES OF GHULAM MOHAMMED[2] FOR POST OF PRIME MINISTER OF COUNCIL IN HYDERABAD FOR A YEAR ON ACCOUNT OF HIS FAILING HEALTH

1 Financial Adviser, Supply Department in World War II; Financial Commissioner, Railways; Governor, State Bank of Pakistan
2 Finance Minister of Pakistan, later Governor-General

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AND OTHER CAUSES. I HAVE ASKED HIM FOR YOUR SERVICES IN CASE HE CAN SPARE THEM KNOWING YOU HAD PLACED YOUR SERVICES AT MY DISPOSAL WHENEVER NEEDED AT THE TIME OF YOUR RETIREMENT FROM HYDERABAD. THIS IS FOR YOUR PERSONAL INFORMATION.

NIZAM

93

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad-Dn.
21 November 1947

H.E. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah
Lahore

SHOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU GIVE ME YOUR ADVICE AS TO WHETHER IT WILL BE ADVISABLE FOR ME OR NOT TO MAKE USE OF LAIK ALI'S SERVICES FOR THE POST OF PRIME MINISTER OF COUNCIL AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS SAY FOR A SHORT TIME TWO OR THREE MONTHS ONLY AS I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO APPOINT A SUITABLE MAN FOR THIS POST. FAILING THIS MY INTENTION IS TO MAKE A LOYAL HINDU SUBJECT PRIME MINISTER OF COUNCIL INSTEAD OF A MUSLIM THIS TIME IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT DEMAND IS MADE THAT AFTER LATE SIR KISHAN PERSHAD NO HINDU WAS PLACED ON SUCH HIGH POST. FOR THIS PURPOSE I HAVE IN VIEW PINGLE VENKATARAMA REDDY WHO IS AN ELECTED MEMBER AND ALSO ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF DELEGATION AND TRUSTWORTHY MAN. I SHOULD BE MUCH OBLIGED TO KNOW YOUR OWN VIEWS IN THIS CONNECTION ALSO. PROMPT REPLY WILL OBLIGE.

NIZAM

94

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad-Dn.
24 November 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah
Lahore

THANKS FOR YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 22 NOVEMBER. MY INTENTION IS TO MAKE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AS SOON AS NEGOTIATIONS ARE COMPLETED SATISFACTORILY AS SIGNS SHOW THAT IT WOULD BE SO IN CONNECTION WITH THE STANDSTILL AGREEMENT FOR ONE YEAR,

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I WANTED TO KNOW YOUR OWN VIEWS IN CASE YOU APPROVE MY [appointing] LAIK ALI PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR SHORT PERIOD SAY COUPLE OF MONTHS SINCE HE ENJOYS CONFIDENCE OF BOTH PARTIES NAMELY HINDUS AND MUSLIMS. IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE THEN I INTEND TO APPOINT A HINDU TO THIS POST REGARDING WHOM I GAVE YOU PARTICULARS IN MY TELEGRAM DATED 21ST. I TRUST I HAVE EXPLAINED EVERYTHING IN DETAIL SO THAT YOU MAY GIVE ME YOUR VIEWS WHATEVER IT MAY BE. PROMPT REPLY WILL OBLIGE.

NIZAM

95

25 November 1947

As it was suspected that some of the goonda elements from among the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen might have gone in the 'plane, the passengers in which could not be found out, and as some prominent Congress leaders were also of that opinion, it was considered desirable to send a word of caution to the States Ministry.

96

26 November 1947

Opinion here is apprehensive lest the Indian Union may, having regard to the bluff of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, come down from the strong line they were expected to take, but at the same time, opinion is gaining ground that whatever others might say or do, Sardar Patel will not be bamboozled into a surrender even to the slightest extent.

2. On more than one occasion, it has been proved that it is impossible to rely on HEH's words. Either he is absolutely insincere or while uttering sentiments which are perfectly reasonable and which, it is believed, he does in his calm moments, the moment he meets the leaders of the Ittehad, among whom are the Director-General of Police and the military commander, he at once swerves to their side. But one thing is quite certain and that is that nowadays he is extremely perplexed and does not know what to do or how to ensure the safety of himself and his dynasty. He is not willing to do the right thing, but thinks

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that unless he does something, however camouflaged it may be, the present difficulties cannot be surmounted.

3. The whole of Hyderabad is on the tip-top of expectation as to what the leader of the delegation is bringing today.

4. Another point which is sought to be impressed upon the States Dept. is the fact that just as Junagadh is a tributary state to Baroda, similarly the Samasthans here are tributary states to the Nizam. They are anxious that their position as such should be recognised by the States Department.

97

1. The Ruler here seems to be particularly nervous about the prospect of Lord Mountbatten visiting this place. It is considered here that his coming here would once for all finally settle Hyderabad's accession to the Indian Union.

2. Some people here state that in consequence of the advance of 20 crores of rupees by this State to Pakistan being in contravention of the standstill agreement, the Indian Union Govt. may deduct this sum of Rs. 20 crores from out of the 55 crores of rupees that they have now decided to give to Pakistan. This will have the effect of nullifying the action of the Hyderabad Govt., while, at the same time, not in any way being contrary to the declared intention of the Union Govt. to pay the sum of Rs. 55 crores. That amount may be paid back to the Nizam's Govt.

98

30 November 1947

A strict comparison was made between the old standstill agreement that was arranged by the Chhatari delegation and the one that was brought by the Moin Nawaz Jung delegation. There was absolutely no difference. Similarly, such a comparison was also made between the reply of the Governor-General to the collateral letter of the Nizam and it was found in some places that far from its being any improvement from the point of view of Hyderabad it was not, and yet both in Council and outside, the new delegation has been boasting that they have been able to secure more advantageous terms by their efforts.

The Nizam's recent firman contemplates the immediate dissolution of the present Ministry and its substitution by what is

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called "an Interim Government." The Nizam has cleverly referred not to "parties", but to Muslims and Hindus. Consequently, inasmuch as the Muslim elements who predominate in the existing Legislative Assembly, the Nizam thinks that he is justified in selecting one from amongst them as the Premier, notwithstanding the fact that he is not an elected member but a nominated one. But all the same, everyone of the steps which have been taken has been in strict accordance with the resolutions passed by the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen organisation.

The appointment of Mr. Laik Ali, the proposed appointment of Pingle Venkat Rama Reddy as Vice-President, that there should be four Hindus and four Muslims, the Muslims to be from the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen bloc in the Legislative Assembly, the Harijan to come out of the Hindufold and the four official members of whom one Hindu therein—all these are proposals which have emanated from the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen organisation.

Attempts are still being made to contact the State Congress party and for that purpose, it is stated that the Congress retinues and persons convicted and are now under prison bars, will be released as soon as the delegation returns from Delhi.

99

2 December 1947

The reaction to the standstill agreement is not favourable here. The criticism is that it does not in any way improve the internal situation, but it is forgotten that even this agreement has had to be entered into against much influential opposition on the part of the British, both in India and in England. English people have a very soft corner for Hyderabad, more than they have for Pakistan, and Sir Walter's influence with Lord Mountbatten and his deal with this matter, all have contributed to the same. By this is not meant that the Governor-General did not put the case of the Indian Union properly, but the feeling is that concessions which need not have been shown have been shown to Hyderabad. But people ought to realise that the first thing should be to rope in Hyderabad in some way or other and not leave it as the only State that has either not acceded or not entered into any other kind of agreement. This latter contingency would have been far worse than any agreement which gives larger concessions than need have been given.

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Even in regard to the internal situation, that non-officials are being asked to form the Government although they may be members of a Legislature which is absolutely unrepresentative, is still a step forward, but the unfortunate position still remains that the Ittehad's dictatorship and paramountcy is still continuing and the persons who are expected to come into the Government on behalf of that organisation, including the one who is already representing it, are not people of character or attainments to whom departments of government could be entrusted.

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CHAPTER III

TENSION IN PENINSULA

100

24 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have been thinking very seriously about the Hyderabad position and I wish to let Your Excellency know my mind before you meet the [Nizam's] delegation.

2. I see no alternative but to insist on the Nizam's accession to the Dominion of India. The least variations in the instrument of accession or arrangement regarding the State's association with the Dominion in regard to the three subjects would not only expose me to the charge of breach of faith with the States that have already joined the Dominion, but would create the impression that advantage lay in holding out rather than coming in and that while no special merit attached to accession, a beneficial position could be secured by keeping out. This is bound to have most unfortunate consequences in our future negotiations for accession to the Union.

3. We have also to recognise that the State has not sent any representatives to the Indian Constituent Assembly, although mere representation of a State in the Constituent Assembly did not commit it to accession to the Union. Popular demand for such representation has been systematically stifled. The affairs of the State, at least in regard to the constitutional association with the Indian Dominion, are being conducted in utter disregard of the sympathies and natural inclination of the majority community in the State. On the other hand, the minority which is the ruling class is allowed to have more or less its own way and that way clearly is of coercion and violent agitation. I have authentic information that the recent activities of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen are designed almost to create a feeling of terror amongst the non-Muslim population, so that its agitation in favour of the independence of Hyderabad with possible alliance with Pakistan should flourish. It is a militant organisation with an intensely communal appeal and there are indications that it receives active

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support from responsible Muslims, both inside and outside Government. Indeed there are what seem to be fairly reliable reports that it is being sponsored by HEH himself. I have also had very reliable reports from Hyderabad that the period of two months, which we have agreed to give to the State to make up its mind, is being utilised for preparations rather than for negotiations. The publication of the Nizam's letter of 8 August, the firmans issued relating to 15 August, and the events in the State on that day and since then seem to be designed with the sole object of establishing an independent status, as soon as possible, so that at the end of this stipulated period of two months we should be faced with facts either accomplished or as nearly accomplished as possible.

4. In these circumstances, I am convinced that it would neither be proper nor politic for us to agree to any arrangement other than the instrument of accession already settled between us and the other States. If the intentions of His Exalted Highness are bona fide and friendly, and if he is minded to translate the true expression, the will, and the interests of his people into action, there is no doubt at all that he should without hesitation adopt the course which all other States have chosen. As Your Excellency is aware, among those States there are some Muslim rulers, who, in their sympathies apart from those of their subjects, are not differently placed from His Exalted Highness.

5. If, however, the Nizam's Government are still unable to decide their course in the only right direction in which it lies. His Exalted Highness must agree to submit the issue to the judgment of his people and abide by their decision. We, on our side, will be content to accept whatever might be the result of such a referendum and should be prepared to include Berar in the plans for referendum.

6. There is, however, one thing which is quite clear and should be beyond dispute and that is that a decision on the issue cannot, in my judgment, be postponed any longer.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Rear Admiral the Viscount
Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., P.C.,
G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.C.B., D.S.O.,
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

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101

New Delhi
19 September 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Herewith I am sending you the latest information which I have received from Hyderabad. I gave a copy to [V. P.] Menon yesterday to be delivered to you, but it is possible that in the hurry of his departure he could not do so. I am, therefore, sending you another copy. This makes it quite clear what the next approach of Hyderabad to you is going to be and how the Nizam has mortgaged his future to his own Frankenstein, Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen.

2. You must have also seen this morning the Press Note issued by the Pakistan Government recognising the accession of Junagadh to the Pakistan Dominion. This Press Note has been issued after the receipt of our telegram to Liaquat Ali Khan explaining the whole position and pointing out the dangers involved. It is, therefore, a deliberate act. Our telegram has not even been acknowledged by the Pakistan Government and repeated approaches have been ignored. If you feel it will serve any useful purpose, you might discuss this matter and its implications with Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

102

Hyderabad
18 September 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

The Nizam has issued a firman stating that only Muslim refugees should be allowed to enter the State.

The Nizam's delegation is leaving on Friday to hand over the letter to Lord Mountbatten. The letter is said to contain the views of the Nizam. He has said that he is not prepared to negotiate on the basis of accession. He is prepared to face the consequences. This is his final reply in the matter.

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It appears Ali Nawaz Jung, former Chief Engineer of Hyderabad, is also a member of the delegation. He is a fanatic Muslim in whom the Hindus have no confidence. He is most untrustworthy.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

103

New Delhi
13 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I received information a few days ago that Hyderabad State was purchasing a large number of ex-military vehicles from Calcutta and Bombay. Perhaps you know that thousands of surplus military vehicles of every description—weapon-carriers, three-ton trucks, jeeps and other types—were sold by Disposals to several firms. These firms are naturally trying to dispose of them and collect a profit for themselves.

The vehicles are of modern type and admirably suited for offensive action. If they fall in wrong hands, they are likely to be misused.

Messrs. Allen Berry & Co. are supposed to have struck a bargain with Hyderabad about these vehicles and I am told they are under despatch. I had a talk with Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia[1] and he told me that as they had purchased a large number of these vehicles, Messrs. Allen Berry & Co., a firm belonging to him, might have made a deal with Hyderabad. He is not particularly interested in sales to that State and is prepared to sell them to anyone or to return them to Government. The disposal of these vehicles is a separate question. The immediate problem is to stop them from going to Hyderabad by road or rail until the attitude of the State is clearer.

Steps should therefore be taken to ensure that these trucks are not moved by rail while wagons are needed for other essential purposes. As regards movement by road, the provincial Governments can keep a close check. It might be necessary to issue

[1] Marwari business man

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an ordinance placing a ban on the disposal of vehicles of a military type (to be specified) without the sanction of Government to the export of these vehicles to non-acceding States. Immediate action is necessary as I understand that these trucks are being taken delivery of by the Nizam's Government in Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

104

New Delhi
14 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 13 October 1947 regarding the sale of ex-military vehicles to Hyderabad State.

2. I have heard some complaints that the Army is short of jeeps and might be of trucks also. You know how difficult it was for us to get a sufficient number of trucks and jeeps in Delhi for the Army. Actually, we had to requisition them. I would suggest, therefore, that if these trucks are serviceable, as seems to be the case, our Ministry of Defence buy them up instead of permitting them to go to Hyderabad. The only other way to prevent these sales is to stop the transport facilities such as grant of wagon or petrol coupons. If you agree, you might write to Dr. Matthai.

3. Your proposal regarding the placing of a ban on the disposal of vehicles of the military type without the sanction of Government is, I think, a good one and may also be commended to Dr. Matthai, but whatever action has to be taken must be taken immediately.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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Council Hall
Poona
31 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Recent happenings in Hyderabad have aroused considerable interest and apprehension in the minds of the public of this province. The news appearing in the papers that the Nizam is making large purchases of arms in England and is arranging to arm the Muslims who have migrated to Hyderabad in large numbers has made the people, particularly in the districts adjoining Hyderabad, panicky. The Government of India are doubtless alert and watching closely all these developments, but I hope that in the event of any untoward incidents on the borders of Hyderabad it will be possible for the Government of India to meet fully the military requirements of the situation before similar requirements elsewhere in the country are met. I have already informed Panditji that something should be done or said to allay public apprehension in this matter.

2. I enclose copy of a letter dated 16 October 1947 received by our Home Minister from an employee of the Central Ordnance Depot, Dehu Road, and also a note giving information from a reliable source regarding the smuggling of valuable military Government stores with the knowledge of those who are in control of the ordnance depots. It seems highly desirable that all possible steps should be taken to minimise the possibilities of theft and sabotage in our ordnance depots and also that a close watch should be kept on the troops bound for Pakistan so that they do not take with them stores or arms in excess of the quantities they are permitted to take.

3. This also emphasises the need of giving our people suitable military training with the least possible delay so that we can rely on our own people in times of need without any fear of sabotage. I have already written to Panditji that we had framed a scheme for training of a cadet corps, but that this has not yet been sanctioned and have requested him to do whatever he can in this matter. I would request you also to do what you can to expedite the matter.

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4. I enclose for your information copy of a report dated 29 October 1947 from our Chief Refugees Officer in Bombay giving information about the number of refugees who have so far come to Bombay from Karachi. In this matter also I have brought to the notice of Panditji the need for coordinating the accommodation for refugees in different provinces in view of the fact that the number of those who have come to Bombay is very large, and consequently it is becoming increasingly difficult for us to provide shelter, food, sanitation and other arrangements for them.

This is your birthday. Many happy returns.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

106

New Delhi
8 November 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Thank you for your letter of 31 October 1947.

2. The situation in Hyderabad is constantly under review. In fact, it forms the subject of almost daily discussion between myself and the officers of the States Ministry. The defence side of it is naturally not neglected.

3. We hear a great many stories about smuggling of military stores from ordnance depots. Some are based on authentic information while many are either just rumours or are based on some misconception, but the fact remains that for the time being the factories as well as depots are in the charge of the Supreme Commander and, except where the information is based on absolutely first-hand evidence, it is impossible for us to do anything.

4. As regards military training, the question of a national cadet corps is likely to come up before the Defence Committee next week, and as soon as a decision is taken I hope the Defence Ministry will pursue it vigorously.

5. As regards the refugee problem, I suggest that if you have any proposals to make, you write to the Minister for Refugees direct. Indirect references merely mean more delay.

[1] Secretary of Swaraj Party and of Bardoli Satyagraha Inquiry Committee; leader, Bombay Legislature Congress party; first Premier of Bombay; High Commissioner in London

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6. Many thanks for your birthday greetings. I had hoped to celebrate it in Bombay, but circumstances ruled otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri B. G. Kher
Prime Minister of Bombay
Poona

107

DRAFT OF A LETTER BY SARDAR PATEL TO THE NIZAM DATED 2 NOVEMBER 1947

Your Exalted Highness' telegram was received today. I note your denial of the prevalence of terrorist activities on the part of Razakars. In the absence of willingness on the part of Your Exalted Highness' Government to ban private armies and to disarm them, this denial takes things nowhere. It grieves me to see this sad state of affairs wholly unnecessary and doing nobody any good. The position has reached a critical stage. All avenues of negotiations having been tried and exhausted by my predecessor, I am unable to make any personal contribution towards a settlement at this stage unless indeed Your Exalted Highness makes a supreme gesture and induces your Government to trust in my judgment and in my fairness and place the whole matter in my hands. Otherwise I am unable to prevent the Government of India proceeding to do their obvious duty of taking steps to restore confidence and sense of security which have undoubtedly been most seriously affected. The Government of India have to make a statement tomorrow in the Assembly announcing their decision in regard to this.

108

Nagpur
20 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sending you some very important information which I have received and which requires your serious attention and consideration.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

INTERNAL SECURITY IN DECCAN AREA

1. Due to the disturbances in the north most of the fighting troops have been moved out of the area to Delhi and beyond and will not be available for some considerable time in case of a local threat.

With the partition of India and the consequent change of centre of gravity, this Area is undoubtedly now the heart of India. Some of the largest arms, ammunition and ordnance depots and vital factories in existence are located in this area. These require a considerable number of troops to protect them in case of threat. At present there are only three infantry battalions in this vast area. One of these is in the north-west corner of the area and not close to the main threat. The other two are barely adequate for local protection in internal defence duties and totally inadequate for warding off any threat.

Moreover Secunderabad as a garrison is being liquidated at an unnecessarily too rapid a pace. At present it has only one Indian armoured corps regiment (less than a squadron) consisting of 40 tanks and three field regiments at half strength. Without the remainder of the armoured division and any infantry force the troops in Secunderabad will have little fighting value.

In view of the above the whole of 1 Armoured Division should be reconcentrated at Secunderabad. Without doing this peace and order not only in Deccan but in the whole of the Indian Union is likely to be jeopardised.

A portion of 1 Armoured Division is located in the Jhansi area. This should be returned to Secunderabad forthwith. If there are any political objections to this suggestion these should be overcome on the fact that due to the disturbances in the north-west of India and the local situation the prearranged programme of evacuating Secunderabad cannot be adhered to for some period.

2. Hyderabad State: Little detailed information is available even regarding the regular forces. There is, however, little doubt that the State has a force of one cavalry and two infantry battalions. These may professedly be inferior in quality, all the same they are strong enough to be a potential source of danger not only to the Deccan area but also to the Indian Union. In addition to the regulars there is a large horde of irregulars located throughout the State. Their exact strength and location is very difficult to find.

The Sub-Area Commander, Secunderabad, was asked to find out the strength of the State Forces. He, however, conveyed his inability to do so

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as he did not wish to spy on a friendly neighbour and ally (?) and told me that I should get it from the Military Adviser in Chief at New Delhi. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that all key appointments in 1 Armoured Division and Secunderabad Sub-Area are held by Britishers. The manner in which certain areas have been handed over to the State, both in Secunderabad as well as Aurangabad, leaves no ground for doubt that the sympathies of the Britishers lie with Muslims. All these appointments must be taken over by Indians forthwith.

In the present circumstances with our depleted strength south of the Narbada (river), there can be little doubt that the Nizam stands a very good chance of conquering the country south of the Narbada extending from Bombay to Calcutta. His resources at present may be limited but the conquest will give him all he wants. His present policy of playing for time is a strong indicator of his insincerity of purpose and reminds me of the Japanese tactics vis-a-vis USA before the attack on Pearl Harbour. His location of armoured and mobile troops on the border of Berar is a strong pointer towards his evil designs. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that a number of incidents are being created on the border to terrorise the inhabitants in Berar.

There has been no oppression or unfair treatment towards the Muslims in Central Provinces and Berar, yet thousands of them are moving on what appears to be a planned programme into Hyderabad State with a very strong mental reservation of returning as conquerors, again a strong pointer towards the future intentions of the Nizam. Moreover, the latest reports indicate that a large-scale programme of converting Harijans to Islam appears to be at hand, yet another example of the Nizam's future activity. In addition, some of the Marwaris of Hyderabad are said to be pro-Nizam and as such will be pawns in his hands.

3. Other Indian States: The only important States which are likely to influence the local situation are Gwalior, Bhopal and Indore. Bhopal has very strong anti-Hindu as well as anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan feelings and is likely to be a source of considerable threat in the north-west of the area. Steps should be taken now to neutralise his activity by enforcing responsible government. If necessary, the State forces of Gwalior, Indore and other adjoining States combined with our garrison at Mhow may be used against this State.

4. HQ Deccan Area: In addition to taking overall key positions in the Secunderabad Sub-Area 1 Armoured Division, as mentioned above, HQ of Deccan Area must be re-established at Secunderabad forthwith. We should emulate the example of Sir Miles Lampson[1] against the King of Egypt in our dealings with the Nizam.

[1] British Commissioner in Egypt

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5. SOUTHERN COMMAND: To safeguard the interests of the Indian Union in the Indian peninsula, all key appointments, including that of the General Officer Commander-in-Chief, should be taken over by Indians as soon as possible; there are at least six senior Indian officers who can hold this appointment with credit. The present Commander has been unfit for some considerable time, has been recently operated upon and is well known for his diehard imperialist views.

Most of the contents of this appreciation have been conveyed to him by me personally. However, like others of his type, he does not attach much importance to these views.

6. BRITISH OFFICERS: I have hardly come across a British officer in this area who is not pro-Pakistan and anti-Hindu. Most of them are disinterested in their work and the majority of the junior officers are extremely inefficient. I feel certain that the security of the State and the efficient and harmonious running of the army demand that all British officers holding key positions should be released forthwith and replaced by Indians.

7. In addition to the troops at Secunderabad, as suggested above, an infantry brigade should be located at Berar with headquarters at Akola and outposts on the border.

8. Before I close I must state that the local situation reminds me of the recent conditions in the Punjab and the NWFP which have been denoted by dubious activities of British officers. I hope this appreciation will not meet with the same fate as my reports on the affairs of Bengal.

109

EXTRACT

Constitution House
New Delhi
21 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The Southern Command has only two battalions in the whole of Madras Presidency. This strength is quite insufficient to meet the possible onslaught from the Nizam's side. We understand that there are some Union troops in and near Secunderabad, to watch the huge military and ammunition stocks belonging to the Union Government and now housed in and near Secunderabad. We reliably learn that the Nizam has about 50,000 equipped troops and that through Ittihad Majlis he is arming every Muslim in the State. This has created great panic. The

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Nizam's men, in the guise of suppressing the satyagraha now going on there, are freely shooting terror-stricken people and are resorting to conversions. The panic has been so great that over a lakh of refugees have crossed over to our Presidency. In the town of Bezwada itself the refugee population is as much as 30,000. Police reports also are coming of harassment by the Nizam's police in the border villages. To add to all these, they are manufacturing and smuggling arms into our territory by giving them to Muslim organisations. Madras has six districts directly on the border of the Nizam's State and much of this area is forest and dry land where the population is not so thick as in the eastern portions of the Presidency. At many points, the border is formed either by the Kistna or the Godavari rivers and ferrying across the rivers in non-flood seasons is very easy. Newspapers have already given credence to a rumour that the Nizam's troops will cross over to Bastar State across a strip of territory. This area is populated by aboriginal tribes, the Koyas, Khonds and Chenchus. Though ordinarily mild, they are a very inflammable material, as was seen in the Rampa Rebellion and in the recent rebellion led by the late Alluri Sita Rama Raju in 1922-24. We have information that these people are being roused by the Nizam's agents. The border line is nearly 400 miles long and has to be closely guarded in the event of any attempted infiltration or attack. The main connecting railway link with Northern India is by the Grand Trunk Express line which has to pass through 300 miles of the Nizam's territory from Bezwada to Balharsha. This link can be severed at any time. The Madras-Bombay line passes through his territory from Raichur to Gulburga, the Madras-Calcutta line is as near as ten miles from his border; and both these lines are liable to attack at any time. Even the Madras-Delhi air service has to pass through Hyderabad and the plane halts at Hyderabad aerodrome for over 50 minutes. Any military action by the Nizam would mean the complete isolation of Madras from the other provincial headquarters in India in view of the fact that the Nizam's territory is a big piece in the heart of India itself.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Prime Minister of Madras, 1947

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110

New Delhi
25 October 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am enclosing a copy of a statement regarding internal security in the Deccan area, which I have received from the C.P. Premier. [See enclosure with No. 108.] The Madras Premier was here the other day and both he and Dr. Subbarayan expressed a great deal of concern on the internal position, particularly vis-a-vis Hyderabad. They were apprehensive lest the weak military position in Madras should prove inadequate in the existing circumstances.

2. I myself have felt for some time that we should have a review of the whole internal position and consequential troop disposition in the Defence Committee. For this purpose it would be necessary for the military and civil intelligence in the Defence and Home Ministries respectively to prepare an appreciation of the problem so that we could consider whether the present disposition of our forces is suitable. I hope you will give a very early consideration to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Minister
New Delhi

111

New Delhi
5 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

On 1 November 1947 we intercepted a telephonic conversation between the Nizam's House in Delhi and a Col. Ali Mohd. of the Hyderabad Army in Hyderabad (Deccan). The conversation was as follows:

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Morale of people in Delhi is extremely low. I am working at topmost speed to bring it up. Please send more rifles by plane. I have tried and found that we can easily get rifles from Hyderabad to Delhi by plane because planes are not searched. Rest will be sent by post. Letter posted.

2. From this you will notice that some Muslims in Delhi are trying to obtain arms from Hyderabad and we have to be very careful over the incoming traffic from that State. It is clear that searches, in these circumstances, will have to be fairly in general because it is impossible to get information in time whether any particular plane is definitely carrying unlicensed arms.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

112

The Palace
Sandur
11 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Except for the river Tungabhadra and a small strip of territory hardly a few miles belonging to the Indian Dominion, this Hindu State is practically abutting the Muslim State of Hyderabad, which has not still acceded to the Indian Dominion, and it is impossible to say with any certainty as to what the designs of Hyderabad are. I am not aware of the trend of talks now in progress between the authorities of the Nizam and of the Indian Dominion, but the disquieting reports received here regarding the possibility of trouble on the Nizam's border make my Government and my people more and more concerned about the security of our State and the protection of our people from any aggression or goondaism encouraged by parties interested in Hyderabad, mostly from outside. I do not know what measures the Government of India have taken, or contemplate to take, in case Hyderabad decides on aggression against adjoining territories of the Indian Dominion, and of the neighbouring States, which have acceded to the Indian Dominion. As a State which was among the first to accede to the Indian Dominion last

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August, Sandur State looks to the Government of India for protection from the possibility of evil designs of the Nizam; and, for this purpose, desires to be taken into confidence and informed well in advance of the measures taken or proposed to be taken by the Government of India in this regard so that this State might orientate its measures accordingly and be in a position to reassure its people in the event of panic or false rumours gaining ground.

With this end in view, and to provide a suitable base for military operations for the forces of the Indian Dominion this State is prepared to place at the disposal of the Government of India the recognized hill station of Ramgad (more familiar to the military authorities as Ramdrug), which is only 14 miles from Hospet in Bellary district which abuts the Nizam's frontier. Ramgad has been a recognised military station from the sixties of the last century, and there exist even now barracks and other buildings suitable to station a detachment of troops, for the defence of this acceding State and also of the territory of the Indian Dominion on the Nizam's frontier. During the last war, it was availed of by the Government of India to locate a technical training centre to train war technicians. My Government is ready to place these buildings at Ramgad at the disposal of the Government of India for military purposes, so long as the emergency exists.

The matter brooks no delay, as the events in Kashmir are likely to have unwholesome repercussions in Hyderabad which are being felt with perceptible gravity on the Nizam's border every day. It is feared that if Hyderabad does not immediately accede to the Indian Dominion there might be a flare-up and the forces of evil might be let loose. As such I strongly feel that it will be prudent to have a definite line of action adopted immediately in the matter, rather than be taken by surprise. We have already lost much by underestimating our enemies. Let us not commit such mistakes again in handling the Hyderabad situation.

I have, therefore, addressed you this personal communication with a view to its attracting your attention immediately. If need be I am prepared to send an accredited representative from this State to have fuller discussions with you in the matter. But I feel that it would be better still if a military expert of the Indian Dominion visits the State, which will enable him to have first-hand knowledge of the terrain from the point of view of military operations and deployment of troops in the event of an ugly situation arising owing to Hyderabad's attitude.

Kindly treat this matter as extremely immediate.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade
[Raja of Sandur]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

113

New Delhi
19 November 1947

My dear Raja Shrimant Yeshwant Rao,

Thank you for your letter of 11 November 1947. We are fully conscious of the position regarding Hyderabad and its repercussions on neighbouring provinces and States.

2. I am having the specific points raised by you examined.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Shrimant Yeshwant Rao
Rao Sahib, Hindu Rao Ghorpade
Mamlukatmadar Senapati
Raja of Sandur
The Palace
Sandur

114

17 York Road
New Delhi
24 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In the course of the next two or three days you will probably be coming to some final decision with the Hyderabad delegation. That decision will be of vital importance and the whole Cabinet is, of course, very much interested in it and in our approach to this question. It would have been desirable for them to be kept in touch with developments. I do not know if there is time for that now. If possible this might be done. In any event

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I should like to be kept informed and to see the texts of any memoranda or letters that might be exchanged.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

115

New Delhi
25 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 24 November 1947 regarding Hyderabad. You know that the Hyderabad negotiations are being conducted by Lord Mountbatten and V. P. Menon. The basis of the existing negotiations is the same as the old one viz., a standstill agreement for a year and an exchange of letters touching upon it. The standstill agreement and the draft letter which is to be sent by Lord Mountbatten have already been seen and approved by you. A few verbal changes have been made since then in the draft, but they do not affect, in any way, the substance. During this visit Menon has had some discussions with the delegation. They paid a courtesy call on me and I understand they have seen you also. Not one of the suggestions which they made for modifications in the draft approved by you has been accepted. Had there been any change in the position, I am sure Menon would have informed you of it.

2. If you think that the matter had better be discussed in the Cabinet, I am quite willing and the necessary papers can be circulated today. The delegation is due to meet Lord Mountbatten this evening.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

116

25 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just heard on the radio that the Hyderabad agreement has been signed. Congratulations. Whether this puts an end to the trouble there or not, is a matter for doubt. I enclose a letter for Kashinath Vaidya.

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I enclose a letter from Brijlal Nehru.[1] I enquired from [General] Bucher today about sending more troops. He said he was doing his best.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

117

New Delhi
27 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 25 November 1947. I should have replied to you yesterday but I was busy throughout the day.

2. Many thanks for your congratulations on the conclusion of the Hyderabad talks. The Nizam has yet to sign the agreement. I only hope there will be no last-minute hitch. I share your doubt as to whether this means the end of our troubles with that State. Nevertheless, it gives us breathing time and gives the Nizam plenty of scope to think over and to deal with the Frankenstein which he has created in his Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen.

3. I am quite worried about the situation in Jammu. It seems to me that we cannot restore feelings of amity between Muslims and non-Muslims in that part of Jammu which is still with the Maharaja unless we are able to deal successfully with that part which is held by the raiders. From all accounts it appears that the stream of refugees coming from the raiders' part of Jammu and the stories of atrocities perpetrated on men, women and children by the raiders are inflaming the atmosphere in the rest of Jammu province. I am glad to hear, however, that Sheikh Sahib's visit to Jammu has had a salutary effect. I hope that it will continue and it was largely to keep up that atmosphere that I intended to go to Jammu tomorrow, but since all of them are here and our own military officers are coming to Delhi, I have postponed the idea.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

[1] Former Auditor-General of Punjab and a cousin of Jawaharlal Nehru; father of B. K. Nehru, Assam Governor

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118

TELEGRAM

29 November 1947

From
Governor of West Bengal
Calcutta

To
Governor-General
New Delhi

MY RESPECTFUL AND MOST HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND PRIME MINISTER AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND V. P. MENON ON CONCLUSION OF HYDERABAD AGREEMENT. LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH INDIA WILL I TRUST BE RESTORED TO NORMAL AS A RESULT OF THIS ACHIEVEMENT AND I HOPE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS WILL REALISE AT LEAST IN THAT AREA THE INDIVISIBILITY OF CIVIC LIFE AND RELEASE THIS WISDOM AS A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO ALL INDIA.

[Three top secret telegrams exchanged between the Nizam and Monckton.]

119

I

7 January 1948

HEH Nizam of Hyderabad
King Kothi
Hyderabad-Dn

I AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR EXALTED HIGHNESS' LETTER AND TWO MEMOS OF 24 DECEMBER AND THREE CABLES RECEIVED 3, 5 AND 6 JANUARY. I AGREE WITH THE CONCLUSION REACHED IN YOUR LAST CABLE AND AM WRITING A FULL ANSWER TO ALL ABOVE DOCUMENTS BY USUAL MEANS. I THINK ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTIONS IS THAT SOME EXTENSION IS POSSIBLE BUT I AM FINDING OUT AND WILL INFORM YOU. HARRY GORDON'S FIRM WISH ME TO SEND A MESSAGE IN CODE TO CHIEF SECRETARY OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO PAKISTAN [to] USE THIS CODE. I SHALL NOT DISCLOSE IT TO THE FIRM AND ASSUME CHIEF SECRETARY KNOWS IT. RESPECTS AND BEST WISHES FOR 1948.

WALTER MONCKTON

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120

2

8 January 1948

To
Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
London EC 4

YOUR CODE TELEGRAM OF 7 JANUARY. YOU ARE PERMITTED TO SEND CODE MESSAGE ON BEHALF OF HARRY GORDON'S FIRM TO CHIEF SECRETARY OF MY GOVERNMENT WITHOUT DISCLOSING IT TO FIRM.

NIZAM

121

3

9 January 1948

To
Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
London EC 4

I SAW MUNSHI[1] UNION GOVERNMENT'S AGENT GENERAL IN PRESENCE OF LAIK ALI. THOUGH I NEVER MET HIM BEFORE WHAT KIND OF MAN HE IS AND HOW FAR HIS PRESENCE WILL BE HELPFUL IN OUR AFFAIRS THAT ARE GOING TO BE SETTLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT WHAT I HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES IS THAT THIS FELLOW IS A MAN OF NOTORIOUS CHARACTER AND ALSO A DIGNIFIED BLACKGUARD. HE COMES FROM BOMBAY AND IS GUJARATI BY NATIONALITY AND ALSO I BELIEVE A LAWYER. HOWEVER I SHALL BE IN A BETTER POSITION LATER ON TO FORM MY JUDGMENT OF THIS DEVIL LIKE NEHRU AND PATEL. RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM AND WILL WRITE SOON.

NIZAM

[1] K. M. Munshi: member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1927; Home Minister (Bombay) 1937-39; member, CA, 1946-50; Agent-General, Government of India in Hyderabad, 1948; Central Food Minister; Governor of UP

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Fort St. George
Madras
10 January 1948

My dear Sardarji,

In continuation of the telephone talk I had with you the other day about the Hyderabad situation, I have to draw your attention to the very serious situation developing on the Madras-Hyderabad frontier. Some days back the Hyderabad police raided our territory, shot two people dead and carried the bodies away. We have made a strong protest through the Agent-General. Yesterday they again raided our borders and carried away two men. These incidents are becoming only too common. Hyderabad does not seem to have any intention of honouring the standstill agreement. They seem to be building up their forces and strength day by day and at any moment they might try some [diversionary] tactics in order to ease the pressure on Pakistan through Kashmir. The situation might be precipitated at any moment and I would very strongly urge upon you the necessity of safeguarding our frontiers and having enough forces to repel any attack. I would therefore beseech you to despatch immediately as many troops as possible. I also talked to you on the phone that we should be prepared for any contingency arising out of our dispute with Hyderabad and we have decided to raise some special armed police units. For the last 1½ months by letter and by telephone to the Defence Member, to yourself, to Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and also to Panditji, I have [stressed] the urgent need for arms and ammunition. We have already recruited 6,000 people and they are all keeping idle and not able to receive any training because of lack of arms. We are going to recruit Home Guards at the rate of 1,000 each in 16 of our districts. For them also we are in need of arms. Twenty thousand of our regular police force are also without rifles. The urgent need of all these I discussed with you previously and with Panditji, the Defence Minister and your Secretaries when I came there in November last. But so far we have not received any arms, ammunition or even any letter about it. These are dangerous times and it would be extremely unsafe to leave the position as it is.

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I would once again strongly urge upon you the necessity of dispatching speedily (within a week) the arms and ammunition we have asked for and also the troops, which I have mentioned about. The Nizam has about 5,000 regular and 50,000 irregular troops. You must keep an equal number of troops at least in Madras, Bombay and the CP together. You will have to send troops soon for this purpose. If you are not able to send more troops, and if you give me the arms, ammunition and money needed, I am prepared to raise a splendid force of 50,000 men from our people and get them ready within six months.

In addition to this I must also draw your attention to the situation caused in our province by the complete failure of the north-east monsoon; 50,000 square miles and 25 million people have been affected completely by the famine. Three million acres of paddy and 5 million acres of millets have also failed. Food riots have already begun, and in some places armed bands are going about gathering by force the very little crop raised by others by well irrigation. I have sent telegrams about this to you, the Food Minister and the Prime Minister. So far we have not received anything. If two million tons of rice are not received another tragedy, worse than that which happened in Bengal, would be repeated in Madras.

The Communists are now again out to give trouble. You would probably have seen the newspaper reports that the Communist party has now resolved to oppose all that the Congress Government do on the ground that the Congress Government are capitalists. So far they were at least giving out that they were co-operating. Now they have come into the open and we must expect more and more trouble in the labour field. Production is bound to go down heavily if the Communists are allowed any hand, and we must take a strong line with regard to the Communists.

It is with great pain that I have to bring to your notice that in the matter of dealing with the Communists as well as the Hyderabad trouble, I am not receiving from my colleague, the Home Minister, as much co-operation as I am entitled to expect. Though I put forward the idea of Home Guards and special armed police units long ago, he has taken absolutely no interest in it. It would appear that he is intent upon delaying it as much as possible. Sometimes his sympathy also seems to be with the Communists and I do not know how I can manage the Communists with Dr. Subbarayan as Home Minister. I would like you to consider all these points seriously and give me a detailed reply.

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More than all these, what we want is troops immediately and arms, ammunition and food. If even this letter does not evoke any reply, I am afraid I will have to give up my office rather than be a helpless spectator while Hyderabad is prepared to shoot our helpless people and while our people will be dying in thousands for want of food. I wish you place this matter even before your whole Cabinet and take all necessary steps.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

123

Camp: 68 Marine Drive
Bombay
19 January 1948

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter dated 10 January 1948.

I am distressed to find that the Home Minister has given you some cause for dissatisfaction. Both of you might come to Delhi some time after 20 January, when the matter could be gone into and decision reached.

Regarding arms and equipment for the police and more troops, we shall discuss them when you come to Delhi. I would then tell you what our difficulties are, and we could then settle, in appreciation of your problem and in full realisation of our difficulties, what measures should be adopted.

As regards the scarcity of food-grains, I am sending an extract of your letter to Jairamdas [Doulatram][1] and asking him to do the needful.

As regards the Communists, I suggest that if, as you say, the position is so bad, you take drastic action against them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Premier
Madras

1 General Secretary, AICC, 1931-34; member, Congress Working Committee; member, CA, 1946; Bihar Governor 1947; later Union Food Minister and Governor, Assam

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124

Fort St. George
22 January 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I am in receipt of your letter asking me to proceed to Delhi for discussions with you. His Excellency the Governor-General is visiting this place on the 27th instant and will be leaving only on the 30th. I am sorry I will not be able therefore to go there before the 30th. I will however intimate to you in advance the date on which I will come there.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

125

New Delhi
12 January 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will be interested in the enclosed copies of telegrams from the Nizam to Sir Walter Monckton. The telegrams speak for themselves and I need hardly add to them. They also show which way the mind of the Nizam is working. It is certainly not working in favour of a continued understanding with India.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Rear Admiral
the Earl Mountbatten of Burma
Governor-General of India

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ENCLOSURE I

TELEGRAM

3 January 1948

Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
Temple
London EC 4

YOUR TELEGRAM. MY GOVERNMENT IS BUSY JUST NOW WITH OTHER IMPORTANT MATTERS SINCE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT GETTING UNFRIENDLY OWING TO KASHMIR AND OTHER AFFAIRS AND DO NOT KNOW WHAT DECISION SECURITY COUNCIL OF [United] NATIONS WILL MAKE WHEN ALL THESE ARE REFERRED TO THEM FOR DECISION IN THE NEAR FUTURE. GOD FORBID IF WAR IS DECLARED ON PAKISTAN BY INDIAN GOVERNMENT HYDERABAD'S POSITION WILL BECOME DIFFICULT THOUGH AS SETTLED BEFORE WILL REMAIN NEUTRAL TO SAY NOTHING NOW MUCH MOHAMMEDANS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY WILL BE AFFECTED BY IT. DO NOT KNOW WHETHER IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES LORD MOUNTBATTEN WILL REMAIN IN INDIA AS GOVERNOR GENERAL OR HE WILL HAVE TO RELINQUISH HIS OFFICE. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS WILL SHOW.

NIZAM

ENCLOSURE II

TELEGRAM

5 January 1948

Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings
Temple
London EC 4

YOU KNOW LORD MOUNTBATTEN HAD INFORMED ME THAT AS SOON AS ACCOMMODATION FOR TREASURY AND ITS STAFF IS ARRANGED BY MY GOVERNMENT BOTH RESIDENCIES WILL BE HANDED OVER TO US BUT CONTRARY TO THIS UNION GOVERNMENT INSISTED THAT TILL THEN THEIR AGENT-GENERAL BY NAME MUNSHI RESIDING IN BOMBAY SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO OCCUPY ONE OF THE RESIDENCIES TEMPORARILY WHICH WAS QUITE AGAINST THE AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. HOWEVER I AND MY GOVERNMENT WITH SOME DIFFICULTY HAVE AGREED TO THIS PROPOSAL ON CONDITION

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THAT CORRESPONDENCE CONNECTED WITH THIS AFFAIR MUST BE PUBLISHED BY ME JUST TO SHOW TO THE PUBLIC HOW INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS TREATING HYDERABAD. I AM AFRAID IF THIS KIND OF THINGS CONTINUE IN FUTURE NO HOPE OF GOOD RELATION [between] THE PARTIES CONCERNED SINCE SOME AGITATION HAS ALREADY STARTED HERE IN THIS CONNECTION. I AM REALLY ASTONISHED TO SEE HOW GOVERNOR GENERAL IS PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THESE PEOPLE. I MEAN NEHRU PATEL AND OTHER PEOPLE. THIS METHOD SHOWS THAT LORD MOUNTBATTEN IS NO MORE A FRIEND OF HYDERABAD AS WE THOUGHT HE WAS SOMETIME AGO. BESIDES WHAT ATTITUDE THEIR AGENT MUNSHI WILL ADOPT NO ONE CAN FORESTALL BUT THIS IS CERTAIN THAT IF THINGS DO NOT IMPROVE SOON THEN THERE IS DANGER OF SOME SERIOUS SITUATION ARISING SINCE COUNTRY'S AFFAIRS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE ARE NOT MOVING SMOOTHLY BY UNWISE ACTS OF THESE PEOPLE WHO ARE NO MORE THAN DEVILS.

NIZAM

ENCLOSURE III

TELEGRAM

6 January 1948

Sir Walter Monckton
3 Paper Buildings,
London EC 4

IN CONTINUATION OF MY TELEGRAM TO YOU OF 5 JANUARY I AGREE WITH YOUR OPINION THAT NO GOOD OF OUR HURRYING UP MAKING LONGTERM AGREEMENT WITH INDIAN UNION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR BUT TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ARISE BEFORE WE DO IT NAMELY TOWARDS THE END OF THE YEAR. BESIDES WE MUST SEE HOW KASHMIR AND JUNAGADH'S CASE IS GOING TO BE SETTLED BY UNO. AFTER THAT WE CAN THINK ABOUT OUR OWN AFFAIR. IS LORD MOUNTBATTEN GOING TO GET EXTENSION AFTER APRIL NEXT AS WAS RUMOURED BEFORE? IN ANY CASE SINCE HE HAS NOT GOT POWER WHAT HELP CAN HE GIVE TO US IS OBVIOUS. IN THAT CASE HIS BEING IN OFFICE OR NOT DOES NOT AFFECT US MATERIALLY SO WE MUST MANAGE OUR AFFAIRS IN THE BEST WAY WE CAN AFTER TAKING EVERYTHING INTO CONSIDERATION.

NIZAM

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126

Government House
New Delhi
14 January 1948

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 12 January and for the telegrams you sent me from the Nizam to Sir Walter Monckton, which I was very interested to read.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

127

New Delhi
21 January 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have been receiving from various sources foreign and internal reports of the frantic efforts that the Hyderabad Government has been making to procure arms from abroad. We have informed the Defence Ministry and our High Commissioner in London who has been asked to investigate this matter. One report, which has come to us independently from two sources, indicates that arms are being supplied through Goa. [B. G.] Kher told me of this and complained that the Government of India's customs people had refused to help him in checking this traffic. I heard also at the Hyderabad end that these cases containing gun barrels had arrived from the Bombay side. The stocks of the guns are apparently made in Hyderabad.

2. We have taken steps to approach the Portuguese Government Ambassador in London on this subject to tell him that we object to this traffic.

3. Some information has also come to us about General Edroos'[1] activities in Europe in pursuit of arms. This is not very precise and probably you know all about it.

[1] Syed Ahmed Edroos: Arab by origin, served in Burma during World War II; Commander-in-Chief, Hyderabad State Forces

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4. I am told also that Hyderabad State are increasing the strength of their army which I imagine would be against the standstill agreement. I presume the States Ministry is taking steps in this matter. I realise, of course, that we should proceed cautiously and not make too much of a fuss at this stage but if we submit silently to their breaches they would become bolder and bolder and do all manner of objectionable things.

5. The question of arming the Bhopal army is also worthy of consideration. That army is practically a non-Bhopal army of Pathans, etc. and we might be a little careful in giving them too much in the way of arms.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

128

New Delhi
25 January 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 21 January 1948. All the matters which you have mentioned have already been engaging our attention. The traffic through Goa to Hyderabad has apparently been possible because of some lack of co-ordination and we are taking up the matter with the Ministries of Commerce and Transport to check it. We are also delaying, as far as possible, the supply of articles of military use to Hyderabad. You will recall that I told you after the Hyderabad Agreement was signed that I was doubtful how far we would be able to carry on with Hyderabad State under its present set-up and influences. We are having a taste of it already, but Laik Ali is coming here on the 29th when I hope to tackle him on these questions.

2. Regarding General Edroos, I do not think he has been able to accomplish anything substantial during his visit to the UK. In any case, no substantial quantities of arms appear to have been imported into Hyderabad as a result of his visit.

3. I have already decided to issue instructions to Hyderabad and Bhopal States regarding the composition of their armed forces. We are telling them that we are bound to take it into account in making allotments of arms and equipments and that

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the composition of these forces should be readjusted in order to create more confidence amongst the non-Muslim majority.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

129

Bolarum
27 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

Yesterday Laik Ali invited me to dinner, when Sir Walter and Moin Nawaz were present.

He repeated the same old story—

1. No accession, but alliance conceding 3 subjects;
2. Ittehads will be controlled and constitutional reforms introduced on a 50-50 basis after a satisfactory arrangement.

I made it clear

1. that responsible government must be introduced;
2. that Ittehads are a menace to the safety of the whole South India and must be liquidated;
3. that satisfactory discussion about permanent settlement can only follow.

We are meeting this evening at 7-30. They are very upset, but either they will not, or more probably cannot, make any constitutional changes.

Gen. Goddard (Southern Command) saw me yesterday. We had a long talk. He said he would require about six weeks for preparations. Gen. Chaudhuri[1] said four. I am afraid people here will appreciate realities only when they find that you have made up your mind to push the issue to its logical consequences. They bank on Kashmir and UNO being factors which will prevent India from precipitating a crisis. They think we are bluffing.

With best regards to Maniben[2] and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

[1] General J. N. Chaudhuri: Commander, Indian Armoured Division which entered Hyderabad during police action; Military Governor after police action

[2] Miss Maniben Patel: Daughter of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who acted as his personal aide for over two decades

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130

Government House
New Delhi
30 March 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I thought you would like to know that I have just had a letter from Sir Walter Monckton saying how sorry he is to hear that you are ill. He has asked me to pass on to you his best wishes for a speedy recovery.

As you know, we have been away on tour for a week and I hope you have been getting better during that time. I have naturally no wish to worry you, if you do not feel up to visitors, but I should be very happy to come round and pay you a brief visit at any time you say. We are off to Udaipur tomorrow and later Patiala; perhaps I could come on return from the latter State.

All good wishes to you from my wife and my family.

Yours ever,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

131

New Delhi
7 April 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Many thanks for your letter of 30 March 1948. I have already conveyed to Sir Walter Monckton through Mr. Munshi, our Agent-General, my thanks for his kind enquiry.

2. I am now very much better and am allowed a little more movement and can sit up in a chair for a little more time. I would be delighted to see you here at any time and day convenient to you but personally would prefer an early meeting, particularly in regard to Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Rear Admiral
the Earl Mountbatten of Burma
Governor-General of India

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132

HEH the Nizam's Government
Guest House
8 April 1948

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you very much for your letter of yesterday. May I say how delighted I was to see that you are better again and in such vigorous form!

I well remember expressing the hopes about which you write. You will, I know, recall that I did so before the Ittehad forced, Chhatari and the others at the end of last October. I still believe that if the standstill agreement had been signed then instead of a month later the present discontent would never have arisen. Even now I would struggle for a friendly settlement. I am so afraid that real trouble in the south might give the Communists a chance to do irreparable injury, not only to Hyderabad, but to India.

But the sort of speech which [Kasim] Razvi has made is very discouraging reading to me. I shall speak plainly about it on my return.

Yours sincerely,
Walter Monckton

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CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

133

New Delhi
9 April 1948

My dear Sardar,

I am sending you herewith three Notes—Appendix A, Economic Vulnerability of Hyderabad; Appendix B, Financial Situation of Hyderabad, and Appendix C, Prejudicial Actions of the Nizam's Government. These with the earlier note which I sent you will give a comprehensive data for any economic sanctions that may be considered. If you think it advisable a small committee may go into the whole question and prepare a scheme, while I am here.

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY OF HYDERABAD

Appendix A

1. Hyderabad is surplus in cotton, groundnut seeds, groundnut oil, castor seeds, linseed, til, pulses, coal, cement, cotton seed, oil cakes, forest produce, livestock, and some minor commodities. Of these, oil seeds and pulses have food value, but of the former most of the quantities are exported outside India, and as regards the latter, i.e., pulses, the position this year in India is fairly good and by stopping these exports, Hyderabad can do little harm to India, but may cut at the root of its own economy, as the prices will go down and hit hard the cultivator and the middle man.

2. Cotton is of commercial value, but the quantity exported by Hyderabad, i.e., about 2 lakh bales may not hit India hard, particularly, as it is mostly of the short for medium staple quality.

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3. The only essential commodity in which Hyderabad is surplus is coal of which about 4 lakh tons are exported yearly to India. This quantity makes up only about 2% of the total Indian production of coal and India should have no difficulty in managing without Hyderabad coal for some time.

4. The commodities in which Hyderabad is deficit and imports them from or through India are rice, wheat, salt, fruits, vegetables, coconut and copra, beetle leaves and nuts, provisions and oilman stores, soaps, cotton piece goods, woollen manufactures, silk printed materials, gunnies, chemicals and drugs, iron and steel, kerosene, petrol, fuel and lubricating oils, coconut oil, fertilisers, tea, manufactured tobacco, unmanufactured tobacco, leather goods, electrical goods, motor cars, buses and parts, cinema goods, machinery and capital goods, gold and silver and other metals.

5. Of the above, iron and steel, kerosene, petrol, fuel and lubricating oils, vehicles, machinery and capital goods, electrical goods, chemicals and drugs, gunnies are essential for carrying on essential services and industries in Hyderabad. The present stocks of petrol are only about 70,000 gallons with the army, 60,000 gallons with the police and about 20,000 gallons with the dealers. This would enable the army and the police to carry on for 2-3 months, as well as the essential services. But the civil population would be starved of petrol. The stocks of diesel oil have gone very low and may last only for two weeks to one month after which bus service may have to close down. Similarly, most of the industries are starved for want of raw materials and spare parts and may have to close down. A ban on vehicles and machinery and arms and ammunition may hit hard the maintenance of the army and the police.

6. Railway, postal, telegraphic or air communications in Hyderabad are dependent on India and in the event of these communications being blocked by India, Hyderabad would be cut off from the rest of the world except through non-stop flights to Pakistan and through wireless communications. Non-stop flights can be stopped as being against international law. Similarly shortwave transmission can be objected to and blocked.

7. The financial resources of Hyderabad are dependent upon India, as most of its foreign exports passes through India and imports are obtained through India. The ban on foreign exchange such as on the availability of Indian currency to Hyderabad would starve it of its foreign resources. Similarly most of the surplus funds of Hyderabad are invested in Indian securities and if these are frozen and a ban placed on their transfer or sales, the Nizam's Government will have no surplus funds to carry on their activities outside Hyderabad and meet their financial obligations in India and abroad, except with the limited quantity of sterling (about 2 million pounds) which they have accumulated in London.

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Appendix B

1. The annual income, as budgeted for the year 1947-48, was Rs. 25 crores, besides the revenue from new taxes (income-tax, sales tax etc.) amounting to nearly Rs. 2 crores, i.e. Rs. 27 crores in all, the main sources yielding revenue being customs (Rs. 3 crores), land revenue (Rs. 3½ crores), excise (Rs. 7 crores), interest (Rs. 4 crores), railways (Rs. 2 crores), taxes on income (new) (Rs. 2 crores).

2. The progress of income has not been satisfactory and has been about Rs. 11 crores in the first 6 months of the year. This may result in shortage of revenue by Rs. 5 crores at the end of the year (September 1948).

3. The budgeted expenditure was Rs. 27 crores, consisting of mainly on salaries and pensions (Rs. 11 crores), the Nizam's privy purse (Rs. ½ crore), Princes' Civil List (Rs. 15 lakhs), special donations and grants (Rs. 50 lakhs), military (Rs. 2 crores), police (Rs. 1½ crores), education, public health and roads, tanks and buildings etc. (Rs. 8 crores).

4. The expenditure during the half year has been about Rs. 12 crores and by the end of the year may be Rs. 25 crores. The net deficit may thus be Rs. 3 crores.

5. The expenditure on army and police has been considerably increased during the year by the formation of a new battalion (Rs. 70 lakhs) to guard borders, by the formation of Home Guards and civic centres (Rs. 60 lakhs), expansion of broadcasting (Rs. 50 lakhs), on publicity measures (about Rs. 20 lakhs). The exact expenditure on refugees is not known; but on the 15 camps maintained in Hyderabad and districts, it is stated to be about Rs. 30 lakhs per month.

Investments & Sale of Securities

6. Hyderabad has the following reserves—paper currency (Rs. 52 crores), famine reserve (Rs. 1½ crores), debt redemption reserve (Rs. 5 crores), rupee stabilisation and securities fluctuation reserve (Rs. 4 crores), development reserve (Rs. 13 crores).

7. Investments against these reserves are in the Govt. of India's securities (Rs. 54 crores), cash with the Hyderabad State Bank in Hyderabad rupees (Rs. 2½ crores), in Indian rupees (Rs. 3 crores), cash with the Habib Bank in Karachi (Rs. 30 lakhs), cash in London with the Imperial Bank, Westminster Bank, and Chase or National City Bank of America (2½ million pounds of the value of Rs. 3 crores); amount in current account or deposits with the Imperial Bank of India in Indian currency (about Rs. 15 crores). In order to meet the increasing expenditure on the above measures, and to provide Indian currency to private individuals, the Nizam Govt. has had to sell securities of the Government of India of the value of Rs. 18 crores

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during the last one year, of which Rs. 11 crores were sold since October and Rs. 3 crores very recently. The sterling in London is also getting depleted and about ½ million pounds have been drawn during the last 6 months.

8. The demand for B. G. (Indian currency) is growing. The demand during the last 6 months of 1947 amounted to Rs. 15 crores, for local requirements and Rs. 23 crores for drafts and remittances outside Hyderabad. This is about 50% higher than the normal demand in this part of the year. The demand at present is about Rs. 2 crores every month.

9. In order to meet the scarcity of B.G. the Nizam's Govt. have recently lifted the ban on the exports of oil seeds and pulses, which had been levied from the beginning of this year. Surcharge is being recovered on these exports in addition to the 5% ad valorem customs duty, at rates between Re. 1 and Rs. 2 per maund. This may be constitutionally objected to. A regulation has been enforced by which all exports are required to pass through the Hyderabad State Bank and the Indian currency made available to the State Bank. This is also open to constitutional objection, as it hinders free trade between India and Hyderabad and also introduces control on Indian currency. The Nizam's Govt. expect to get about Rs. 20 crores in Indian currency by these exports.

10. The Govt. of India can hit hard the financial position of Hyderabad if the Govt. securities held by Hyderabad are frozen or made not transferable and saleable without the permission of the Reserve Bank of India, such as by issuing instructions to major banks like the Imperial Bank of India, Central Bank of India and Habib Bank. Similarly, the position will become precarious if the transaction of the Hyderabad State Bank branches in Bombay and Madras (which are perhaps not even scheduled by now) are controlled and transfer of funds in Indian currency from other banks or individuals through the Hyderabad State Bank are forbidden, either by some statutory order or by stopping these branches to function, as they are perhaps not yet scheduled with the Reserve Bank of India for which negotiations were going on. Under the present conditions the Govt. of India might intervene and ask the Reserve Bank of India not to schedule the Hyderabad State Bank branches in Bombay and Madras. The Reserve Bank of India wanted that a portion of the total assets of the Hyderabad State Bank held whether in India or in Hyderabad should be held with the Reserve Bank of India in cash, whereas the Hyderabad State Bank wanted to confine this to a portion of the assets held by it in India only. The Reserve Bank of India might insist on the stand previously taken by them that the total assets of the Hyderabad State Bank in India and Hyderabad State should be taken into account for making deposit with the Reserve Bank of India. This would hit hard the Hyderabad State Bank and the scheduling of branches in Bombay and Madras may be withheld on this plea.

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11. As Hyderabad has levied control over foreign exchange in Indian currency available to it by its export of oil seeds and pulses, retaliatory measures might be taken by the Govt. of India by banning the transfer of Indian currency to the account of the Nizam's Govt. whether through the Hyderabad State Bank, Imperial Bank of India, Central Bank of India or Habib Bank etc. i.e. all transfer of funds to the account of the Nizam's Govt. in any bank in India and also all remittances of funds from India to Hyderabad might be banned. This would be a very severe blow to the financial and economic structure of Hyderabad. In addition, if the Govt. of India securities held by Hyderabad are frozen, it will strangle the financial position of Hyderabad, as it will have no foreign exchange (except sterling in London, and the amount with the Habib Bank in Pakistan referred to above) available for making its purchases in India, or even for making payments for other purposes. This will also put a stop to all publicity and other activities, for which payments are made by the Nizam's Govt. in substantial sums to outsiders in Indian currency. As a lot of alarm and panic has been created in financial circles by the sale of the Government of India's securities by Hyderabad, the Govt. of India can intervene on this plea and prohibit the sale of Indian securities by Hyderabad on the plea to stop the market by being flooded. The same step may be taken by the Govt. of India with regard to the securities of Rs. 20 crores transferred to Pakistan, i.e. their sales and transfer may also be prohibited, unless Pakistan itself voluntarily foregoes to encash these securities, as it is under negotiations between Hyderabad, India and Pakistan. If these negotiations do not materialise, the Indian Govt. may have another handle in enforcing the above ban, on the plea that Hyderabad has been transferring Indian securities to other Governments in an unauthorised and unconstitutional manner.

12. The Nizam's Govt. is also contemplating to take severe measures to stop the flow of capital from Hyderabad to India, such as by introducing foreign exchange control. In fact this Bill has been sanctioned in the shape of an ordinance which has not been promulgated owing to the controversy with the Indian Union on the issue of currency ordinance and loan to Pakistan. The Govt. of India may have further justification to control foreign exchange in the shape of Indian currency available to Hyderabad, as explained above, as a retaliatory measure to the Foreign Exchange Control Ordinance of Hyderabad, as and when it is promulgated.

13. The other sources through which Hyderabad may get Indian currency or some foreign exchange will be through the transfer of silver or gold. This can be stopped by India as a retaliatory measure against the ban imposed by Hyderabad on transfer of silver, gold and other metals from Hyderabad to India.

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Appendix C

The following actions of the Nizam's Government may be considered whenever the situation is reviewed.

Defence

(1) The formation of a new battalion at an expenditure of Rs. 60 lakhs capital and Rs. 40 lakhs yearly without previous approval of the Govt. of India.

(2) The formation of Home Guards and civic centres, on a semi-military basis at a cost of Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 1 crore consisting of a personnel of about 15,000.

(3) Manufacture of arms and ammunition such as drills in the Praga Tools for the Salamat Gun Factory and crude guns and ammunition in the latter.

(4) Supply of vehicles and petrol facilities to private volunteer organisations, particularly the Razakars.

(5) Negotiations for the purchase of arms and ammunition through the Agent-General in London.

Communications

(6) A very large expansion programme of Deccan Airways has been decided upon without the concurrence of India. Deccan Airways have applied for sanction to run a service from Madras to Karachi as well as to East Africa and to Burma.

(7) The refusal of Deccan Airways to accept charter flights between Delhi and Kashmir offered by the Govt. of India for conveying refugees' blankets, clothing and food stuffs etc. The offer was made in January 1948 and was not accepted by Deccan Airways, under instructions of the Railway Minister, Mr. Abdur Rahim, although this resulted in a loss of nearly Rs. 4 lakhs monthly to Deccan Airways.

(8) The Government of India have agreed provisionally to sell to Hyderabad aerodromes at Hakimpet, Bidar and Warrangal etc., at a very nominal salvage value, but before the sale they are actually in control.

(9) The Nizam's Government is expanding its broadcasting system considerably and has installed a short-wave transmitter purchased in Calcutta at a cost of Rs. 75,000. The schemes for installing further powerful short-wave transmitters are on the anvil and the Nizam's Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs for this purpose.

(10) The Nizam's Government has entered into negotiations with foreign news agency like the United Press of America and are giving them a

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subsidy of $48,000, i.e. Rs. 20 lakhs a year to broadcast Hyderabad news to countries abroad and give publicity in the UK and the USA.

(11) The Nizam's Government is spending large sums on publicity abroad, such as making propaganda films of Hyderabad through British and American producers, for which large sums are placed at the disposal of the Agent-General in London.

(12) Free transit of goods between Hyderabad and India was restricted by a ban on the exports of oil seeds and pulses, which has only been recently lifted after a period of 6 months. Still several impositions are placed such as surcharge at the rate of Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per maund on such exports and that all exports should pass through the Hyderabad State Bank and that the Indian currency exchange equal to the cost of these goods exported from Hyderabad to India should be made available to the Hyderabad State Bank. This is a measure of foreign exchange control against India.

(13) Large sums of money are spent on internal publicity through non-official bodies like Aman (peace) Committees and teachers. For the latter purposes, a sum of Rs. 1 lakh is given to Mr. Venkat Rao, Education Minister.

Foreign Trade

(14) Embargo on transit of goods and the surcharge levied on these as referred to above, which is collected in addition to the statutory ad valorem duty of 5%. This may be objected to.

(15) Under the Hyderabad Insurance Act, outside insurance companies are restricted from doing business and are required to invest their funds in Hyderabad securities. Most of the large companies have refused to do this, and some, who have got themselves registered, had to invest in Hyderabad securities of more than Rs. 10 lakhs so far. The Nizam's Government has refused until now to enter into reciprocal arrangements with India, resulting in considerable inconvenience and hardship to Indian insurance companies.

(16) The Agents-General, who are being appointed abroad including the Agent-General in London, may be required to work in coordination with the Indian High Commissioners or Ambassadors in these countries. Under the Standstill Agreement the Indian Govt. may require to see and watch that the activities of the Hyderabad Agents-General are confined to matters properly relating to trade and commerce (vide letter dated 29 November 1948 from the Governor-General of India to the Nizam). Thus it may be stipulated that all correspondence from the Agents-General to foreign Governments may pass through the Indian High Commissioner or Ambassadors, or at least copies of all such correspondence may be required to be furnished.

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(17) The Nizam's Government is trying to utilise the services of the Agent-General in London for contacting foreign countries to assist Hyderabad in getting membership of the International Monetary Fund and other international organisations and, if possible, even the United Nations Organisation. This may be objected to.

(18) The Nizam's privy purse of Rs. 50 lakhs per year and the Princes Civil List of Rs. 15 lakhs are in addition to all expenses on tours of the Nizam or of the Princes, which are met by Government. The Marf-i-Khas area, of which the revenue goes to the Nizam, yields an income of nearly Rs. 3 crores now. Still the Princes are heavily in debt and the Government paid debts of the junior Prince in London recently to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs. Further debts of the two Princes amount to about Rs. 1 crore at a moderate estimate. Several of these debts are due to firms in India, which are helpless, as they cannot go to a court of law.

(19) The personal investments of the Nizam amount to about Rs. 3 crores in the Government of India's securities, about Rs. 1 crore or two in the shares of Indian and foreign concerns, and cash in Indian currency of about Rs. 1 crore, silver and silver coins (now out of circulation) of the value of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 crores, and gold (value not known), but may be of the value of Rs. 10 crores. These assets could all be frozen, if necessity arises.

134

Dakshina Sadan
Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn.)
22 April 1948

My dear Sardar,

1. Pannalal[1] had an interview with Laik Ali again yesterday. Laik Ali, Pannalal stated, said that anything more than 50-50 was out of the question and repeated that Panditji had agreed not to object to 50-50. He also made it definite that any change can only take place if the independence of Hyderabad was agreed upon. Pannalal was further told that on account of international difficulties, the Indian Union would not take any military action and that like Pakistan in Kashmir, the Indian Union were preparing raiders for coming into Hyderabad and that the Razakars were needed to fight these raiders.

2. Tomorrow or the day after the Nizam is likely to issue a firman asserting independence and promising some measure of

[1] Industrialist of Hyderabad

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responsibility but no quarter will be shown to the State Congress. Some 300 prisoners were released yesterday but it is stated that Swami Ramanand Tirtha will not be released.

3. A sense of frustration prevails among the Hindus and non-Ittihad Muslims here. The Ittihads, who out of fear of military action were upset, have had another spurt of activity.

4. Kasim Razvi as a result of warning from the Nizam is not speaking in the old tune, but the Ittihad papers and the organisers in the districts are more aggressive. Criticism of Maulana [Azad] Sahib, Aruna [Asaf Ali][1] and myself has reached a very vulgar level. Last three days, if the dozens of telegrams pouring in every day have any basis—and they have—havoc is being created by Razakars in the two districts of Osmanabad and Nanded and Hindus are being disarmed by the police. Lathi charge and the death of a Congress worker in Gulbarga jail have added to the general panic.

5. International propaganda is being briskly carried on. Douglas, correspondent of the Sydney Times, has just sent a cable, a copy of which I send herewith.

6. Possibly you are leaving Delhi on Thursday. Shankar will most probably go with you. Menon is so frequently absent from Delhi that I wish you would fix upon some one always at Delhi with whom I may communicate in urgent matters and get your instructions.

I am going to Bombay for the AICC session.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

135

Camp: Residency
Bangalore
21 May 1948

My dear Sardar,

So far as four battalions are concerned, all arrangements have been made here. Only, the Mysore Government is awaiting

[1] Wife of Mr. Asaf Ali; left-wing politician and Mayor of Delhi

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the sanction of the States Ministry and expert guidance from the Military Adviser-in-Chief.

I am sending you herewith a note on the situation as at present. I personally feel that recurrent resumption of negotiations is scarcely conducive to a successful adjustment of Indo-Hyderabad relations.

Bangalore is a hotbed of intrigue for Hyderabad. Yesterday one of the guards of the brother of the Nizam was found acting in a suspicious manner so as to do some act which would involve death penalty for him. This was found from his own letter. It may mean assassination or sabotage on a big scale and my information from Hyderabad also was that they would put their agents round about here. There is a view that I may be object of his attention. He has been externed from the State today. Two highly-placed ladies and one Cutchi Memon businessman are here giving parties to our military officers and contacting Americans in the Hindustan Air Factory under very suspicious circumstances. The Mysore Government has been moved to take some action.

It is unfortunate that outside Hyderabad we are so ignorant of its methods and we behave just as if the Pax Britannica prevailed in the country; that even our vital factory is completely at the mercy of any ingenious saboteurs. As this is a very valuable factory from our military point of view, it would be perhaps advisable to send a high CID officer from the Centre who, aided by Mysore, can look after it.

I paid a visit to the Hindustan Air Factory which can employ 17,000 men easily. But it only employs 4,000. Ten thousand trained men are starving outside in Bangalore. Its productive capacity is immense. It can manufacture aeroplanes; it can have its own new engines; it can convert planes into bombers. It has started doing so in fact. But in view of its capacity, it is doing very small repairing and overhauling work. It is very sad to think that the Government of India cannot convert this factory into something which can give India effective air power.

The manager, Anant Pandya, impressed me as a first-class organiser with a drive. I think he was with Ghanshyam Dasji [G. D. Birla][1] before. He is given no scope; Government of India decisions are very dilatory. He has not been even provided with

[1] Leading industrialist; MLA (Central), resigned in protest against legislation on imperial preference in 1930; President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1924; President, FICCI, 1929

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a house. He is prepared to put the factory to its full use, manufacture aeroplanes, waggons and other essentials if full scope is only given to him by his Board. But nothing moves and I should not be surprised if he gives up this job.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Mussoorie

136

Camp: Residency
Bangalore
21 May 1948

My dear Sardar,

I am sending you herewith an apprisal of the Hyderabad situation.

Nizam

1. The general belief at one time held in Delhi that the Nizam was afraid of the Ittihad or that if sufficient pressure is brought he will disown them is not well-founded. The Razakars form his private army, whatever their or his official pronouncements.

His Attitude

2. His one fixed idea is to be independent, to be "His Majesty." He will not accede; he will not give responsible government; he will not allow popular elements an effective share in the administration. He will not willingly give India even effective control over Defence, External Affairs and Communications, legislative or otherwise. He holds the Government of India in supreme contempt, whom he politely calls "scoundrels of Delhi." Verbal protests, even threats, have no effect on him.

When Change Possible

3. He is very ably supported by determined and resourceful officials who, though few, hold the whole machinery of the State in their hands. For 36 years, the Nizam was a problem to seasoned Residents, backed by Paramountcy; he knows how to conduct a war of nerves and to weild the power of money. Any negotiation on the basis that he will yield to pursuasion or mere

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psychological pressure is a miscalculation. He only understands stern action; every courtesy, even patience, in another is a sign of weakness only to be exploited for his own advantage. He will not change unless the moment comes when he has to choose between his desire for independence and his wealth and his dynastic rule.

The State

4. It is sometimes not fully realised that Hyderabad is an alien and a very fully equipped State, equipped with a service, civil, military and police, compact and able, which controls industrial life and has a high devotion to the idea of Hyderabad's independence. This governmental machine has all the desire and potentiality to accede to Pakistan, if circumstances favour, and will not reconcile itself to a closer association with India. It will have to be displaced. Here in Bangalore, for instance, there is a network of Hyderabad spies. One orderly of Prince Basalat Jah was up to some mischief involving death sentence; two highly-placed ladies are in constant company with our military officers; one Hyderabad business man is in close consultation with the American experts of Hindustan Aircraft Factory; Razakar pockets are being formed in surrounding areas.

Negotiations

5. Our dealings with Hyderabad during recent months have strengthened his vanity and his feeling that the Union is too weak to take strong action. We withdrew the Bolarum army. Believing that Sir Walter Monckton had influence with him, negotiations were conducted by us at Delhi on a plane which fed his vanity; gave his advisers high hopes of a favoured treatment; and provided them with the time factor which was so badly needed by Hyderabad (expressly so stated in their minutes) for strengthening its position against us. We gave an ultimatum on 26 March, we again opened negotiations. Panditji gave them time till 24 April to fulfil three concrete demands; all of them were flouted. On 16 May, we again despatched a strong letter of demands; Campbell Johnson's[1] recent visit and negotiations resumed at the instance of Nawab Zain have again strengthened the Nizam's belief—the belief of every one in Hyderabad—that the Union is not in dead earnest. This is the greatest stumbling block in our negotiations.

[1] Allen Campbell Johnson: Press Attache to Lord Mountbatten, last of British Viceroys of India

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Nizam's Policy: Its Fourfold Aspect

6. The Nizam's policy consists of four aspects, viz:

(A) the building up of Ittihad and Razakars as a powerful instrument with which

(a) to consolidate Muslim opinion in Hyderabad and if possible in India and

(b) to overawe the Hindus of Hyderabad into giving up their claim to be a part of democratic India;

(B) the sabotage of India's attempt to secure the accession of Hyderabad by the intervention of His Excellency and the leaders of British public opinion through the good offices of Sir Walter Monckton and the British Press representatives;

(C) the establishment of close relationship with Pakistan —though the Nizam hates Jinnah personally—with a view to securing her assistance in strengthening Hyderabad during the period of delay and help in the event of a military conflict;

(D) the protraction of negotiations in order to 'prepare for a substantial display of independence.'

Strength of Razakars

7. (a) As to (A), the Ittihad has a very substantial section of Muslims behind it and the opposing Muslims have been terrorised into acquiescence.

(b) The resistance of the Communists is weakened partly by the action of the Madras Government against Communists in Andhra and partly by the recent alliance of the Nizam's Government with the local Communists on the plank of Hyderabad's independence. The resistance movement in consequence is practically running out.

(c) The State Congress is becoming ineffective. About 7,000 workers are still in jail. It has no hold on the villagers, for they want arms and the Congress is not able to supply them. It has also run short of money.

Morale of the People

8. When I came to Hyderabad in January last, the morale of the people went up. Refugees returned to Hyderabad. The people felt that something is being done by the Union. The infructuous series of negotiations, however, have exhausted the patience of the people, who are now openly talking of the Union letting them

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down. They are in agony; the leaders are losing faith; exodus of refugees has started again. It is a torture to hear of Razakar depredations, and to meet the victims or the refugees and hear their tale of woe, without even being able to assure them of speedy relief.

9. In one respect this policy has failed. Muslims in India have publicly disowned the Razakars. They are nervous about all-India repercussion if the Razakars continue in their career. I happened casually to [ask] a high State officer at Bhopal about Razakar activities. I am forwarding herewith the correspondence with the Nawab of Bhopal. I learnt here that the Moplahs are not under Hyderabad influence. But there are pro-Razakar pockets in all surrounding areas.

British Intervention

10. As to aspect (B) of the Nizam's policy, the weakening of India's intention through Britain, it has failed. The Nizam is convinced that His Excellency is not prepared to back up his attitude. Sir Walter has also communicated to the Nizam that the leaders of parties in Britain are not willing to take up his cause against India. Sir Walter himself is reported to have felt he was not fully trusted as before and has so far shown no signs of returning.

Aid from Pakistan

11. As to aspect (C) of the policy, viz., alliance with Pakistan, Pakistan has been very astute. It has secured a loan of Rs. 20 crores, immobilised though it may be; but no information is available as to its commitments. The assistance which it has sent is, so far, little, if at all. Though there are rumours of Pakistan's intention to intervene in any Indo-Hyderabad conflict, I have no evidence to show that it will. All information supports the view that it cannot take upon itself Hyderabad's quarrel with India.

Dilatory Tactics

12. The dilatory tactics of Hyderabad have given it certain advantages. All the anti-Ittihadi elements in Government have been eliminated; the resistance movement has practically disappeared; 1,50,000 men are under training. It has established a strong espionage system throughout the surrounding areas and I am not feeling happy about our factories in Bangalore, particularly the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. Factories in Hyderabad have now begun to produce rifles and some war materials; openly or secretly, they have collected petrol and sulphur enough to resist an economic blockade. The Nizam's Government has frozen cloth

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and is now freely buying cloth and salt in India for being stocked in reserve for that emergency. Our unofficial blockade has not prevented the Nizam's Government from obtaining supplies essential to war preparations.

Economic State

13. But at the same time, the strain upon the Nizam's Government is becoming very heavy. Revenue is not being fully collected; in fact there is no administration in some parts of the State. Money is spent for any scheme, if it holds out a promise, however doubtful, of adding to Hyderabad's power of resistance. There is an expected deficit of 4 crores out of a budget of 24 crores in the year ending next September. Out of 78 crores of loan notes, 20 are given to Pakistan and about 12 are sold to find money for meeting the deficit and war preparations. Muslim refugees are a great drain; the Razakars are openly extracting money from the Hindus and Muslims alike. The unofficial blockade of Hyderabad has strangled some of their industrial activities.

No Progress in Negotiations

14. The relations with India have practically stood still; the Nizam's Government is for all practical purposes treating itself as independent. Its attitude on relevant questions has been unshaken. It involves

(a) no accession to India;

(b) no responsible government to Hyderabad;

(c) no substantial change in the present government. The change to which the Nizam's Government is reconciling itself is only an eye-wash;

(d) a treaty giving nominal power to India over Defence, External Affairs and Communications; and

(e) Razakars to be maintained with an illusory promise of not utilising them for state purpose.

15. The reaction from Delhi shows that we lay a store by Nawab Zain's mediation. I am afraid it will not succeed. The Ittihad considers him a traitor and an enemy; the non-Ittihad Shias whom he leads have lost all morale. The Nizam will not part with the Ittihad nominees so lightly, nor with the police and army chiefs, who are the fixed pillars of the State. Why, if so, does he permit his Government to play with negotiations? I do not believe it is a change of heart; nor even panic. The object is time —time which he badly wants and which we are too willing to give. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to be very careful

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in these negotiations. The atmosphere of Delhi where we make light of Hyderabad and a nice man like Zain to deal with, should not make us forget the determined and clever man who has flourished on a successful war of nerves throughout his life.

Further Negotiations Unhelpful

16. Further negotiations, without the background of immediate action, will not move the Nizam's Government from its position. It will only give it time to organise its strength better and to mobilise international opinion. Internally, the people in Hyderabad will lose faith completely; the resistance movement, already on the wane, will die out. If, in order to improve our position vis-a-vis Kashmir or to gain time, no action is taken, it will give strength to the Nizam's Government and make India restive. It is my duty to point out that but for Panditji's strong speech at Bombay and the confidence that something effective is being done, our Government's policy of patience would have lost the confidence of the country.

Our Position

17. The situation as it is developing clearly indicates that India cannot much longer afford to have a fascist State in its centre which looks to a foreign power for assistance and guidance, and supports a communal movement hostile to the Indian Union. Hyderabad must, therefore, form an integral, democratic part of India; if not, as at present, it will tend progressively towards becoming Pakistan. This involves a drastic change which cannot be secured by the negotiations as are now being carried on.

Unofficial Blockade

18. Our unofficial blockade has had little effect on the negotiations though it has imposed a severe strain on Hyderabad's economy. But I fear it will not continue to be effective even such as it is, unless it is officially imposed. In order to have a compelling power, it should include freezing of money in India, sterilising the loans and prohibiting even essential supplies. Such a frank and open 'sealing off' enforced on account of Hyderabad's failure to carry out the Standstill Agreement, will also be morally supportable.

Growing Military Strength

19. Hyderabad's power of military resistance is weak but daily improving. Out of 25,000 troops, 15,000 were not properly armed two months ago. Recently several factories are working top speed; and in three months time they will have sufficient

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arms. Arms are also being flown in; illicit traffic in ammunition has grown apace. Attempts are made to bring in arms from foreign countries, which any moment may attain substantial proportion. There is a persistent rumour of some bombers being kept in Pakistan and of impact bombs being got ready. Their espionage system is fast improving; sabotage in Bangalore and elsewhere is being planned. One fact emerges clear: in three months time Hyderabad would be very much stronger than now.

Internal Security

20. The fear entertained in some quarters that action against Hyderabad would involve strong, sympathetic action among the Moplahs and in Mysore and Malabar involving danger to internal security in the south is not quite justified. Mysore, I am convinced, can take care of itself. I am informed on very good authority that the fear of Moplahs is unfounded; that if a strong outpost of military police is established and preventive action is precipitated on leaders, if and when mischief is in the making, there will be no trouble at all. Strong action against the Communists in Malabar, if taken in advance, will minimize any danger in that quarter.

Border Incidents

21. I would, with great respect, say that the decision taken on the 13th last has left me unhappy. The suppression of border incidents is not an end in itself; the real end is the suppression of the Razakar movement. The border incidents only provide justification for the exercise of defence power under the Standstill Agreement and otherwise. If the Nizam's Government restrains the Razakars from indulging in border incidents, our end will not be gained. In the letter of 16 May, the suppression of Razakars has been the principal demand; and, in all humility, I submit that there is no basis for further talks till they are suppressed. This, to my mind, is the only point of view which would justify our action in the eyes of the world.

22. I may, therefore, be permitted to emphasize that the way of peace is not to delay action. That way lies the only hope of the Nizam's nerves going under; if they do not, delay, in my opinion, would only make our work more difficult later.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Mussoorie

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137

Camp: Residency
Bangalore
22 May 1948

My dear Sardar,

In my yesterday's letter, I forgot to send copy of the letter of HH the Nawab of Bhopal and my reply thereto. I am forwarding the same by today's post.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

Dasr-i-Sultani
Bhopal
15 May 1948

My dear Mr. Munshi,

It was only yeaterday that I learnt that, while passing through Bhopal on your way to Hyderabad from Delhi, you had an opportunity of having a talk with one of my officers who happened to be at the aerodrome. Let me at the outset say that I am very grateful to you for having given him the information which he has conveyed to me.

From what he said I understand that the information at your disposal gives you reason to apprehend that the Ittihad-ul-Mussalmeen in Hyderabad State is trying to establish secret contacts with certain elements in this State. So far, no indication of any such activity has come to my notice and this would be a completely new development. In these days, however, such things can never be completely ruled out with absolute certainty.

As you are doubtless aware, our chief bulwark against such developments has been the efforts of my Ministers and my people to preserve the traditional peace and communal harmony in the State, and today, I am proud to say, there happily exist most cordial relations between all communities. However, as I say, in these abnormal times we can be certain of nothing,

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and I am accordingly having secret and immediate enquiries instituted and you can rest assured that I shall deal firmly with anything that may transpire.

It would however be of the greatest assistance to me and my Government if you could very kindly give me, in the strictest confidence, any precise information that you feel you can pass on and which may help me in my investigation.

I know that you are an extremely busy person but, if, when passing through Bhopal, you could spare the time for a short personal discussion, I feel that it would possibly be to our mutual benefit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hamidullah[1]

ENCLOSURE II

Camp: Residency Buildings
Bangalore
17 May 1948

My dear Your Highness,

Many thanks for your letter of 15 May which came to my hands here today.

The information at my disposal is that under Ittihad inspiration

(a) certain persons in Bhopal are trying to get Muslims to migrate to Hyderabad;

(b) certain emissaries are deputed to Bhopal to induce ex-army Muslims or those in active service to join the Hyderabad army.

This is done not only in Bhopal but in other surrounding areas also.

I am glad that communal harmony remains undisturbed in Bhopal and I feel sure under Your Highness's statesmanlike guidance it will continue to do so. The problem of Ittihad does not so much relate to Hyderabad but communal harmony all over India which, as Your Highness will agree, is our greatest essential in these difficult times. Luckily, Razvi's frantic efforts to rally Indian Muslims have produced exactly a reverse effect.

I certainly look forward to accepting Your Highness's kind invitation to halt at Bhopal and enjoy the privilege of having a personal discussion.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

[1] Ruler of Bhopal in 1920; Chancellor of Chamber of Princes at time of partition; delegate to RTC; tried to bring about rapprochement between Gandhi and Jinnah in 1946

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138

Camp: Bangalore
22 May 1948

My dear Shankar,

I am sending you herewith a copy of a letter written to Mr. Menon yesterday.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

Shri Shankar
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Camp: Bangalore
21 May 1948

My dear Menon,

You must have received a copy of my telegram signalled to you from Bangalore on the 17th.

When I saw the Defence Minister at Delhi, he told me that he was anxious that two battalions should be immediately raised by Madras and two by Mysore, in order to secure internal defence in case of necessity and that the Government of India was willing to pay the cost, provided the battalions would be placed at the disposal of the Government of India as and when required.

I thereupon telephoned to the Prime Minister of Madras who did not appear to be very willing about it, and also to the Prime Minister of Mysore who was quite ready to help.

On that I mentioned the matter to Sardar Baldev Singh and also phoned to the Sardar. Shankar conveyed to me Sardar's reply that he approves of the raising of all the four battalions by Mysore if the work were taken on hand immediately in view of the urgency of the situation which we considered at Mussoorie.

When I came here I discussed the proposal in detail with the local military authorities—both Indian and Mysore—and a report has been

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drawn up, which, if made available to me by this evening, I propose to send with this letter. I discussed with the Home Minister of the Mysore Government today. What he told me was that since December last, a proposal of the Mysore Government to raise two battalions has been before the States Ministry. But no sanction has been accorded so far. He tells me that if sanction was forthcoming immediately, they can take the work of organising battalions on hand. They are also willing that, if the Government of India so desire, they will raise two more battalions on terms suggested by Sardar Baldev Singh, I signalled you yesterday.

In the meantime arrangements are being made for speedy recruitment, though it is not quite an easy matter on this side of the country. But anyway if we are to secure the advantage of having two or four battalions ready after three months, the matter must be speeded up.

The Defence Minister told me that he was ready to sanction the scheme, but he was awaiting the States Ministry's sanction.

As the matter is very urgent, these technicalities require to be speedily straightened out and I shall thank you to send the States Ministry's sanction to [General] Cariappa's request as regards his own proposals. On hearing from you the Mysore Government will depute Brig. Ball to go to Delhi for a day and settle the technical details with General Himmat Singh and AHQ, if necessary. The best thing, however, would be to send General Himmat Singhji or Lt. Col. Rajan here. The matter then will immediately be taken up.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

Shri V. P. Menon
Secretary
Ministry of States
Government of India
New Delhi

139

Dakshina Sadan
Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
29 May 1948

My dear Shankar,

Herewith a copy of my letter to Menon which speaks for itself.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. Shankar Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
29 May 1948

My dear Menon,

Laik Ali had invited me and my wife to dinner yesterday night and after dinner we had a long talk. I learnt from him and the newspapers the terms which have been offered to Hyderabad. I will send you the minutes of the interview tomorrow. The essential part of the conversation, however, was that the Nizam had agreed more or less to the alternative proposal discussed by you with Laik Ali and that Kasim Razvi is also not unwilling to accept it. Some of his followers however have to be won over and Laik Ali hopes to do so in two or three days time. He is possibly coming to Delhi after four or five days.

With kind regards,

Yours,
K. M. Munshi

V. P. Menon Esq.,
Secretary, Ministry of States
New Delhi

140

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
30 May 1948

My dear Shankar,

The day before Mr. Laik Ali, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, invited me to dine with him at his place. After dinner we had a conversation on the recent proposals that he brought from Delhi. I am sending you herewith a summary of the same for the information of Sardar.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. Shankar Esq., ICS
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

SUMMARY OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. LAIK ALI AND MR. MUNSHI AFTER DINNER ON 28 MAY 1948 AT SHAH MANZIL, HYDERABAD

Bolarum
29 May 1948

1. Mr. Laik Ali started by telling me how he was called to Delhi; how he met Panditji; how he met HE who put to him two alternatives—a referendum on the issue of accession or a long-term instrument of association based on responsible government in the State and the control by India of the three subjects. As I was not acquainted with the details of the proposals except in so far as I read them in the daily papers, Mr. Laik Ali gave me a short summary. With reference to the control of the Centre over the three essential subjects, he stated that Hyderabad would have to pass parellel legislation whenever required. I asked him what would happen if Hyderabad failed to pass such legislation. Mr. Laik Ali was not prepared to give a clear answer but, as before, stated that India was a very powerful country and could always get Hyderabad to do what it liked.

2. He emphasised the role of peace-maker that he was playing throughout. He stated that he had no axe to grind but he himself considered accession to be worse than paramountcy, and was prepared to die rather than accede. But he accepted the second alternative as it gave Hyderabad the substance of independence and alliance with India. He told me, when asked, that the Nizam had not finally made up his mind but he was very favourably impressed with these proposals.

3. With reference to responsible government, he stated that he himself had come to the view that they must have responsible government but the position of Muslims in Hyderabad must be preserved. He stated that the proportion of 60-40 was being insisted on by the Centre, and that he was doing his best to get the Muslims of Hyderabad to accept it. The Nizam had little objection to it. Kasim Razvi was a reasonable man and might agree to it; but some of his followers were unwilling. However, he hoped to get them round in three or four days after which he proposed to go to Delhi. He stated that the Constituent Assembly also would consist of the same proportion—60-40—and the government set-up would be a responsible government.

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4. When I asked him about the strength of the army he merely stated that if once the Union prescribed the maximum he would keep within the limit.

5. I asked him how he proposed to deal with the Razakars and the anti-Indian and pro-Pakistan spirit which had been raised to white-heat during the last three months. He was vague about it. He told me that once the question of accession was out of the way the Muslims would be quite satisfied and there would be no need to disband the Razakars. I told him that during the last month the Razakars, as the different incidents showed, were not merely the irregular auxiliaries of the police and the military as before, but were committing depredations on their own account. I referred to the incident which happened on Tuesday when in one of the fashionable localities of Hyderabad 30 Razakars looted a wealthy merchant's house, took off ornaments from the women by force, and carried away the loot in a motor lorry and jeep. He stated that though the culprits wore uniforms and shouted the Razakars slogans they were just ordinary dacoits and the police had succeeded in tracing the stolen property. He stated that the Indian demand for accession made in August last left no alternative to the Muslims but to make friends with Pakistan by giving it the much-needed help of Rs. 20 crores and organising the anti-Indian movement. I pointed out that if the agreement went through he would find it difficult how to suppress either the organisation or the anti-Indian, anti-Hindu spirit of this body. He confessed that that might create difficulties but he did not despair and would meet the situation.

6. He then made a passionate appeal to me for co-operation. He stated that he wanted me to help him in the great experiment that he was making of cementing the bond between Hyderabad and India, and that if he was given a chance he would show how Hyderabad would be a source of strength to India. I assured him that if Hyderabad adopted a bona fide policy of being friendly and loyal to India I would help him to the best of my ability. I told him that as regards the nature of the association Delhi alone was the judge. If there was substantial integration with India by friendly negotiations I would certainly welcome it. But, I reiterated, we must be convinced that the Nizam's Government is opening a new chapter of friendship with us.

7. I then pointed out to him that if he wanted to succeed in his mission he had to create a friendly atmosphere in Hyderabad and in India and that it would not be created so long as—

(a) the Ittehad newspapers went about abusing the Indian Union and its leaders; and

(b) Swami Ramanand Tirtha was not released.

When I pointed out to him that the release of Swami Ramanand Tirtha would be considered to be a very friendly gesture by the whole of India

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because the Swami was the symbol of popular aspiration in Hyderabad, Mr. Laik Ali told me that he had evidence that the Swami had taken part in a violent movement. But looking to his position, he said, he had not had him tried by a court but kept him as a political detenue. I told him that before I came to Hyderabad, I had a talk with the Swami and so had Sardar to the effect that the State Congress should not indulge in violent activities. Whatever it was in the past, I stated, he cannot start a new era of friendliness unless he was prepared to let bygones be bygones. He promised to consider both the questions.

8. While discussing the necessity of creating a friendly atmosphere, I pointed out that the alleged alliance between the Razakars and the Communists had not created a favourable opinion on the Indian mind. Mr. Laik Ali replied that he could not keep the ban on the Communist Party when there was no such ban in the neighbouring provinces.

141

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
2 June 1948

My dear Sardar,

The atmosphere here has cleared considerably during the last week. The Nizam's attitude is changed. He is telling persons who come into contact with him that "I am going to settle this." He is reported to be even full of praise for Panditji. His attitude towards me in conversations has changed considerably after I saved his brother from the attentions of the Mysore Government when at Bangalore. He is also reported to have stated more than once that responsible government must come. "In these days you cannot postpone it."

The more important thing, however, is that he has been seeing those Ittehad leaders whose relations with Kasim Razvi are not very friendly. I understand that a message has already been sent by him to the Council of the Ittehad to the effect that they should not pass any resolution in conflict with his ideas. Kasim Razvi has been very quiet. Yesterday, in a long interview he complained that his views on responsible government had been distorted, that he was not against responsible government as such but only against responsible government of the type which the Indian Union had.

The Nizam is also in constant communication with Sir Mirza Ismail who has been pressing him to settle with the Indian Union.

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Laik Ali has been making a great effort. Moin Nawaz Jung is also now a different person. They were all working themselves up as they thought that there was going to be an invasion on the 24th. The recent negotiations, supervening on such tension, have given them great relief. The Ittehad Ministers, however, are making Laik Ali's task difficult. They did not attend one of the meetings of the Cabinet. Till yesterday evening their stand was as follows:

(a) Hindu-Muslim proportion should be 50-50. Laik Ali's suggestion of 55-45 even was not welcome.

(b) They wanted to divide the Hindu 60 per cent strength into a separate 20 per cent for the Scheduled Castes.

I understand that Laik Ali had discussions with General Edroos. He was insistent that there should be no control of the Union on the question of the army. At present the ingenuity of their political department is being exercised over settling a standard reservation which would give to the State the substance of Defence and External Affairs. Preparations for war and smuggling are going on as energetically as before.

Yesterday Moin Nawaz Jung dined with me and we had a very friendly discussion.

The Muslims, including the Razakar leaders, are feeling relief from tension. The Hindus feel the atmosphere of reduced tension but are very unhappy. Their feeling is that the Nizam's Government are astute in their diplomacy and will succeed in entering into some kind of standstill agreement with India like their last one, resulting in their undoing.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Dehra Dun

142

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
4 June 1948

My dear Shankar,

Please find herewith a copy of my letter to Menon which contains a 'brief' relating to the different points raised by the Nizam's Government in the course of their discussions during the last four months.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. Shankar Esq.
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
4 June 1948

Menon,

Between newspaper reports and the impression which Laik Ali gave me I have a sufficient idea of what the recent Delhi proposals are. I have prepared this note on the basis of this information, and if the information is incorrect, the note to that extent would require modification. I hope this will prove useful in the course of further negotiations.

I. General

Dependent Status of Hyderabad

1. Hyderabad's claim has been that it became independent on 15 August 1947; that the arbitration clause is an indication that it is equally a sovereign State. Neither by express word nor by necessary implication should Hyderabad be accepted or recognised as an independent State or a State possessing an international personality. It is of the essence of dependency that the will of the superior State should be supreme. As Judge Anzilotti in the case of the Austrian German Customs Union (1931) stated "the idea of dependence . . . necessarily implies a relation between a superior State (suzerain, protector, etc.) and an inferior or subject State (vassal, protege, etc.); the relation between the State which can legally impose its will and the State which is legally compelled to submit to that will. Where there is no such relation of superiority and subordination, it is impossible to speak of dependence within the meaning of International Law." (G. Schwarzenberger—International Law, p. 36). The arbitration clause may best be substituted by a clause applying the appropriate clause in the constitution for a reference to the Supreme Court; or best say nothing.

II. Power Over Essential Subjects

Legislative and Executive Control

2. This power can take the following forms:

(a) full legislative power as with other Indian States;

(b) a guarantee of parallel legislation with a specific provision for enforcing sanctions. With a further proviso if parallel legislation is

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not introduced, that when an emergency is declared by the Union, legislation by the Centre would apply to Hyderabad automatically. In both cases the question of the execution of these matters should be left normally to Hyderabad authorities but in case of an emergency the Centre should have the power to execute it.

3. If neither of these alternatives are provided for, the Union will be driven to exercise coercive pressure every time there is difficulty.

III. External Affairs

Trade Representation

4. Hyderabad wants its Agents-General to have the power

(a) to negotiate with foreign countries, and

(b) to deal with international exchange controls directly.

5. Laik Ali conceded the right of the Union to object to the selection of any officer as Agent-General. See the minutes of my discussion recorded in my letter to Laik Ali dated 26 January 1948 paragraphs 3 and 4.

6. The Agents-General have been so far diplomatic agents of Hyderabad acting independently of Indian Ambassadors and High Commissioners. Hyderabad also claims the right that the Agents-General should have the power to recruit services. See my letter to you dated 28 January 1948.

This network of Agents-General is likely to create complications and the best way would be to attach them to our Embassies or High Commissioners' offices as trade agents.

Passports and Visas

7. The Nizam's Government have claimed the independent right to issue their own passports. The matter has been thoroughly examined by the External Affairs and States Ministries. By our letter dated 17 February 1948 addressed to the Nizam's Government a certain procedure was indicated for issuing passports by the Nizam's Government. They have declined to accept it.

Any concession to Hyderabad on this point would mean, in my opinion, a recognition of the international personality of Hyderabad.

Naturalisation and Aliens

8. The passport as prepared by the Nizam's Government claims the right to make laws relating to 'naturalisation and aliens'. The question becomes complicated by reason of the definition of 'India' in the new Constitution. Is Hyderabad to be a part of India or not? If it is, then every person residing in Hyderabad would be a citizen with certain rights. If Hyderabad is not included in the Constitution as a part of India then its citizens would automatically become aliens. If India alone is the sovereign State of the two, it

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is the right and the duty of India to protect its subjects including Hyderabadis when they go to foreign countries. India giving passports to residents of Hyderabad would involve the obligation to give such protection.

9. This matter has to be carefully considered because 'nationality' under International Law means the membership of an independent political community, which in the present case is India. If a Hyderabadi is a national, then he has a continuing legal relationship with India as a sovereign power. If he is not a member of the Indian political community but of Hyderabad, then Hyderabad would have the status of a sovereign State.

In this connection I may refer to Laik Ali's views. See the minutes of an interview dated 11 February 1948 forwarded to you on 14 February 1948.

> "We will never agree to the subjects of Hyderabad being treated as citizens of India. The Nizam's subjects cannot accept a common citizenship with the Indians. Hyderabad has a citizenship of its own. The Muslims know that if a conflict arises they would be overwhelmed, but rather than give up their privileged position they would die fighting. To acknowledge Indian citizenship will completely destroy their position in Hyderabad."

10. Laik Ali wants power for Hyderabad to negotiate international agreements with foreign countries in relation to finances etc. Hyderabad also wants a specific share in the Indian sterling and hard-currency resources. This would mean sovereign power to deal with foreign countries in matters of manipulation of finances.

11. The Exchange Ordinance whereby the Hyderabad Government was going to reduce the Indian currency into a foreign currency and to convert the State Bank into a Reserve Bank dealing with exchange manipulations have all been dealt with in my previous letter dated 22 April 1948, and the long note sent to you from Delhi.

Concealing these rights would make the control of India over External Affairs illusory.

IV. Defence

Responsibility for Defence

12. The clause with regard to defence must specifically state that the responsibility for the defence of India including Hyderabad has been vested in the Government of India. It is by reason of this fact that the duty is cast on the Nizam to co-operate with every course of action declared dangerous to the common safety or the safety of the other States or provinces. This was made clear in the Indian States Forces Scheme, 1939, which the Nizam's Government has repudiated. My letter to Laik Ali D.O. dated 28 February 1948, a copy of which had been forwarded to the States Ministry, makes the position clear.

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13. Paragraphs 2 and 3 run as follows:

2. " . . . The responsibility for the defence of India including Hyderabad had been vested in the Crown; it was therefore incumbent on the Nizam to co-operate by doing everything required to be done by the Crown as being necessary for the efficient discharge of that responsibility, and further by abstaining from every course of action declared dangerous to the common safety or the safety of other States or provinces. The binding nature of such agreements and arrangements under which the Crown exercised its rights, responsibilities and jurisdiction in the matter of defence has been accepted by the Standstill Agreement."

3. "Without prejudice to the generality of the constitutional position, as stated above, the Indian States Forces Scheme, 1939, which Hyderabad had voluntarily joined, enjoined certain definite rights and obligations on the Crown as well as the State in regard to defence. I agree that the scheme was voluntary in that it was in the discretion of the States to join it or not, but I cannot subscribe to the view that once a State joined the scheme it was open to it to withdraw from it whenever it liked. The power of withdrawal from the scheme lies entirely in the discretion of the Crown and may be exercised with or without the agreement of the State concerned. I am sure you will agree that in so far as Hyderabad is bound by the Indian States Forces Scheme, even apart from the obligations flowing from the responsibility which the Government of India has in regard to the defence of India, the contentions in paragraphs 2 and 6 of the Note that no restriction could be imposed on the strength of the Hyderabad Army, and that information in respect thereof could be supplied merely as a matter of courtesy, could hardly be upheld. As I do not possess information regarding the reservations subject to which Hyderabad joined the scheme, I am not in a position to appreciate to what extent any of the provisions of the scheme may be held not to apply."

The Defence Power of India should be kept intact.

State Forces

14. The Nizam's Government have repudiated their obligation under the Indian States Forces Scheme, 1939, and have declined to allow a State Military Adviser in Bolarum. The rights and obligations under the States Forces Scheme must be restored.

The following questions may be considered:

(a) What is going to be the nature of control over the State Forces that the Union will exercise?

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(b) Is the power to increase, decrease or disband the forces with the Union or not?

(c) How is the present army to be dealt with?

(d) How are the factories now working producing arms and ammunition in Hyderabad to be suppressed?

If these are not provided you will have to count on Hyderabad having 50,000 troops, once the economic blockade is lifted.

Disbandment of Razakars

15. In the two letters addressed by the Government of India on 23 March 1948 and 15 May 1948, the stand has been taken, and correctly, that the Razakars have been a menace to the security of the country and should be disbanded. But I fail to see how the present Nizam's Government will have the power to disband them or even to render them innocuous.

Refugees

16. In addition there are two or three lakhs of Muslim refugees who have been induced to come to Hyderabad and are now fed and clothed at State expense. They are already operating in the districts as a highly irresponsible element, looting and murdering on their own account.

Arms and Ammunition

17. Laik Ali is sure to demand arms and ammunition immediately on a lavish scale in order to suppress them. If they are given first what is the safe-guard against their misuse in or out of Hyderabad? There seems, to my mind, only two alternatives:

(a) the return of the Bolarum Army temporarily till conditions settle down.

(b) the continuance of the present sanctions involving economic blockade and non-supply of arms and ammunition till the terms of the instrument have been duly implemented by the Nizam's Government, particularly relating to the reconstitution of an Interim Ministry and the calling of the Constituent Assembly.

V. Communications

Telegraphs, Telephones etc.

19. In the Collateral Letters the Union promised to hand over to Hyderabad full control of telegraph, telephones and post offices. In the last few months which have been very strenuous for me and my office, the control of the telegraph, telephones and post offices was the only thing which enabled us to keep an eye on the activities of the Nizam. In his letter dated 3 February 1948, the Director General of Posts & Telegraphs expressed the view that handing

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over the control of these communications will be tantamount to handing over to the Nizam's Government control of communications of the whole of South India. In no event should these communications be handed over to the Nizam's Government.

20. Our control of aerodromes is an all-India system and must remain with the Government of India. Today the principal aerodrome is de jure ours, de facto Hyderabad's. Deccan Airways gives Hyderabad a certain hold over India's north-south life line. This anomalous position will have to be straightened out immediately.

VI. Problems of Subsidiary Association

Future Problems

21. A fresh signature on a new piece of paper will not bring a new spirit on the ruling group in Hyderabad. The Ittehad, with the Muslim ruling corporation now in control, will continue to rule. It will also continue to cultivate the anti-Indian spirit; to render it difficult, if not impossible, for the Hindus to share power; to develop military power and establish foreign contacts. India will have to watch these activities with anxious eyes, to continue to scrutinize the imports and communications for signs of hostility; to stand helpless as we do now, if the people are terrorised. In order to retain Hyderabad as an integral part of India, India will have to strengthen the popular movements more effectively than she has done in the past, and to support the pro-Indian parties in Hyderabad. Their leaders are small people; they have yet to generate popular strength. As Panditji rightly stated, it is either 'accession or subsidiary association', i.e. a dependent status. And if we adopt the second course we must be prepared to play the difficult role of a suzerain power with all the diplomacy and strength which such power involves.

VII. Proposed Instrument

22. I may be permitted to point out that any Instrument may not be drafted in the manner of the Standstill Agreement and the unfortunate Collateral Letters; so vague as regards our rights and so clear as regards our concessions; so one-sided that most of the rights conceded to India by the Standstill Agreement were emptied of their efficacy by the concessions given in the Letters. Neither party performed it except for the generous withdrawal of our army at Bolarum, placing us at a serious disadvantage in all our efforts to have the Standstill Agreement implemented. Today Hyderabad's attempt to parley is the result of the economic blockade and the military ring round it. Hyderabad wants to get rid of them—there is no change of heart. I would therefore beseech you not to let the sweet charming manner in which the polished Hyderabad representatives conduct their diplomatic conversations at Delhi, to

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deflect us from our ultimate objective, the ultimate integration of Hyderabad into India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. P. Menon Esq.
Secretary, Ministry of States
New Delhi

143

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
6 June 1948

My dear Shankar,

I received Sardar's message and am going to Anand on the 13th.

I am also sending you herewith a Note which I have prepared as a 'brief' for Menon and a copy of my letter to him written today.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. Shankar Esq.
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
6 June 1948

My dear Menon,

Herewith I send you a note. It is a 'brief' on the various claims put forward by the Nizam's Government in the course of earlier discussions on the implementation of the Standstill Agreement with my comments and suggestions. I confess I have not been able to do justice to the subject to my satisfaction because I have no authentic copy of the terms suggested by the States Ministry to the Nizam.

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Yesterday the Ittehad papers gave what looked like the full details of the terms. If the report is correct, there are two matters of importance to which I must draw your attention.

(a) If, as is suggested, the Interim Ministry is to start with a ratio of 50-50 we would have let down the majority. Even the most moderate Hindu leader has rejected this offer for the last several years, and you would find it hard for any decent public man in Hyderabad to accept it.

(b) If the whole non-Muslim quota in the Interim Ministry is not going to be nominated by the State Congress the Interim reforms will be a farce. For, the Ittehad in their entrenched position and the Nizam can be relied upon to render the whole scheme illusory.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

V. P. Menon Esq.
Secretary, Ministry of States
New Delhi

NOTE

In view of the forthcoming negotiations with the Nizam's representatives, certain claims raised by them in the course of their discussions with me for implementing the Standstill Agreement are sure to be raised. I am, therefore, submitting this note in the hope that it would prove useful. The grave implications of their claims as regards "External Affairs" may be noted.

I. General

The Dependent Status of Hyderabad

The Nizam's claim has been that

(a) he became independent on 15 August 1947; and

(b) the Arbitration Clause in the Standstill Agreement is an indication of his sovereignty.

(a) It is of the essence of a subsidiary association that the will of the superior State should be supreme, as the relation is between the State which can legally impose its will and the State which is legally compelled to submit to that will (vide Schwarzenberger—International Law, p. 36). Neither by express word nor

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by necessary implication should Hyderabad be accepted or recognised as an independent State or a State possessing an international personality.

(b) There should be no independent Arbitration Clause; if any disputes arise as to construction of the Instrument, Hyderabad should refer to the Supreme Court under the appropriate provision of our Constitution.

Suggested Clause

The powers, authorities and jurisdiction in respect of and the responsibilities for External Affairs, Defence, and Communications (hereinafter referred to as the Essential Matters) in relation to Hyderabad and all powers implied in or resultant from such Essential Matters are transferred to and are vested in the Dominion of India together with the powers inherent in such Dominion by virtue of the powers hereunder vested.

II. Power Over the Three Essential Matters

2. Legislative and Executive Power

The Nizam has claimed that he will undertake to pass parallel legislation, but that there should be no sanctions.

If no sanction is provided the Government of India will have to resort to coercive pressure every time the Nizam fails to comply with the assurance.

This sanction can take the following forms:

(a) full legislative power as in respect of other Indian States;

(b) a guarantee of parallel legislation with a proviso that if parallel legislation is not introduced within three months of its being enacted, legislation by the

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Centre would apply to Hyderabad automatically, if the Government of India certify that in their opinion the application of such legislation to Hyderabad is necessary.

3. Executive Control

The Nizam may not like to permit the Government of India to execute the powers under such legislation.

3. In both cases the question of execution of powers under such legislation should be left normally to Hyderabad authorities but in the case of their failure to carry out the legislation the Government of India should have the direct power to execute it.

Suggested Clauses

The provisions in the draft Constitution, or if that is not found acceptable, those in the Government of India Act, 1935. The former is preferable.

III. External Affairs

4. From time to time the Nizam's Government has put forward claims as regards External Affairs.

4. If any of them are conceded India's control over this vital subject will be illusory.

5. Trade Representation

(a) The Nizam wanted his Agents-General to have the power

(i) to negotiate with foreign countries;

(ii) to deal with international exchange controls directly; and

(iii) to recruit officers abroad.

(vide minutes of discussion accompanying my letter to Mr. Menon dated 28 January 1948)

5. (a) The Agents-General have in practice been diplomatic agents of the Nizam acting independently of Indian Ambassadors and High Commissioners and are likely to complicate our relations with foreign countries.

(b) The Nizam's Government has not so far agreed to any set of rules which would subordinate the activities to our diplomatic representatives.

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(b) Mr. Laik Ali, however, conceded the right of the Union to object to the selection of any officer as Agents-General (vide minutes of discussion, in my letter to Mr. Laik Ali, dated 26 January 1948, paragraphs 3 and 4. Copy with States Ministry).

(c) that their Agents-General should have the power to recruit services in foreign (vide my letter to Mr. Menon dated 28 January 1948) without reference to India's diplomatic agents.

N.B.: As regards our relations with foreign countries the best way if the Nizam insists would be to attach them to our embassies or High Commissioners' offices as trade agents and to provide that they should act under the supervision of the corresponding diplomatic agent of the Government of India subject to the directions issued by the Government of India in consultation with the Nizam.

Suggested Clause

HEH the Nizam is at liberty to appoint a person, not an alien,.and approved by the Dominion of India, to any independent foreign country as a trade agent attached to the diplomatic representative of the said Dominion for such country and such trade agent shall act in all matters of trade and commerce of Hyderabad under the supervision of such diplomatic representative in accordance with the directions given by the said Dominion Government in consultation with HEH the Nizam.

6. Passports and visas

The Nizam's Government has claimed the right to issue its own passports as Dominion of Hyderabad.

6. (a) The matter has been thoroughly examined by the External Affairs and the States Ministries and the claim has been rejected.

(b) By letter of my office dated 17 February 1948 addressed to the Nizam's Government certain procedure

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was indicated for issuing Indian passports by the Nizam's Government, but so far they have not accepted it.

N.B. Any concession to Hyderabad on this point would mean a recognition of the international personality of Hyderabad.

Suggested Clause

No clause is necessary for this purpose.

7. Naturalisation and aliens

The passport as prepared by the Nizam's Government claims the right to make laws relating to 'naturalisation and aliens.' Mr. Laik Ali's views were:

"We will never agree to the subjects of Hyderabad being treated as citizens of India. The Nizam's subjects cannot accept a common citizenship with the Indians. Hyderabad has a citizenship of its own. The Muslims know that if a conflict arises they would be overwhelmed but rather than give their privileged position they would die fighting. To acknowledge Indian citizenship will completely destroy their position in Hyderabad."

(Vide minutes of an interview dated 11 February 1948 forwarded to Mr. Menon on 14 February 1948.)

7. (a) These matters are integral parts of External Affairs and must remain vested in the Government of India. (vide Report of the Union Powers Committee of the Constituent Assembly).

(b) The question, if tinkered with, will become complicated in the light of the definition of 'India' given in the new Constitution.

(i) If Hyderabad is a part of India, a Hyderabadi would be a citizen of India under the draft Constitution with Fundamental Rights as provided.

(ii) If Hyderabad is not in India then Hyderabadis would become aliens.

(c) 'Nationality' under International Law means the membership of an independent political community, which in the present case must be India. If a Hyderabadi is a national of India, when he goes to

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a foreign country, he has a continuing legal relationship with India as a sovereign power, which would entitle him to the protection of India.

N.B. A qualified citizenship will have to be given in the Constitution to the persons domiciled in Hyderabad.

Suggested Clause

(1) During the term of this Instrument and for the purposes thereof Hyderabad shall be included in the term 'India.'

(2) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Constitution of India no fundamental right to which a citizen of India is entitled nor any right to vote at any elections or be represented in either houses of the Parliament of India shall accrue to any person who becomes the citizen of India by virtue of this clause unless a resolution that such right or rights are vested in such citizen has been passed by the Legislative Assembly of Hyderabad and approved of by the Parliament of India.

8. International Agreements

(a) Mir Laik Ali wants power for Hyderabad to negotiate international agreements with foreign countries in relation to finance etc., and a specific share in the sterling and hard currency resources.

8. (a) This concession would mean the concession of sovereign power to deal with foreign countries in matters of foreign trade and exchange and would destroy the economic cohesiveness.

(b) The Exchange Ordinance
The Nizam's Government was reducing Indian currency into a foreign currency and converting the State Bank into a Reserve Bank dealing with exchange manipulations. (vide my letter to Mr. Menon dated 22 Apr. 1948 and note on the ordinance.)

(b) The Ordinance was not brought into force in the light of our objection though some of its provisions have been enforced by executive orders. It is a serious encroachment on External Affairs.

N.B. This must be resisted.

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IV. Defence

9. Responsibility for Defence

(a) The Nizam's Government have contented that this does not include the right to maintain the security of India.

(b) They have also repudiated their obligation under the Indian States Forces Scheme, 1939, and have declined to allow a State Military Adviser in Bolarum.

9. (a) Responsibility for the defence of India including Hyderabad must vest in the Government of India. The position was thus defined by me:

2. "The responsibility for the defence of India including Hyderabad had been vested in the Crown; it was therefore incumbent on the Nizam to co-operate by doing everything required to be done by the Crown as being necessary for the efficient discharge of that responsibility and further by abstaining from every course of action declared dangerous to the common safety or the safety of other States or provinces. The binding nature of such agreements under which the Crown exercised its rights, responsibilities and jurisdiction in the matter of defence has been accepted by the Standstill Agreement."

3. "Without prejudice to the generality of the constitutional position as stated above, the Indian States Forces Scheme, 1939, which Hyderabad had voluntarily joined, enjoined certain definite rights and obligations on the Crown as well as the State in regard to defence. I agree that the scheme was voluntary in that it was in the discretion of the States to join it or not, but I cannot subscribe to the view that once a State joined the scheme it was open to it to withdraw from it whenever it liked. The power of withdrawal from the scheme lies entirely in the discretion of the

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Crown and may be exercised with or without the agreement of the State concerned. I am sure you will agree that, in so far as Hyderabad is bound by the Indian States Forces Scheme even apart from the obligations flowing from the responsibility which the Government of India has in regard to the defence of India, the contentions in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Note that no restriction could be imposed on the strength of the Hyderabad Army, and that information in respect thereof could be supplied merely as a matter of courtesy, could hardly be upheld. As I do not possess information regarding the reservations subject to which Hyderabad joined the scheme, I am not in a position to appreciate to what extent any of the provisions of the scheme may be held not to apply." (vide my letter to Mr. Laik Ali. D.O. No. 123/S/48 dated 28 February 1948, a copy of which has been forwarded to the States Ministry.)

(a) The rights and obligations under the States Forces Scheme, 1939, must be honoured including the powers of the State Military Adviser.

(b) The present Hyderabad Army should be reduced to such proportions as would be justified by the exigencies of internal security. Laik Ali once agreed to an examination by our Chief of the General Staff (Vide signed

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minutes dated 18 March 1948)

(c) The factories now producing arms and ammunition in Hyderabad should be suppressed.

(d) The enlistment of aliens, British, Poles, Czechs, Arabs, etc., in the Hyderabad Army or services without the permission of the Government of India should be stopped.

N.B. If these points are not adequately safeguarded Hyderabad will have 50,000 well-armed troops once the economic blockade on military equipments is lifted.

Suggested Clause

(Vide vesting Clause under para 9/(a) hereof).

10. Disbandment of Razakars and Refugees.

(a) The Nizam will not agree to the disbandment of the Razakars.

(a) The Nizam will not agree to the disbandment of the Razakars.

(b) In any event they have not the means, for both the Nizam's military and police are sympathetic towards them, if not allied organisations.

(c) The Nizam will not send back the refugees who are fed and housed free in the State.

In the two letters addressed by the Government of India on 23 March 1948 and 15 May 1948, the stand taken, and correctly, that the Razakars have been a menace to the security of the country and should be disbanded.

There are two or three lakhs of Muslim refugees who have been

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induced to come to Hyderabad. Some of them are absorbed in the army and other services. Others who are not are operating in the districts as irresponsible elements looting and murdering on their own account.

N.B. A provision may be introduced for banning any private army.

11. Arms and Ammunition.

Mr. Laik Ali is sure to demand

(a) the supply of arms and ammunition immediately on a lavish scale on the plea that they are necessary to suppress disorder.

(b) the raising of the blockade on military equipments including jeeps and trucks etc.

11. (a) Unless the State Forces Scheme, 1939, is accepted there is no obligation to supply arms and ammunition.

(b) If they are given arms and ammunition first there will be no safeguards against misuse.

N.B. The only remedy is

(a) the return of the Bolarum Army temporarily till conditions settle down; and

(b) the continuance of the present sanctions involving blockade as regards military equipments and non-supply of arms and ammunition till

(i) the terms of the Instrument have been duly implemented by the Nizam's Government, particularly those relating to the reconstitution of the Interim Ministry and the calling of the Constituent Assembly;

(ii) law and order is fully re-established inside and on the borders of the State.

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12. Bolarum Military Station.

The Nizam will ask that it should be handed over to them.

The Bolarum military station is one of the finest military quarters in India situated on a healthy elevation, which can accommodate about 25,000 or more troops. In war time it housed a much larger force. It is centrally situated so as to control the whole south. It is of great strategic value and at today's prices, as on a rough calculation made by me, worth 10 crores. The Nizam's Government claim that they are not bound to pay the price as it was built from the income of Berar. Now there is a long-term association. The Government of India should retain it for

(a) a small military station;

(b) as a training centre;

(c) for Central Government institution for research education or technical schools;

(d) a camp for refugees.

The Nizam's Government have already three or four military stations in Hyderabad which are more than enough for their army.

Even a small force at Bolarum would be of great value to the Nizam's Government for maintaining internal security.

V. Communications

13. Telegraph, telephones, post offices, etc.

The Nizam under the Collateral letters claims that telegraph, telphones and post offices should be handed over to him.

13. (a) In the last few months, strenuous for me and my office, the control of the telegraph, telephones and post offices was the only thing which enabled us to keep an eye on the activities of the Nizam.

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(b) Handing over the control of these communications will be tantamount to handing over to the Nizam's Government control of essential communications with the whole of South India. (vide letter of the Director General of Posts & Telegraphs dated 3 February 1948.) In no State have these all-India communications been handed over to the State and they should therefore remain with the Government of India as heretofore.

14. Aerodrome

(a) Today the principal aerodrome is de jure ours, de facto Hyderabad's.

(b) the Nizam has built four more aerodromes.

(c) Deccan Airways gives Hyderabad a certain hold over India's north-south life line.

(d) The Nizam's Government have not yet paid about Rs. 86 lakhs spent by the Govt. of India for the aerodrome.

14. This anomalous position should be straightened out and Hakimpet aerodrome should be handed back to the Government of India. The old regime hurriedly handed over to the Nizam Hakimpet aerodrome in pursuance of its policy to cut adrift Hyderabad from India. The Government of India must have the control under them of the meteorological sections in these aerodromes as they are a part of the all-India system and must remain with the Government of India.

N.B. As a matter of policy, all aerodromes in India must belong to and remain under the control of the Government of India and all-India communication services must be in the hands of the Government of India.

VI. Community Ratio

15. The Nizam's Government will insist

(a) on 55-45 ratio;

15. (a) 60-40 proportion has already displeased the non-Muslim Hyderabadis and the Indian public.

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(b) 20% out of the Hindu population being reserved for scheduled classes under a separate electorate.

(b) In Hyderabad non-Muslims are 86%, of which 18.7 are scheduled classes i.e. little less than 1/5th;

(c) Activities for converting the scheduled class Hindus to Islam are not dead.

(d) In no event should the ratio in the Interim Govt. be less than 60:40

N.B. (a) 1/5 of the non-Muslim seats may be reserved for Scheduled Castes in joint electorates.

(b) Scheduled Castes should not be allowed to nominate their own minister.

All non-Muslim ministers should be nominated by one party, as all Muslims are going to be nominated by the Ittehad.

VII. Problems of Subsidiary Association

16. Future Problems

Ittehad, with the Muslim ruling corporation now in control, will continue to rule, and will not stop encouraging the anti-Indian spirit. It is sure to render it difficult, if not impossible, for Hindus to share power and will continue to develop military strength and establish foreign contacts. India will have to watch these activities with anxious eyes, to continue to scrutinise the imports and communications for signs of hostility; to stand helpless, as we do now, if the people are terrorised. In order to retain Hyderabad as an integral part of India, India will have to strengthen the popular movements more effectively than she has done in the past, and to support the pro-Indian parties in Hyderabad. Their leaders are not men of big stature; they have yet to generate organised popular strength. And if the second course of subsidiary association is accepted, we must be prepared to play the difficult role of a suzerain power with all the diplomacy and strength which such power involves. This involves the appointment of (1) an Agent-General and (ii) a Military Adviser.

VIII. Conclusion

17. As a matter of caution I may be permitted to point out that the Instrument may not be drafted in the manner of the Standstill Agreement and the unfortunate Collateral Letters, so vague as regards our rights and so clear as regards our concessions, so one-sided that most of the rights of India under the Agreement were emptied of their content by the concessions. Neither party performed it except for our generous withdrawal of the army at Bolarum, placing us at a serious disadvantage in all our efforts to have the Standstill Agreement

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implemented. Today Hyderabad's attempt to parley is the result of the economic blockade of military equipments and the military ring which we have established round it. Hyderabad wants to get rid of this pressure. There is no real change of heart.

K. M. Munshi
A. G.

Bolarum
6 June 1948

144

Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
30 June 1948

My dear Sardar,

The situation here is developing very fast. The Nizam's Government have decided to break away from us completely and to adopt all forms and methods of an independent government.

(1) A few days ago they amalgamated their political and constitutional departments and set up an External Affairs Secretariat. Yusuf Yar Jung, their Deputy Agent-General in Delhi, has been recalled and appointed in charge of the constitutional activities which would follow from the Nizam's latest announcement. The idea is as early as possible to make such constitutional changes as would give the Nizam's Government an appearance of a democratic government in the eyes of the UNO.

(2) Ali Yavar Jung, a member of the Chhatari Cabinet and a clever constitutional expert, who had lost favour with the Nizam, had two interviews with the Nizam, in one of which he was accompanied by Moin Nawaz Jung. The object, according to a report, is to send him to the USA to contact UNO.

(3) The Razakars have now rearranged their organisation on the lines of the army. The ARP organisation is formed and Razakars are being enrolled as ARP workers. A part of the recent supply of arms has also come to their share. I would not be surprised if very shortly the Razakars organisation is accepted as a part of the military organisation of the State, for whatever it is worth.

(4) Day before yesterday in the Cabinet a very important issue was settled to the effect that lands and properties of people who have left the State should be handed over to the Muslim refugees. At the same time reports are coming in that the Razakars

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have intensified their harassment, including molestation of women, against the middle classes in the district towns in order to get them to leave the State.

(5) A venomous propaganda is being carried on day and night through speeches, Nizam's radio, newspapers, dramas etc., against the Indian Union. The whole trend is that the Hindus in India have been torturing Muslim women and children. At the same time, Razvi is assuming the role of the Ruler. One of the favourite marching songs of the Razakars has been "Usmanki kadamope dushman ko jhukadeyinge" which, for some days, has been altered by the Razakars to "Razviki kadamope Nehru ko jhukadeyinge." Sometimes your name is substituted for Panditji. The curious part of it is that this marching song is now also being sung by the police.

(6) Aerial gun-running continues. The day before, one Halifax came to Adilabad airport. It is reported that it came from Goa. Unless active steps are taken to prevent gun-running in a month's time their army would be sufficiently equipped. If the Standstill Agreement is deemed as subsisting—it is a joke—then this is a breach of both the terms as to external affairs and defence. Any protest on the ground of breach of the Standstill Agreement at this stage, however, would appear to be a hollow ceremony.

(7) There seems to be some popular activity going on against the Razakars in the interior of the State, for the report is that for the last three days quite a good number of wounded Razakars are being received in hospitals. I have received the latest note issued by Panditji on 25 June and I hope something more drastic would be done. The Madras border is exceedingly weak. The Madras Government has practically dropped its old attitude. Your personal intervention with the Madras Premier is therefore necessary. I have suggested to Mr. Buch[1] that he and I should go to Madras with your instructions and fix up the things.

(8) The air services will be closed now and I shall be writing to you by post or signal messages. I hope to send a report on the effects of the economic sanctions tomorrow.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Dehra Dun

[1] N. M. Buch: ICS, a senior officer of the States Ministry

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Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn)
30 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Precious Mr. Joshi, Minister, Nizam's Government, had been to me yesterday twice with the telegram that you sent him as well as your reply. He also showed me two telegrams to which you had sent no reply. I am sending you herewith a copy of the minutes of my conversation with him, duly signed by him and me, for your information. He told me that he will have to arrange his affairs, which he hopes to do in about eight or ten days.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University who is the General Editor of the History Scheme which Ghanshyamdas and I are sponsoring, has asked me to write to you about a matter. He is one of our greatest scholars and a man of great administrative experience in the educational world. I wonder whether he can be placed somewhere where his abilities will be of use to the Government. I am sending you herewith the relevant paragraph of his letter to me.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE I

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. K. M. MUNSHI, AGENT-GENERAL, AND THE HON'BLE MR. J. V. JOSHI, MINISTER FOR COMMERCE, NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT

Mr. Joshi stated that he had sent telegrams to Sardar Patel in order to meet him but he had received no reply so far. Joshi further stated that his inner voice prompted him to sever his connection with the Nizam's Government and that he wanted to see Sardar Patel with a view to going and telling him

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that he was going to resign. He further asked Mr. Munshi whether he would write to Sardar Patel and arrange for an interview for this purpose.

Mr. Munshi stated that he would not like to secure an interview for Joshi as Sardar was not likely to give an interview unless he was convinced that Joshi was seeking it for a public cause.

Mr. Joshi thereupon stated that he had decided to send his resignation, that he intended to do so and that if he did so Munshi should communicate to Sardar Patel about it.

Mr. Joshi returned to Daksihna Sadan at 9-30 p.m. with a draft of his resignation which he read out to Mr. Munshi. Joshi suggested that he would make a fair draft of it and then submit it on his return from Jhalna. He further stated that he had no intention of continuing as a Minister and that Mr. Munshi should communicate it to Sardar Patel.

Sd/- K. M. Munshi
Sd/- J. V. Joshi

ENCLOSURE II

RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER OF DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR DATED 27 JUNE ADDRESSED TO MR. MUNSHI

My dear Mr. Munshi,

Some time in November or December last I wrote to you that the Government of India asked for recommendations of the Provincial Governments for membership of the Federal Public Services Commission and my name was recommended by the Bengal Government. But I was not offered any appointment, though at least three appointments have since been made. I understand one or two more appointments will be made in the near future. Everything depends upon the Home Minister, and if you can put in a word on my behalf to Mr. Patel, I have some chance. . . .

So I am naturally on the look out for something that would bring some regular income. I have no pension and have to depend on my little savings which in these hard days cannot last for many years. I shall therefore be glad and much relieved if you can help me by speaking to Mr. Patel. The post of Secretary, University Grants Committee, is not yet filled up, but I do not know whether I have any chance.

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146

New Delhi
11 July 1948

My dear Sardar,

I have just come to know that General Rajendra Singhji, GOC-in-C, Southern Command, Poona, sent the following telegram to General El-Edroos, Commander-in-Chief of the Hyderabad Army, on 6 July:

> SUB AREA KAMPTEE REPORTS ATROCITIES IN HINGOLI RESULTING IN REFUGEES MOVING INTO CP. ESSENTIAL POSITION CLEARED UP IMMEDIATELY BY MEETING AT BRIGADIER LEVEL AS DONE MADRAS SIDE. PLEASE SIGNAL PLACE DATE AND TIME FOR THIS. REF NO. 03145.
>
> GENERAL RAJENDRA SINGHJI

I do not know whether this arrangement of two Generals corresponding with each other and settling matters which are of a purely political nature has been authorised by Government.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

147

Bolarum Hyderabad (Dn)
23 July 1948

My dear Sardar,

After I came here on the 19th, Zahir Ahmed, Secretary of the External Affairs Department in the Nizam's Government, met me and enquired about the reactions on the proposals which they had made. I told him that as you have publicly stated the old proposals had gone with Lord Mountbatten; that, in my opinion, you would not be prepared to continue negotiations in the old way; and that if the Nizam is in earnest about establishing friendliness he must create a totally different atmosphere both inside Hyderabad and towards the Indian Union. He

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left after summarising the position that "nothing could be done to secure a change in the draft heads of agreement in their favour in respect of the three points viz., arbitration, reference to consultation with the leaders of the parties in the firman, and amplifying the emergency clause." I said that was so.

2. Moin Nawaz Jung, Nizam's External Affairs Minister, met me yesterday. After generally bewailing the deterioration in the situation, he said that something must be done to save it. I repeated to him what I had stated to Zahir Ahmed. I added that unless a 'big' effort was made, I saw little hope. He promised to see me again when Laik Ali returned from tour. He appeared to be in a realistic mood; and stated that if once some incident led to a military conflict, things would be irretrievably lost.

3. Zain Yar Jung came here to place his resignation in the hands of the Nizam. He had three interviews with the Nizam, two alone by himself. He bluntly told the Nizam that unless the Ministry is changed there was no chance of resuming any negotiations with the Government of India, and that now he would have to deal with you. He again pressed the Nizam for changing the Ministers. He said that if that was done he would be able to persuade you to accept the Mountbatten draft.

4. Zain Yar Jung gave me to understand that the Nizam's Government have some surprise in store for us. What it was he could not say, but he thought it had something to do with the army. Hyderabad is a complete war camp. Frantic preparations are going on. Naturally, the arrival of Sidney Cotton's[1] plane and his unintercepted return have put them in a very exultant mood. Correspondingly those who had anticipated India to take stern action against Cotton were deeply disappointed; 'disappointed' is not the right word for the sentiment; "have been laughing at us" would be nearer the truth.

5. The economic blockade is producing its effect, though slowly. All except one train per day on the Nizam's State Railway have been cut down. The Sirpur Paper Mills are expected to close down. There is economic unrest among the employees of the railway and other industrial concerns.

6. On the constitutional front, the Nizam's Government have put up people to make claims for separate electorates—Depressed classes, Parsis, Christians and Lingayats. The constitution of the Constituent Assembly is also being drafted in such a way as would fragment the whole Hindu electorate.

[1] Gun-runner who allegedly smuggled arms into Hyderabad

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7. Another feature is the sudden activity of the Deendars. They are an old sect, originally assisted by the Nizam's Government but [literally] connived, which try to convert Hindus by force. The recent statement by B. Ramakrishna Rao[1] and other Congress leaders, as a result of their activity in the villages, would show how they have been working. I have also secured an old confidential circular issued by the District Police Superintendent. If the circular is true—and coming from the source it does, I think, it is true—it shows that the Deendars have been utilised by the Nizam's Government.

8. I was very depressed indeed to see the Delhi atmosphere. A whispering campaign is going on in Delhi, evidently emanating from the army, that there is very little Razakar activity. Whoever is responsible for this is, in my opinion, doing harm to India's cause. In the first instance, district magistrates of several districts have made investigations and submitted their reports. As far as the internal situation is concerned, we have abundant testimony of our own officers and unofficial enquiry committees and of local leaders. Even two Hindu Ministers of the Nizam have submitted reports to their Government protesting against such doings. I will forward tomorrow a copy of Minister Joshi's letter about these atrocities. If appropriate propaganda about these incidents is not made in the international field, our action is likely to be misunderstood. I have already told you about "Patwi" and Joshi.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

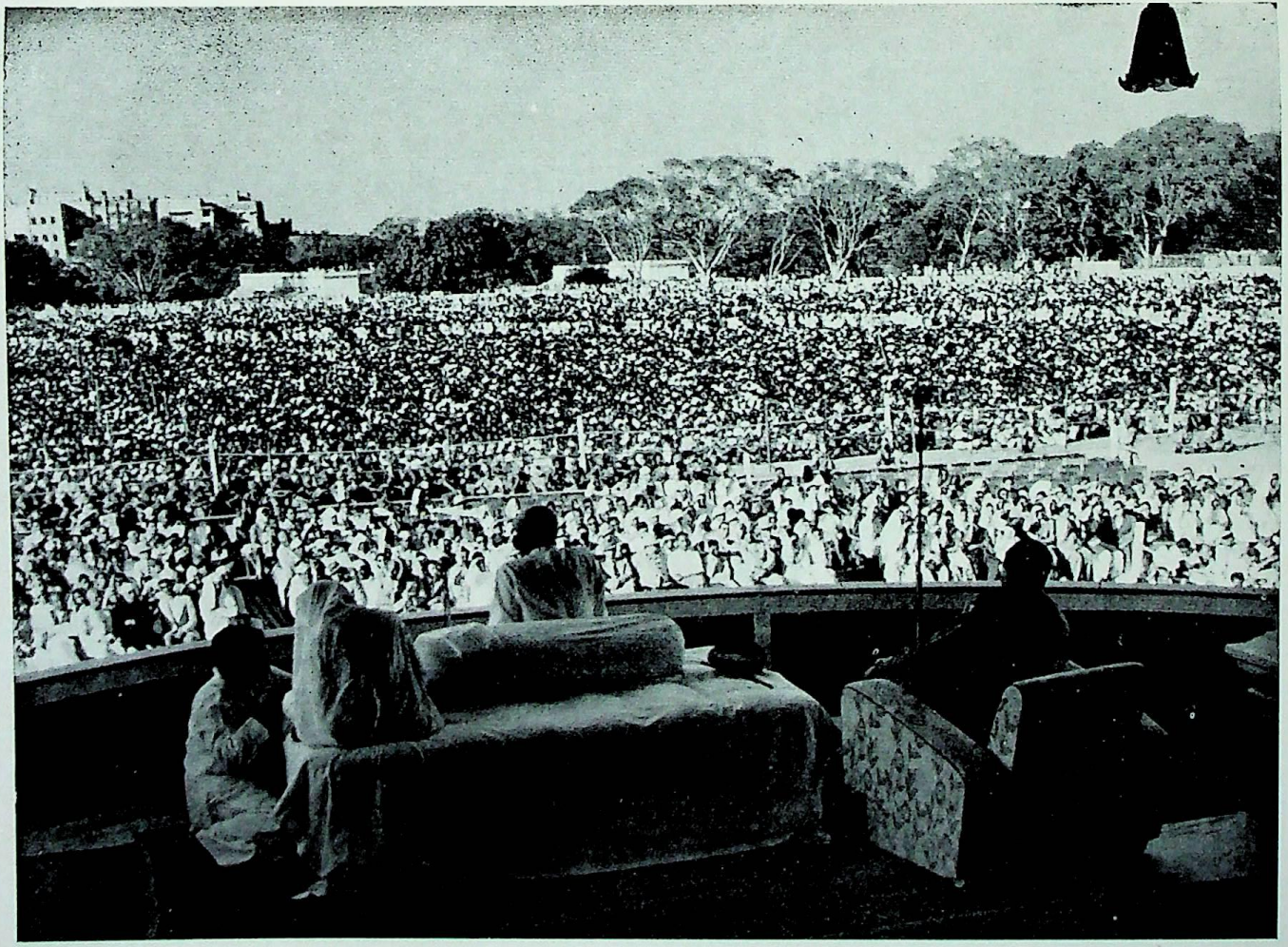
PS.

Zahir Ahmed has gone to Karachi with Beamuount, Monkton's Secretary, in Cotton's plane. It is reported that he has carried blank paper with the Nizam's signature for UNO petition.

K. M.

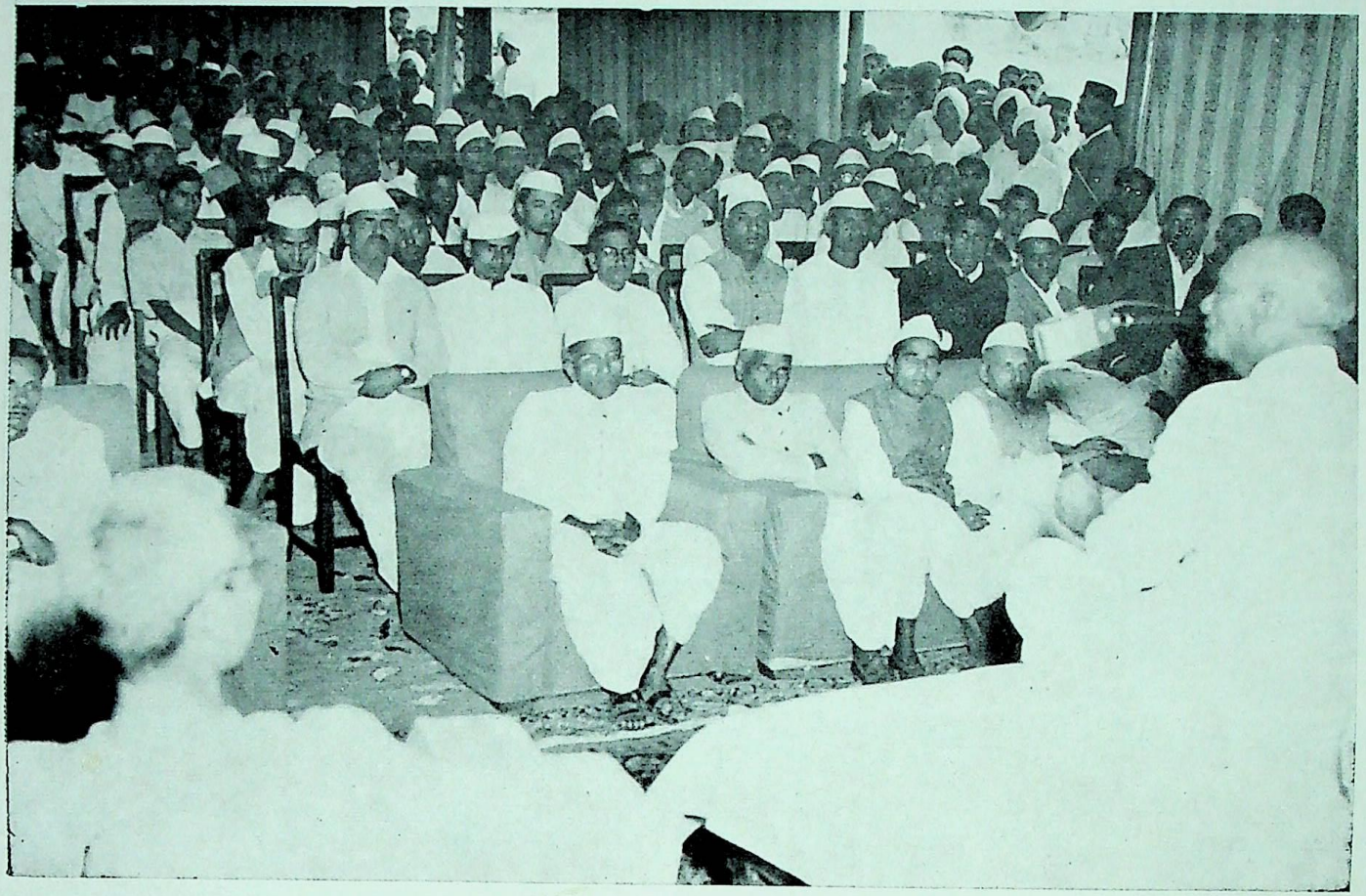
[1] Chief Minister after Hyderabad police action; Governor of Kerala and UP successively

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THE SARDAR ADDRESSING A MAMMOTH MEETING AT HYDERABAD'S FATEH MAIDAN

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ADDRESSING CONGRESS WORKERS AT HYDERABAD

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Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn.)
3 August 1948

My dear Sardar,

1. Pursuant to your approval conveyed to me by Mr. Buch, I have assured Mr. Fry that the Government of India would be willing to safeguard the interest of the British officers in the military service of the Nizam's Government, when the Government of India secured control of Hyderabad, if these officers declined to participate in any military operations when hostilities broke out. I understand from Mr. Fry that he has already written to the UK High Commissioner for formal sanction to enable these officers to write to the Nizam's Government that they will not participate in any military operations against the Dominion of India.

2. As regards the Englishmen and the Americans who want to leave the country altogether in view of the present uncertain situation I have promised to provide the necessary exchange facilities and passports for them to leave the country, if they leave Hyderabad for good.

3. As regards technical experts most of whom being Central Europeans wanting to be domiciled in India, Mr. Buch told me that the Government of India would be willing to consider their employment in Government service. Some of them are absolutely first class technicians, one of them being a Bren-gun expert and others having experience of bombing. As soon as I get the particulars of their qualifications I propose to send them to the States Ministry. In my opinion, even if we have to undergo a little expenditure, it is advisable to get these technicians in our service rather than leave them here. They are in panic and would like to come and settle in India.

4. The situation here has considerably deteriorated. The Nizam is in a panic; the Laik Ali group is interested in frustrating Sir Mirza's efforts. Their Army Commander is unhappy at the conduct of the Razakars particularly on the Sholapur border because he had to eat the humble pie. Kasim Razvi is at the throat of El Edroos and wants to punish Lt. Col. Weston who signed the joint

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report with Brig. Singh. The internal situation has never been so confused as now and if other factors are favourable such a propitious moment of internal dissensions may not recur. Of course I do not know the Delhi end of affairs.

5. A deputation of Muslims waited upon Laik Ali the day before urging that the Nizam should accede as there was no likelihood of Hyderabad being able to stand against the Union. Laik Ali is reported to have stated that they have hundred thousand men ready to join the army in Hyderabad, and that they have 100 bombers in Saudi Arabia ready to fly and bomb Bombay and other places. This is all bluff. But the rumours are so persistent that there are some bombers in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia or Makalla, a small state in Arabia, that proper enquiries need to be made.

6. The representative of the British Missionary Society saw me twice. They are thoroughly disgusted and Rev. Edwards, who saw me, pressed upon me to request you to appreciate the urgency of taking early action. He has also given me certain papers. He is also submitting a report and desires to come and meet you and Panditji in Delhi to put the British missionaries' point of view.

7. I am also sending you a note on the Communist activities in Hyderabad which I have prepared.

8. I am also sending you herewith a copy of the full text of Joshi's resignation with the incidents.

9. During the last fortnight the atrocities of the Razakars have become utterly irresponsible and loot, murder and rape are going on in more than one district, particularly in the Marathi-speaking areas. I do not know how long will the poor villagers of Hyderabad have to put up with this state of things.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

COMMUNISTS IN HYDERABAD

The position of Communists in Hyderabad and their policies towards the Nizam's Government can be understood only when viewed in the context of their all-India policy.

During the four years and a half preceding 15 August 1947, when the CPI functioned as a lawful organisation, it infiltrated different organisations, secured numerous sympathisers and supporters; strengthened its position, both financial and political; and perfected its propaganda apparatus to the smallest detail. As a mass party, it had acquired a firm base among the workers, the peasantry and the students and had, with some measure of success, acquired a hold over certain sections of the middle class.

As a precautionary measure it provided, in all provincial and district centres of the party, schemes for going underground, wherever possible, to conduct subversive activities. It had secured strong contacts with government employees in various branches of the subordinate services and a large number of top-secret and confidential circulars were easily accessible to them.

In South India, the CPI had secured a strong foothold. It had staged, with a great measure of success, strikes in the textile mills in Madras; had been responsible for the strike in the Malabar Special Police and for the refusal by the city police and other members of the force to receive their pay. It had also organised a strike of jail warders in the Cannanore Central Jail. In some parts of Malabar, the ryots had been incited to occupy lands forcibly. When that was done and the police went to enforce law and order, the Communists fought pitched battles making use of country-made guns, spears and other weapons which they had collected. The Communists used ex-army men who had been drafted into the ex-servicemen's association, over which they had influence. In Tanjore, owners of land were not allowed to cultivate or reap the harvest and enjoy or distribute it in consonance with Government even. Krishna district in the Telugu-speaking area of Madras province was a stronghold of the Communists, and by about 15 August 1947, the peasants' agitation grew very strong, resulting in widespread lawlessness and clashes with police. Prakasam, then Prime Minister of Madras, stated: "The Communists for months had been fomenting trouble in a number of districts and latterly in Malabar and Tanjore; they had taken the law into their own hands and adopted terroristic methods taking forcible possession of lands, looting private property and setting fire to crops."

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3. The belt of Hyderabad occupied by the Telugu-speaking people called Telengana, comprises the districts of Warangal, Nalgonda, Karimnagar, Adilabad and the Telugu-speaking districts of the province of Madras referred to as Andhra, are linguistically and socially and to some extent in respect of political undercurrents, one. Most of the public activities of both Telengana and Andhra radiate from Bezwada, which has also been the headquarters of the Communist Party of Andhra.

Andhra Mahasabha

4. The Communist movement in Hyderabad had begun in about 1940 when an association called the 'Comrades Association' was founded. Its object, defined in vague terms, attracted progressive nationalists, Congressmen and also progressive-minded Muslims. In the meantime R. Narayan Reddy and Makhdum Mohiuddin,[1] through the Andhra branch of the CPI, established contact with the headquarters of the CPI. Narayan Reddy was a State Congress worker and having offered satyagraha in 1938 had acquired a kind of glamour. In 1940 he was elected president of the Andhra Mahasabha, then a State Congress body operating from Bezwada. The Communist Party soon acquired ascendancy and began persecuting the State Congress group, which as a result withdrew from the association. Since then the Andhra Mahasabha has been a Communist organisation working in full collaboration with the Communist Party of Hyderabad and under instructions of the CPI. Soon after the Communists took over the Andhra Mahasabha, it started, in Nalgonda and Warangal districts, a vigorous campaign against hereditary Deshmukhs, Watandars[2] and Zamindars and landlords. The movement soon spread throughout both the districts. The kisan front is managed solely by the Andhra Mahasabha, the Hyderabad Communist Party looking after the Trade Union Congress, the All India Students Union and even the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen. Control, levy of foodgrains and other restrictive measures brought in during the war and their administration by a corrupt officialdom had resulted in universal dissatisfaction. The Andhra Mahasabha exploited the situation, forming Sanghas in every village under its auspices and enrolling members, including landlords, peasants and merchants, many of whom took it to be a movement for securing popular government in Hyderabad. The members of a Sangha once formed coerced everyone in the village to join it. Those who did not join were punished by depriving their fields of labour, preventing their cattle from grazing or belabouring them. By about November 1946 the workers of the Andhra Mahasabha had in the course of their activities assaulted policemen and village officers and rendered some villages almost inaccessible. The Nizam's Government was therefore forced to take drastic steps against this lawlessness.

[1] Urdu poet; leader of Communist movement in Telengana; founder of Communist party in Hyderabad; leader of CPI in AP Legislative Council

[2] Holders of hereditary offices

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Sir Mirza, then Prime Minister, however, intervened. A commission was appointed to submit a report. One of the worst offenders, Visnoo Ramachander Reddy, had his land confiscated for grave acts of violence.

5. On the British deciding to quit India, under instructions from the Communist Party in Great Britain the CPI decided to support the Nehru Government which, they declared, was more progressive than the Pakistan Government. When the State Congress, the ban on it being lifted, emerged as the most powerful party in the State and started an agitation for boycotting the elections to the legislature, the Communists supported the State Congress in pursuance of the all-India policy of the CPI to organise a common front in active co-operation with the State Congress. When the State Congress decided to launch a struggle on the twin issues of accession and responsible government, the Communists, working underground, exploited the State Congress programme and, in the guise of Congressmen, worked intensely in areas where they already dominated. They planted tri-colour flags sometimes singly and sometimes with the red flag. They rallied the people around them for defiance of law and carried on sporadic acts of violence. They demolished many customs outposts on the border of Hyderabad and inflicted punishments on those who did not fall in with their programme. As a result, the Communists, taking advantage of the popularity of the State Congress, gained strength and spread even to small villages. The village squads organised by them made forcible collection of money, arms and ammunition, indulged in looting, killing and burning of property belonging to their opponents. Illiterate and rowdy village squads wreaked their vengeance even upon their personal enemies.

6. In order to suppress the State Congress activities and overawe the Hindus in the districts the Nizam's Government, with the aid of Razakars, started a campaign of ruthless vandalism against the villages which had taken up the State Congress programme. The State Congress formally pledged to non-violence and with less resources at their disposal shifted their camps on the Indian side of the border. The Communists got their chance. They had modern weapons. Their workers had been very strictly organised. They, therefore, promptly organised the villages under their control for an anti-Razakar resistance movement. As the depredations of the Razakars, assisted by the Nizam's police, increased in their intensity, the courageous elements in the villages under the Communists and with the arms provided by them, created centres of resistance and gave a valiant fight to the Nizam's military, police and the Razakars. In the months of January and February 1948, it was clear that in Nalgonda and Warangal districts, the villages which were held by Communists were immune from the attention of the Razakars. This gave the Communists, controlled from Bezwada, a great hold over the Telengana districts of Hyderabad. When I visited the Bezwada border on 18 January I found that the general opinion of Hindus in Hyderabad, shared by many in Andhra and by some Madras officials, was against banning the Communist

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activities as the Telengana villages would be at the mercy of the Razakars. At this time, the State Congress workers were acting hand in hand with the Communists. The Communist Party claimed to have under its direction some 3,000 villages ruled by Soviets. A little later they declared their intention to hoist the Communist flag on the Hyderabad Secretariat. Not all the forces of the Nizam aided by the Razakars have shaken their hold over three of the Telengana districts so far.

Communist Objective

7. When I went to Bezwada I had conversations with the leaders of the Communist movement as well as other leaders. The Communists, I found, were powerful in the Andhra districts of Krishna, Guntur, West and East Godavari. The new province of Andhra was, at the time, considered almost an accomplished fact. The CPI had then planned . . . to consolidate the Telugu-speaking areas in India and Hyderabad as a single unit. In this programme the elimination of the Nizam and the consolidation of the Telugu-speaking areas under their lead were their first objective.

8. In December 1947, the CPI decided to oppose the Nehru Government and announced as its goal a democratic revolution, though the policy was formally accepted by the CPI at its second party congress in the first week of March 1948. The policy of the Government of India was denounced as anti-working class and built up in the interest of Anglo-American imperialism and Indian capitalism. Some time thereafter the provincial Governments were compelled to take action against local Communists. The Communist leaders went underground. Preparations were set afoot for the struggle with the Government of India.

9. The conclusion of the Standstill Agreement with the Nizam and the appointment of an Agent-General for Hyderabad synchronised with this change of all-India policy by the CPI. The Communists thereupon started severe criticism of the State Congress and the Nehru Government. The Standstill Agreement was denounced as 'Nizam-Patel' conspiracy. They gave up the pretence of co-operating with the State Congress movement, which was weakening. The anti-Razakar movement was stiffened; State Congress workers and their sympathisers began to be assaulted; the attempt to obtain the control of the Telengana districts was intensified. In March 1948, their influence was extended right up to the suburbs of Hyderabad, with strong centres at Atraf-e-Balda, the suburban district of Hyderabad. The Nizam's Government and the Ittehad-newspapers were unanimous up to April in denouncing the atrocities of the Communists. In the course of the discussions relating to the implementation of the Standstill Agreement in February and March, the disbandment of the Razakars was opposed by the representatives of the Nizam's Government, solely on the ground of the activities of the Communists being on the increase. On 26 March, the communication of the Government of India dated 23 March,

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was delivered to the Nizam's Government. They appeared to be in earnest in enforcing their demands against the Nizam. Some stringent action was expected. The Ittehad group in power in Hyderabad was looking for allies in the prospective conflict with India; and Makhdum Mohiuddin who was underground was contacted. On 4 May 1948, the Nizam's Government lifted the ban on the Communist organisation in Hyderabad. The arrest warrants against Narayan Reddy and other leading Communists were cancelled. This news took even the Razakar journals by surprise. The Daily Meezan, the Ittehad's organ, suddenly changed its tone towards the Communists. The brutalities which were alleged so far to have been committed by the Communists were fathered now on the State Congress workers. The Communists, it was stated, were for the defence of Hyderabad against India and therefore they were nearer to the Razakars than the Congressites. Another daily newspaper of Hyderabad expressed surprise at the withdrawal of the ban on the Communists but in the end it observed, "It is however possible that there may be some special reason behind this measure." Referring to the Communists one of the Ittehad leaders is reported to have said in a speech:

> "At least they (Communists) have an ideology of their own, whereas the Congressites have no ideology. . . ."

New Slogans

11. Simultaneously the Communist party of Hyderabad issued a pamphlet reversing their earlier policy. The accession of Hyderabad to the Government of India and responsible government in the State were denounced on the ground that the Government of India was a capitalist government. Incidentally, the Nizam's rule was also denounced. The accession of States to the Indian Union was described as a gross anti-democratic act calculated to crush revolutionary consciousness and democratic movements of the States people. In its manifesto the Communist party in Hyderabad promised to continue its fight till the authority of the Nizam and the jagirdars (Hindu and Muslim) and the capitalists is thrown to the wind and until a democratic government of the people based on adult franchise was established in Hyderabad. The Communists also propagated that if the Indian army marched into Hyderabad it would be to crush the people's movement and exhorted the Communists to resist the movement of troops in the areas where people's government was established. The Communist party thus allied itself with the Nizam's Government on an anti-Indian front.

12. Communists who were underground in India crossed over to Hyderabad. Absconders from Indian territory took refuge in the State. Communist leaders freely moved in Hyderabad and they established contacts with some of the ministers and high officers of the State. It is reported that there were some negotiations. Paradoxical as it may seem, daily reports of conflicts between the Razakars and the Communists appear in the Ittehad Press. Recently P. C. Joshi

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and Banerjee of the CPI are reported to have arrived in Hyderabad with a letter of introduction from Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din of Lahore and established contact with some of the high officials and the president of the Razakars. Financial support is reported to have been given by the Nizam's Government for Communist activities in the surrounding Andhra districts of Madras.

13. The result of this alliance can be seen in the new technique which has been adopted by the Nizam's Government and the Communists. The Communist following in the State has been divided into two groups. One group pursues its activities under the leadership of Narayan Reddy and Makhdum Mohiuddin of establishing its hold over the villages more completely and of distributing the land and cattle of the Deshmukhs, zamindars and other well-to-do persons among tenants with pro-Communist leanings or landless peasants. They also loot the houses of the well-to-do and distribute grain stocks among the villagers or carry them away. Forty such instances during the last month and a half have been brought to notice. The Nizam's Government has been conniving at these forcible expropriations. When the victims of such expropriation approach the revenue or police officials of the Government they are told that being supporters of accession to India they should not expect any help. If there is resistance to the Communists it is borne down by violence but the Muslims in the villages are spread, presumably as the result of an arrangement with the Razakars.

14. The other group which followed the Communist lead as a resistance movement so far continues its old activities against the Razakars, but owes no allegiance to the Andhra Mahasabha. In the absence of the trained leadership of the Communists it finds itself at a disadvantage and has suffered heavy casualities. Every Hindu shot at by the police, military and Razakars is styled in the Ittehad papers and Press communiques as a Communist.

Present CPI Policy

15. The objective of the CPI, which organisationally is very strong at present, is, first, to plan armed risings all over the country so as to embarrass India, and thereby prevent her from joining the Anglo-American bloc; secondly, to take advantage of their great hold over the Telugu-speaking areas so as to acquire a position to operate against the National Government. In this way they hope to convert India into as disturbed a country as China. The Chinese, Burmese and Indian Communists appear to be allied in this purpose. In this connection the alliance of the Nizam's Government and the CPI may be considered in the light of certain reports, which, though unconfirmed at present, may have some basis for them—

(a) That the Eastern Pakistan authorities had promised asylum to absconding Communists from the Indian Union in return for the Communists promising to create widespread trouble in Bengal and other territories of India in the event of an Indo-Hyderabad conflict;

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(b) That the Pakistan Government has offered Rs. 10 lakhs to the Indian Communists to carry on their anti-Government activities; and

(c) That some Muslims in Bihar had decided to join the CPI as it was the only organisation working for the overthrow of the National Government. The alliance between the Nizam's Government and the CPI therefore appears to be a part of one whole scheme.

16. From all reports available to me the future line of action of the CPI is as follows:

(a) By its alliance with the Ittehad in order to resist accession to India, it will acquire a hold over more districts;

(b) If the Nizam's Government continues its present attitude of rejecting all offers of a friendly association with India, the economy and the law and order structure of Hyderabad would deteriorate further and enable the CPI to establish complete hold over Hyderabad.

(c) If there is a peaceful settlement with India it will by reason of its hold capture the Constituent Assembly; and

(d) If there is a conflict with India and Hyderabad collapses, the Razakars would join the CPI making any new governmental set-up ineffective.

The Danger Ahead

17. This involves a double problem, the problem of liquidating the Razakars as well as the Communists in Hyderabad. The first is easy, but the second is allied as it is with the problem of the whole South India and connected with the Communist policy in South East Asia. Though Hyderabad is the immediate problem, the whole Communist infiltration in South India would prove a danger to the National Government if not firmly and thoroughly handled.

K. M. Munshi

149

A NOTE ON THE EVENTS BETWEEN 1 AND 7 AUGUST

The last seven days have seen hectic activities in Hyderabad. I would like to give you some idea of these activities.

1. The ball was set rolling by Moazam Jah, the younger and the favourite son of the Nizam, by writing a letter to him saying that as the Nizam was taking Hyderabad to destruction he should be given over Rs. 5 crores provided for him so that he could go and stay in the Indian Union. The Nizam wrote some reply and the Prince wrote a long letter in Urdu, an English summary of which is with me.

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2. Fry came over here, called the British officers in the army and instructed them to inform the Nizam that they would not fight if India starts military operations. I do not think that they have formally said so but it has been conveyed to El Edroos. Col. Graham, a great friend of Edroos, thereafter met me. I gathered that Edroos was very unhappy with the Razakars. The Nanaj incident had created differences between him and Razvi. Edroos went to the Nizam and told him that his army cannot stand against any military attack by India. He further insisted that the Razakars should be eliminated or placed in his control. He also told Laik Ali that the arms which had been surreptitiously brought should be handed over to him and not left with Laik Ali. This led to tension between Laik Ali and Razvi on one side and Edroos on the other.

3. Col. Graham also told me that he had seen Laik Ali about civic guards. He had represented to him that unless the Razakars' activities were stopped and an Arms Act introduced, he would not like to work. He is leaving for England.

4. Kasim Razvi became very annoyed at Lt.-Col. Weston for having signed the Nanaj report. He wanted Edroos to suspend Weston, which he would not do. Razvi also did not want that the arms and ammunition which were under the control of Laik Ali should be handed over to the army. Razvi also sent his own men to Nanaj and tried to order about some company at Osmanabad but in the absence of instructions from the Commander the company refused to move.

5. About this time it was that the Nizam pressed Sir Mirza to go to Delhi. I have told you on the phone the conversations which I had with Sir Mirza.

6. On 1 August the Nizam, as a result of the general situation and Mirza's letter, got cold feet. He had interviews with Ali Yavar Jung, a Shia leader and a nephew of Zain Yar Jung, who is in political retirement. Another old man, Ali Nawaz Jung, tried to induce the Nizam to shake off Sir Mirza but he did not succeed. Ali Yavar definitely told the Nizam that he would not go to UNO to support the Nizam's cause, as this was a complete autocracy and he cannot face the Security Council.

7. On 2 August the Laik Ali group made tremendous efforts to consolidate their position. Laik Ali's old speech in a village defying the Indian Union was published in the Press. The Nizam radio abused Sir Mirza and Zain Yar Jung as traitors. The Council of Ittehad also passed a strong resolution condemning Sir Mirza and Zain.

8. On or about 3 August Pingle Venkatrama Reddy suddenly needed rest and left for Bangalore. The Nizam had a series of interviews and had a long talk with Hosh Yar Jung, a Shia courtier, who carries great influence with the Nizam and who is Sir Mirza's man. For two hours he gave a bit of his mind, suggested a change of ministry and pressed the Nizam to accede and get, if necessary, military support of the Indian Union. For the last three or four

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months on account of the Ittehad's activities the Nizam had not taken Hosh Yar into confidence. But this interview seems to have completely unnerved the Nizam. The Nizam had asked Mirza to come here but on the advice of Hosh he did not come.

9. For some days the Prince of Berar, who is the Commander-in-Chief, had been attending the military headquarters and about the 3rd, he called upon El Edroos to supply him with a copy of the military plans so that he might know the situation of Hyderabad. Edroos promised but straightaway went to Laik Ali and complained. Laik Ali told him not to give the plans to the Prince of Berar, so the Prince of Berar wrote a strong letter to Laik Ali protesting against the indiscipline of Edroos and insisting that either Edroos should go or he would go. When Edroos came to know about this he submitted his resignation on the 4th directly to the Prime Minister. On that the Prince of Berar protested that Edroos had no business to approach the Prime Minister directly over his head and that the resignation should go through him. Edroos thereupon sent the resignation through the Prince of Berar. Laik Ali sent word to the Prince of Berar that Edroos was indispensable.

10. The Nizam by this time had worked himself up to a pitch of fury against Laik Ali and throughout the whole of the 3rd and 4th was abusing him in the filthiest of terms, as is his habit. He also discussed with Hosh Yar and other people for the formation of a new ministry. He addressed two letters to Sir Mirza. One was an official letter. In the unofficial letter he wrote in strong terms about Laik Ali. Razvi's circle assumed, as reported by a good source, that the Nizam would sign the agreement. Schemes for opposing this move were discussed. There was some talk of setting up a parallel government at Bidar, but demoralisation was complete and in the evening of the 4th Laik Ali submitted his resignation to the Nizam.

On the 4th, the story of Edroos' resignation had spread to the army and I understand that a number of officers were divided in their loyalties. The British officers and some of the older officers were with Edroos in lending support to the Nizam even against the Razakars. The younger officers, recently promoted, were however of a different view. Considerable panic prevailed in informed circles on the evening of the 4th.

11. On 5 August the Nizam was jubilant over Laik Ali's resignation. Zain arrived at 3 o'clock and had long talks with the Nizam when Laik Ali, Edroos and Deen Yar Jung, Director-General of Police, were present. At 9-30 p.m. I had a telephone talk with Zain and he had nothing more to say except that the deliberations would continue that day. It is further reported that the Nizam asked Laik Ali to carry on for the present.

By the evening of the 5th, there was complete demoralisation in the town. The Razakar circles did not know how the Nizam will react, and started making preparations for overawing the Nizam. In the meantime, the Nizam

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sent a telegram to Sir Mirza to stay in Delhi till Sunday as Zain would be coming only on Saturday. Sir Mirza replied that he was not prepared to wait unless the Nizam sent a wire to His Excellency the Governor-General that he had signed the agreement. He stated that there was [no] possibility of any more haggling.

The same night the Nizam called Laik Ali and Razvi at 10-30 p.m.

12. In the morning of the 6th, a conference was called by the Nizam at which Laik Ali, Ali Yavar Jung, Deen Yar Jung and Ali Nawaz Jung were present. The Nizam started abusing the Government of India and expressed himself against signing the agreement. This has taken everybody by surprise.

K. M. Munshi

150

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
20 September 1948

Munshi
Indian Agent General
Bolarum Hyderabad (Dn.)

VERY SORRY LEARN ABOUT YOUR ILLNESS. I KNOW HOW MUCH YOU HAVE LABOURED FOR INDIA AND HYDERABAD IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS AND WHAT STRESS AND STRAIN YOU HAVE UNDERGONE. IN THE SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF HYDERABAD PROBLEM YOU HAVE PLAYED NO SMALL PART AND I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY HOW GRATEFUL WE ALL ARE FOR THE SERVICES WHICH YOU HAVE RENDERED TO INDIA. DO LOOK AFTER YOURSELF AND GET WELL SOON.

VALLABHBHAI

151

26 Ridge Road
Bombay
14 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Nawab Hosh Yar Jung, who was once a close associate of the Nizam and who from the very beginning had taken a stand for accession and responsible government, is coming to Delhi to pay his respects to you. Several times I mentioned his name to you

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as one who was of great help to me throughout the term of my office. He narrowly escaped Razakars' wrath. He is one of the influential men among the liberal sections of Muslims. I hope you will be able to spare some time for him.

With kindest regards to Maniben and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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CHAPTER V

RAZAKARS AND ITTEHAD

152

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a visit tonight from Nawab Ismail Khan[1] and the Nawab of Chhatari. They were very much perturbed about developments in Hyderabad and asked me for advice as to what they should do. [Sarojini] Naidu[2] has suggested to them to go to Hyderabad and tell the Nizam how much his policy and specially the activities of the Razakars were injuring the Muslims of India as well as the Nizam himself. They agreed wholly with the condemnation of the Razakars and the Ittehad. Chhatari said that being an ex-premier it would not be appropriate for him to go. Nawab Ismail said that he was prepared to go if I advised him to do so. But as Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University specially his visit might be misunderstood and do injury to the university. Besides, he rather doubted if he could even reach the Nizam or be able to see him privately. I told him that on the whole I did not favour his going as this was bound to be misunderstood. Ultimately they said that they would await developments and if he was advised to go a few days later he would do so. Chhatari said that he would try to see Monckton when the latter comes here next.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Staunch Congressman who became one of the lieutenants of Jinnah

[2] Poet-politician; prominent woman member of Congress party; President in 1925; Governor of UP

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153

New Delhi
12 April 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 11 April 1948 regarding the visit of Nawab Ismail Khan and the Nawab of Chhatari. I entirely agree with you that we should not encourage them in the proposed visit to Hyderabad and that they had better await developments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

154

TELEGRAM

19 April 1948

Sardar Patel
States Minister
New Delhi

ALAND HINDU RAYATS HAVE INFORMED FROM TIME TO TIME. GOONDAISM OF MUSLIM RAZAKARS AT LAN DIN HYDERABAD STATE. SITUATION WORSENING DAY BY DAY TO SUCH EXTENT THAT HINDUS HAVE LEFT ALAND BY THOUSANDS AND STILL LEAVING HINDU AREA COMPLETELY VACATED. LOOTING STABBING BY ITTEHAD RAZAKARS MUSLIM GOONDAS STILL GOING ON HIGHWAYS AND SPREADING TO NEAR VILLAGES. HINDUS ARE LEFT UNPROTECTED. DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY ON GOVT. TO PROTECT LIVES AND PROPERTIES OF HINDU RAYATS. EARNESTLY AND SPECIALLY REQUEST BY THIS WIRE TO GIVE PROTECTION TO HINDU AREA BY HINDU MILITARY ONLY. ANNUAL HINDU RATH PROCESSION ON 23 APRIL. EVERY POSSIBILITY OF DISTURBANCE ON THAT DAY IF HINDU MILITARY NOT ARRIVED. ALL PROPERTY LOOTED CAN BE FOUND IN MUSLIM AREA OF ALAND IF IMMEDIATELY ATTACHED. MUSLIM HOOLIGANS STILL AT LARGE. IF HINDU AREA NOT PROPERLY AND ABLY PROTECTED AND TAKEN

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CHARGE OF AGAINST ARSON LOOTING ON LARGE SCALE AMOUNTING TO CRORES OF RUPEES.

ALAND HINDU RAYATS

155

Mussoorie
14 May 1948

My dear Iengar,[1]

Thank you for your letter of 8 May 1948.

H.M.'s point was that Mr. Attlee[2] in his reply should have pointed out to Mr. Butler[3] the inappropriateness of his reference to Hyderabad in the Foreign Affairs debate. It is possible that Mr. Attlee may have said something more than was reported in the papers. That would be known only when the reports of the full debate are received. H.M. would be glad if this point could be looked into again when the relevant copy of the Hansard reaches us. One of the Hyderabad papers has said that Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons that "If war was fought, the only reason for this would be interference" by the Government of India. For the time being, H.M. agrees that the matter need not be further pursued.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

H. V. R. Iengar, Esq., ICS
Principal Private Secretary to
Hon. the Prime Minister
New Delhi

1 ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Planning, Government of India; Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister Nehru; later Home Secretary under Sardar Patel; retired as Governor, Reserve Bank of India

2 Clement Richard Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in Churchill Cabinet in second World War; Prime Minister of Britain, 1945-51

3 Cabinet Minister in UK

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156

New Delhi
26 May 1948

My dear Shankar,

Please refer to your D.O. letter dated 14 May regarding the debate in the House of Commons on Hyderabad. I have just received a copy of the Hansard containing the speech of the Prime Minister. The following are the relevant extracts. I am sure H.M. States will agree that they do not justify any protest on our part.

> "The right hon'ble gentleman the Member for Saffron Walden (R. A. Butler) raised certain points yesterday with regard to the Indian sub-continent. I think he realised they were not quite in place in the Foreign Affairs debate, but yet, of course, Indian affairs are of vital importance to the peace of the world."
>
> "The case of Hyderabad was raised also. That is rather delicate; it involves a relationship between the Nizam and his subjects and also between the two major communities. I think it is inadvisable for me today to say any more on this matter but I hope that here, too, a settlement may be come to."

Yours sincerely,
H. V. R. Iengar

V. Shankar Esq., ICS

157

27 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just returned from the Cabinet meeting. The proposal to allow 40 p.c. representation to Muslims in Hyderabad will be fatal. Communist, linguistic fronts will split the 60 p.c. Hindus into a minority. This should be remedied. I hope you are better.

In haste,

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas [Doulatram]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
27 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Iengar communicated to me your message about Hyderabad. As you perhaps know, I have not been in intimate or detailed touch with developments. V. P. Menon has carried on long talks and gone into these details. He informed me from time to time about the lurid picture of what was happening. I thought that you were being kept fully informed.

I confess I do not like the inclusion of the communal principle in the Hyderabad legislature or the fixation of the percentages at 60 : 40 (Muslims). But I understand that the principle was more or less accepted some time back in view of the special circumstances and the fact that thus far Hyderabad has been a 100 per cent Muslim State. That acceptance was for a fixed period only.

The question then arises as to what the percentage should be. Naturally, the lower it is the better. Personally I attach far more importance to a joint electorate. If this is agreed to, as it must be, then a slight variation in percentage need not matter so much.

The whole question has necessarily to be viewed in the longer context. I had a long military conference about Kashmir. The situation is not so good as we had hoped and hard fighting is going on. Our air resources have been severely tried and we have practically no reserves left. The demand is for more and more troops. Undoubtedly with more troops we could clear up this place this summer. But we just can spare them so long as there is danger of warlike developments in Hyderabad with other consequences in other parts of the country.

It is in this context that we have to see the Hyderabad picture. I feel that it would be of tremendous advantage to us if we could satisfactorily settle with Hyderabad and make it innocuous by bringing it effectively under our control. The rest will follow.

I understand that the Nizam has sent for Mirza Ismail. He has also summoned Monckton!

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

210

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159

EXTRACT FROM LETTER DATED 4 JUNE 1948 FROM SARDAR PATEL, DEHRA DUN, TO PANDIT NEHRU, NEW DELHI

2. As regards Hyderabad, what Shankar told Iengar was my innermost feelings. I feel and feel very keenly that we should do nothing in Hyderabad whether in regard to its internal constitutional problems or in regard to its accession, which we cannot justify in all good conscience to the world and to our own people. Having fought against communal reservations and having accepted a non-communal approach to all political matters recently, we cannot but object to, and refuse to accept, any communal reservations which are in the nature of a concession to a militant minority. I can allow for generosity and liberal concessions to the minority in order to give it confidence and security, but it goes entirely against my grain to concede a vicious weightage almost at the point of the pistol and under pressure from a militant organisation. I am not aware of the communal ratio or of the principle of weightage having been "accepted some time back in view of any specific circumstances." In any case, I cannot see how we can concede something which it is not in our power to give. Any concessions that can be given in this respect can only be done by the Constituent Assembly of Hyderabad and the utmost that we can do at present is to recognise the importance of the community and to assure it that we shall use our good offices to secure a fair and just treatment. We have accepted the general principle that the will of the people should be the deciding factor in all the States and we must stand by it.

160

DRAFT

June 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have received your long letter in which you have dealt at length inter alia with Hyderabad. V.P. has also come and told me the latest developments in the negotiations with Laik Ali and

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Monckton. I must frankly say that I was sorely disappointed that even after so much profitless discussion with so many Hyderabad delegations, we are still thinking of producing formulas for their acceptance. (For all practical purposes, it matters little whether the formula is produced by H.E. or V.P.)

2. We have done our best to solve this problem by peaceful means and in an amicable spirit. It was with this intention that we entered into a one-year's standstill agreement. At that time we were given to understand that before the year would be out, the twin problems of accession and responsible government would have been satisfactorily settled. But as we now know, even while the negotiations were going on, the Hyderabad Government were acting in complete breach of the letter and spirit of the agreement that was being negotiated. They have never ceased to assert their sovereignty and independence, even though it must be quite plain to anyone, dispassionately studying that agreement, that both these attributes have been taken away by the standstill agreement. They have fostered and encouraged a militant organisation which is both fascist and brutal in its character and activities and which is a serious menace to law and order not only in Hyderabad, but also in the surrounding Indian Dominion territories. They have perpetrated tragedies upon tragedies on the neighbouring villages in our territory, and the Hyderabad Government have always either denied or minimised their occurrence. That organisation is in power and calls the tune. In the face of all these, I feel very strongly that a stage has come when we should tell them quite frankly that nothing short of unqualified acceptance of accession and of introduction of undiluted responsible government would be acceptable to us. That, of course, does not preclude an acceptable interim arrangement anticipating and facilitating introduction of responsible government and acceptable to the people of Hyderabad.

3. I would not, therefore, like to waste any more time on devising formulas, but would present the delegation with a brief letter containing the above-mentioned conclusions on behalf of the Government of India. They would then know where we stand and we would be able to follow whatever course of action we consider appropriate. I am also quite averse to delaying action on our part. I am quite definite that such delay would only place us in a worse and not more favourable position, both politically and militarily.

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4. I understand you propose to report to the Cabinet the progress of the negotiations and would be glad if you would indicate to my colleagues my views on the subject.

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

161

Dehra Dun
15 June 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Some of the recent speeches of Jai Prakash [Narayan][1] have been filling me with misgivings. The one about Hyderabad in which he tried to put the entire blame on the States Ministry and claimed that, if the Socialists had been allowed to function in their own way, things would have been settled long ago, was particularly vicious and mischievous. I would not have troubled you with this letter had it not been that you have been publicly praising him and been hailing him as the coming man. I feel that such irresponsible utterances and embarrassing attitude on his part hardly justify any faith in him. I have all along been of the view that if the future of India is in the hands of men like Jai Prakash, it would probably be a most unfortunate circumstance. Recent events and his attitude after Gandhiji's death bear out this view and I sincerely feel that it is time he was pulled up. I do not know whether you can succeed in putting him right, but if you feel that you can, it might be worth while trying. If he and his party can be brought round to some sober thinking and acting, it will be in the best interests of this country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

[1] Founder-Secretary, Socialist Party of India; prominent member of Congress till 1948; retired from politics and engaged himself in Sarvodaya (public welfare activities), including Bhoodan (land gift) and Gramdan (social service) movements organised by Acharya Vinoba Bhave

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Dehra Dun
9 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am herewith forwarding copy of a letter I have received from Shri A. Kaleswara Rao[1] of Bezwada. The incident mentioned took place a month ago but is serious enough to deserve attention. I believe similar incidents have occurred since then. The point which needs consideration is that these incidents take place within our own territory which happens to be a sort of island within Hyderabad territory. People there should be given protection by our Government against the Communists who, it seems, are given refuge within the adjoining Hyderabad territory whenever our police or army proposes to take action.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad[2]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Circuit House
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER (UNDATED) FROM A. KALESWARA RAO TO DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Revered Rajendra Babu,

The Hyderabad Govt. have lifted the ban on the Communist Party and withdrawn all warrants of arrest against Communist leaders. A pact is said to have been entered into between the Communists and the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen. In pursuance of that the Communist leaders in the Munagala Pargana have openly declared that they would establish a Communist republic over the Munagala and Lingagiri Parganas (conclaves in the Nizam's territory)

[1] Congress leader of Andhra Pradesh

[2] Rajen Babu: Congress leader from Bihar; close associate of Gandhi; joined Gandhi's Satyagraha against British indigo planters in Champaran district, Bihar, 1917; twice President of Indian National Congress; Minister for Food and Agriculture, Interim Government, and in first Nehru Government after Independence; Chairman, Indian Constituent Assembly; first President of Indian Republic, 1950-62

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from the 15th inst. and that all persons who owe allegiance to the Congress or the Congress Govt. would lose their lives and properties. They have begun terrorising Congress people by loot, murder and serious injuries with a view to efface Congress influence completely from that area. Two prominent Congress leaders have been murdered by one hundred armed Communists on the 8th inst. in broad daylight. Fifty Communists have looted the houses of four other Congressmen on the 9th night and caused most severe injuries on them and they are lying in hospital in a very precarious condition.

The Nizam Govt. encourages the occupation of Munagala and Lingagiri by the Communists and when the Communists retire into the neighbouring Nizam area and into the hills therein, when superior military forces come to Munagala the Nizam Govt. will allow them to do so without any arrests or obstruction. When the superior forces leave the place the Communists would come back to Munagala. In this way they can carry on their guerilla warfare. I [was] told by a Hindu officer of the Hyderabad Govt. in a very superior service this morning that Laik Ali, Prime Minister, is openly giving out that he has accepted the challenge of the Government of the Indian Union and that he would get the three districts of Krishna, West Godavary and Guntur through the Communists. He is determined to encourage the Communists in Andhra to give as much trouble as possible to the Congress people here and to the Congress Government.

Mr. Munshi told me at Bombay that the Nizam Government is raising difficulties in the way of the Indian police (of course armies also) passing through the Nizam Kodada area to reach Munagala as the Indian Union Government has prevented Nizam police and armies from passing through Indian territory to recover back Paritala. This would certainly help the Communists in Munagala.

163

New Delhi
18 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In yesterday's Cabinet meeting the Hyderabad question was discussed. Most of us felt that the terms offered to Hyderabad were more than generous and particularly in the matter of the Army there was a good deal of dissatisfaction. However, when we were told that you generally approved of this, at least I kept quiet. The general decision recorded was that there should be no more change in the proposals; further action to be decided later on. I continue to receive letter after letter detailing the atrocities of the Razakars. The Marathi papers are so critical that they have

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started even suspecting our bona fides. In a way the situation is getting worse day by day unless, as I stated in my last letter, some strong action is taken. I have no doubt you are looking into the matter.

On the 26th of this month, a political conference of Ajmer-Merwara is to be held. Dr. Pattabhi is presiding. I have agreed to inaugurate it and I shall take up the line determined by you during the last Budget session, i.e., till the new Constitution comes, some attempt will be made to liberalise the Advisory Council. If you think I should have some more directions from you, you may kindly ask Shankar to send me so that I will comply with the same.

Menon told me to push on the Chambal hydro-electric scheme. For that purpose, I propose to visit Udaipur on the 27th and 28th and Indore on 29th and 30th as the river Chambal flows through Udaipur, Kotah, Gwalior and Indore States. I expect to be back in Delhi on 2 July morning.

A few months ago you expressed dissatisfaction with Delhi being the capital. For the last two-three months, I have been working on this and a note has been prepared by my Ministry about what I have described as Government of India conclave or a subsidiary capital. A good deal of effort and time have been spent over it. Mr. Menon saw me yesterday and he highly approved of the same. In today's Cabinet meeting, however, it was about to be rejected off hand but I pleaded that I was entitled to be heard before a summary decision was taken. The Prime Minister then agreed to put it down in the next Cabinet meeting. Outside I tried to sound the views of other colleagues and they seem to think that we may not call it a subsidiary capital but allocation of certain offices in some other place than Delhi. Well, that also is a matter to be considered. I should, therefore, very much like you to give me your views so that I shall decide as to how and how far to proceed in respect of this item in the next Cabinet meeting.

I understood that Mountbatten offered you a bungalow in the Governor-General's compound estate but I learnt from Ishwarbhai, who saw me two days ago, that you would not like to go and I was glad to know this. 17 York Road would now become available as Pandit Nehru would move in the C-in-C's bungalow. I have not yet decided to whom to allot 17 York Road. I just want to know whether you want me to go and occupy that. There is one advantage in that, i.e., I shall be practically with

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you, but on the other hand the present house is a large house and the largeness is reduced to nothing on account of a constant flow of guests! I have made no decision but I would certainly like you to advise me in this connection as well.

Children are expected on the 25th evening. They are all right.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. V. Gadgil[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

164

Dehra Dun
21 June 1948

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of 18 June 1948.

I am rather worried about Hyderabad. This is the time when we should take firm and definite action. There should be no vacillation; and the more public the action is the greater effect it will have on the morale of our people both here and in Hyderabad and will convince our opponents that we mean business. We should, therefore, go ahead with determination and vigour in applying the economic sanctions as well as in dealing effectively with border and other incidents. There should be no lack of definiteness or strength about our actions. If, even now, we relax, we shall not only be doing a disservice to the country, but would be digging our own grave. About this I am quite clear. We should also put our military in a state of preparedness for all eventualities. It is no use taking a complacent attitude on these questions.

Regarding Ajmer-Merwara, the position is not as easy as some imagine. Ajmer-Merwara is the heart of Rajasthan, and Rajasthan itself is in a ferment. We have, therefore, to be careful about what we say and what we do in Ajmer-Merwara. Its repercussions will be felt throughout Rajasthan, and therefore I would advise you to emphasise in your speech loyalty to the country above

1 President of Congress Committee, Poona; MLA (Central), 1934; party whip in Central Legislative Assembly; Minister in Nehru Cabinet in August 1947; Governor of Punjab

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loyalty to any sectional or regional interests and that the people and politicians of Ajmer-Merwara as also of Rajasthan must take a broader view of their responsibilities and their position. They should not think only of their own individual or parochial interests, but consider their place in the polity of India as a whole. On the constitutional question, you might take the position that the whole case is being actively considered by the Constituent Assembly, which will no doubt decide the issue after bearing in mind all the relevant considerations. In the meantime, the system of Advisory Council is the only suitable and feasible one, and its machinery can always be improved to suit popular demands. The people should, therefore, concentrate not on asking for something which, in the present transitory stage, is impossible, but for something which can easily be conceded by adaptation of the present system.

I am also writing to Dr. Pattabhi in the same sense and enclose a copy of my letter to him. You might take it to Ajmer-Merwara and give it to Dr. Pattabhi, because I am not certain if my letter will reach him in time.

As regards the question of capital, I have throughout maintained that Delhi is unsuitable as a capital. Any idea of a subsidiary conclave or subsidiary capital does not, therefore, appeal to me. We must have a capital where we can work all the year round with reasonable efficiency and in reasonable comfort. Dispersal of offices sometimes seriously prejudices efficiency, and therefore we have got to avoid it. However, I can only offer comments on your proposal after studying the details.

I have no intention of changing my residence. The present house suits me very well and I like it for sentimental as well as practical reasons.

As regards your occupying 17 York Road, it would of course be nice if you came there, but you have to consider the accommodation. I do not think the accommodation available in 17 York Road will suit you. I should not like you to inconvenience yourself and the children merely on account of being near me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. N. V. Gadgil
Minister for Works, Mines and Power
New Delhi

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Dehra Dun
25 June 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am sending copy of a letter which I have received from the Madras Premier for your perusal and such action as you deem fit.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Madras
23 June 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I understand from fairly reliable sources that Pakistan is making extensive preparations for helping Hyderabad. The Pakistan Government have already recruited half a million soldiers who are being trained in various centres and further recruitment is also going on. They are reported to have collected large quantities of arms and ammunition and to be actively engaged in manufacturing more arms. My information is that the manufacture of arms, particularly small arms, is going on at present in about 70 to 80 centres in the North Western Frontier Province. I do not know how far this information is correct. However, I would invite your attention to a message regarding "gun-running" between Karachi and Hyderabad published in the Hindustan Times of 22 June 1948. This points to the imperative need for our making adequate preparations immediately to meet any eventuality.

I have no idea of the exact manner in which our military authorities are preparing themselves for this. But it seems to me very necessary to recruit large numbers of young men for our army in all provinces and States and to train and equip them without any delay. It is even more necessary to procure adequate quantities of arms, especially rifles and Sten and Bren guns. I would therefore earnestly request you kindly to pay immediate attention to

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the above suggestions and take adequate measures for enabling us to meet any situation that may arise. In the event of Hyderabad taking it into its head to attack the Dominion, the probabilities are, judging from the geographical features of the country, that the first battle will have to be fought in this province.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

166

Air Ministry
Whitehall, SW-1
26 June 1948

My dear Patel,

I feel I would like to send you a few lines expressing my good wishes and my earnest hope that you will soon be restored to normal health. I retain my very close interest in Indian affairs and am very conscious of the great burdens of office and responsibility that you have to carry. I am afraid that the trouble is partly due to your tremendous capacity for work, and that consequently you do not spare yourself! ! !

I still hope that it will be possible for a satisfactory agreement to be reached, both with regard to Kashmir and Hyderabad. Whatever form of political set-up there may be, both Pakistan and India have everything to gain by friendly co-operation and good neighbourliness. Hyderabad also will have much to gain by closer co-operation with India.

The international situation is again gloomy and, as you know, a serious position has arisen in Berlin. It will require a good deal of statesmanship to avert catastrophe, and much will depend upon the intentions of the Soviet Union. So much could be done for all countries if we could only secure a full measure of co-operation in social and economic reconstruction; but we seem to be reverting to full-blooded power politics, and that makes full co-operation difficult. I think the best course is to be always ready for friendship and co-operation, but never merely seek to appease. Let us hope the situation will improve and a reasonable solution found.

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With my best wishes to your daughter and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
Arthur Henderson[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

167

Dehra Dun
3 July 1948

My dear Henderson,

Thank you for your personal letter of 26 June 1948 and your good wishes for my recovery. I am now almost normal and am returning to Delhi on 6 July to be on the spot to assist Jawaharlal in his efforts to deal with the many complex problems with which hitherto he has been dealing in my absence almost single-handed. On your side, you are having to deal with many problems of varying complexity, of which your economic and foreign affairs are the most taxing.

I agree with you that the international situation requires the utmost statesmanship which every nation can contribute to the solution of international jealousies and conflicting ideologies. We have naturally to take a cautious line so that we do not get involved in the power politics which are as abhorrent to me as they are to you. At the same time, we feel that our interests lie more closely with the British Commonwealth of Nations and we are doing our best to improve the bonds of friendship and co-operation which have been forged so strongly by your Government's liberal attitude to our aspirations and by the excellent work put in by the Mountbattens. I have no doubt that with a careful handling of the situation at your end it would be possible for us to make the ties even closer. You can have no idea how much speeches like those of Churchill[2] and the attitude of men like [Philip] Noel-Baker on the question of Kashmir injure the cause of Indo-British friendship and cordiality. Even then, we are trying to remove the cobwebs of suspicion as much as we can. I hope that at your end it would be possible to improve matters.

I am glad you have referred to Kashmir and Hyderabad. In both the matters we have been throughout guided by the advice

[1] Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma in Attlee Government
[2] Prime Minister of Britain, 1940-45

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of Lord Mountbatten and our approach is, contrary to what others misrepresent, entirely democratic. We are prepared to be judged by democratic standards, but unfortunately prejudiced correspondents from your country and America deliberately misrepresent our attitude and make it out as if we are indulging in coercive tactics. Unfortunately, it is my experience that the attitude of an average Englishman in India is instinctively against us. There are some honourable exceptions, but those exceptions are rare. I myself felt that we should never have gone to the UNO and if we had taken timely action when we went to the UNO we could have settled the whole case much more quickly and satisfactorily from our point of view, whereas at the UNO not only has the dispute been prolonged but the merits of our case have been completely lost in the interaction of power politics. I should like to say at once that we were so terribly disappointed [at] the attitude of your delegation. Lord Mountbatten helped us to his best capacity, but it was, we maintain, the attitude of Noel-Baker that tilted the balance against us. But for his lead, I doubt if the USA and some other powers would have gone against us.

As regards Hyderabad, I am glad to say the attitude of your Government is more helpful. We are getting reports of smuggling of arms into Hyderabad by some interested Britishers who are private citizens. I fully realise your difficulty in controlling these non-official activities; at the same time, it is such activities which make our task of promoting genuine understanding and co-operation between India and the rest of the Commonwealth most difficult. I wish something could be done to propagate amongst the British public in England that, if they want India's goodwill, they must make capital out of what is left and not fritter it away by these prejudicial activities.

I was glad to hear from you and appreciate occasional correspondence, though both of us realise how busy each is.

With kindest regards and best wishes from Maniben and myself,

Yours very sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Rt. Hon'ble Arthur Henderson, MP

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Government House
New Delhi
19 July 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I do not know if you have any information on this. But UPI [news agency] cannot publish such allegations charging anyone with manufacture of counterfeit coins without referring the matter to us. I think you should caution these news agencies that they should not rush to print in this way making such very serious charges even though we are not on very good terms with the State concerned.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Madras, 18 July: "Reliable news from different parts of the State, particularly Hyderabad city, goes to show that the Nizam's Government is making large-scale preparations for a war with the Indian Union," says a bulletin issued by the Hyderabad State Congress Central Office, Madras. It adds: "The A.R.P. measures in the city, strengthening of the old fortresses, etc., prove that the Government is determined to go headlong for a clash."

The bulletin further says that agents of the Nizam's Government have started manufacturing Indian Union coins in order to meet the currency crisis in the State created due to the freezing and currency ordinances of the Government of India.—UPI

[1]Joined Gandhi's satyagraha campaign and non-co-operation movement in 1920; General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1921-22; first Premier of Madras after 1937 elections; resigned from Congress in view of differences over Muslim League's claim to Pakistan; assisted Gandhi in talks with Jinnah, 1944; member, Interim Government, 1946-47; Governor of West Bengal, 1947-48; acting Governor-General, June 1948-January 1950; Minister of Home Affairs, 1950-51; Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959 to challenge "Leftist" policies of Congress

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169

New Delhi
21 July 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter dated 19 July 1948.

I do not know if the news-item to which you refer is false nor do we have any means of ascertaining whether it is so. In any case, I do not know how one can put a stop to such items of news if the Press agencies do not adopt a responsible attitude (assuming, of course, that the news-item is not correct).

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

170

Nagpur
17 August 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sure you will agree with me that the Agent of the Nizam has no business to stay in Nagpur any longer; and though he himself does not stay here, he maintains a personnel of 23 men, including a secretary. Some of them are Hindus; others are Muslims. It is very unsafe to allow him to keep this staff here. I can requisition the house and other blocks within the compound under Section 12 of the CP and Berar Public Safety Act. There is a great dearth of houses in Nagpur, and it is open to us to requisition this house under Section 3 of the CP and Berar Accommodation (Requisition) Ordinance, 1948 (No. XVIII of 1948), which has been promulgated. But I thought it better to inform you before taking any action as I do not wish to cause any embarrassment to the States Ministry in this matter. I personally consider it would be safer to get rid of this contingent staying in Nagpur with us.

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Owing to the blocked account, the Nagpur Imperial Bank has refused payment of cheques [drawn on] the Nizam's Agent's secretary's account here. A formal reference has been made to the States Ministry by my Chief Secretary that the account be released if there is no objection. I personally think that we would get a refusal from the Government of India for this purpose, so that they may be forced to leave this place on this account also.

I shall await your reply before I take any further action in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

171

New Delhi
21 August 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of 17 August 1948 regarding the requisitioning of the accommodation at present occupied by the Agent of the Nizam at Nagpur. I would not advise you to take any such action just now. You cannot say that the Agent of the Nizam has no business to stay in Nagpur so long as there is an Agent-General in Delhi and any such action, until our relations are broken off, would not be justified.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Premier
Government of the Central Provinces & Berar
Nagpur

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172

Jalna
17 August 1948

The President
Legislative Assembly
HEH the Nizam's Govt.
Hyderabad (Dn.)

Respected Sir,

Herewith I am submitting my resignation as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Hyderabad State due to reason of my own.

Please accept.

Yours sincerely,
Shivabhai Umedbhai Patel

Copy to:
Ramniklal Yajnik
Leader of the Liberal Party
Legislative Assembly
Hyderabad State

173

New Delhi
23 August 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am sending, for your information, a copy of the report submitted to the Bombay Government by the District Magistrate, Ahmednagar. I do not think it is necessary for me to make any further comment on this report.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

Office of the District Magistrate
Ahmednagar
20 August 1948

From
R. C. Joshi, Esq. ICS
District Magistrate
Ahmednagar

To
The Secretary to the Government
Home Department
Bombay

Subject: Hyderabad situation—Independence of 14 Nizam villages—report.

Reference: Phone conversation with Hon'ble Minister (Home) on 17-8-48.

Sir,

Shevgaon Taluka of this district borders two districts from Hyderabad State viz. Bid and Aurangabad. The north-eastern portion of this taluka adjoins Paithan Tahsil of Aurangabad District. 14 villages of Paithan Tahsil as noted [below] are separated from rest of the Tahsil by the river Godavari.

1. Kawasan.	2. Lingotpuri.
3. Sonwadi Kd.	4. Sonwadi Bk.
5. Changotpuri.	6. Ghari.
7. Ismailpur.	8. Mohamadpur.
9. Saigavan.	10. Dadegaon.
11. Pategaon.	12. Chanakwadi.
13. Telwadi.	14. Tandulwadi.

These villages are adjoining the villages from Shevgaon taluka and are more in communication with the Shevgaon taluka than the Paithan taluka villages as the river Godavari separates them from the Paithan Tahsil headquarters.

2. These 14 villages in Nizam State noted [above] are reported to have declared independence on 8-8-48 with the help of the State Congress workers. On 8-8-48 the State Congress workers managed to hoist the National Flag on each of the 14 Nizam villages. While [these] activities were in progress some Razakars tried to fire from Paithan (Nizam) on the villages of Kawasan, Pategaon and Telwadi which are situated on the bank of River Godavari

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adjoining Shevgaon Taluka of Ahmednagar District. The Razakars also managed to send some Hindu Razakars to Kawasan and Telwadi (both Nizam) for removing the National Flag. Their attempt was successful in respect of village Kawasan (Nizam) but as the party came to Telwadi the State Congress men drove out all the Razakars except one Bhil who is now in their custody at Tandulwadi (Nizam). At the same time one Muslim was passing to village Dadegaon in Hyderabad State through Karhe-takli (Indian). This man was arrested by the police at Karhe-takli under the suspicious circumstances and was then sent to Shevgaon police station for necessary further action.

3. Since the declaration of independence of these 14 Nizam villages it is seen that the Razakars are accumulating in great number at Paithan (Nizam) and with the help of police and the new police sub-inspector they are troubling the villagers of the 14 Nizam villages by firing from Paithan side (Nizam). Due to this the villagers of Pategaon, Telwadi, Saigavan and Kawasan etc. have left their villages and have come to stay at Karhe-takli, Kanapur, Erandgaon and Mungi villages in Shevgaon taluka. It is further learnt that the Razakars used to fire at the villagers of Pategaon and Kawasan taking water from the river Godavari.

4. It is a week and more that the new police sub-inspector has come to Paithan. The new police sub-inspector is reported to be committing atrocities at Paithan (Nizam) with the help of the Razakars and Arabs. At present there are about 300 Razakars and 100 Arabs at Paithan; some four or five days back the Razakars committed rape on one Mali woman. She was pregnant and was carrying 8th month and is subsequently reported to be dead at Paithan due to the cruelties of Razakars. A Dhangar [woman] is also reported to have been raped by the Razakars. The Arabs and the new police sub-inspector (Amin) are said to have demanded Rs. 5,000 from each of the below mentioned rich persons from Paithan under threats:

1. Gangadhar Naik Bhandari
2. Madhavrao Rawas
3. Aba Saheb Sakharam Lad
4. Panditrao Mahajan

These persons any how managed to fulfil the demand with deductions etc. But still the Arabs and the new police sub-inspector were not satisfied. They entered the houses of the above gentlemen and after looting their property kept them under police surveillance. Further they beat Mohojan and dug the house of Bhandari. Bhandari is a well-known rich gentleman of Paithan and cruelty against him has created panic amongst the non-Muslims of Paithan. Bhandari has lost his property over Rs. 2,00,000. His family members have gone to Nasik and he is staying at Paithan with his sister. Aba Saheb Lad is also a man of influence at Paithan. He is being treated very cruelly by the Razakars, police and Arabs.

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5. Looting, rape on Hindu [women] etc. are the daily common incidents at Paithan and the Hindus are harassed like anything at Paithan by the Muslims. There is no law and order at Paithan but all the affairs are going at the word of the Razakar leaders and the new police sub-inspector. The new police sub-inspector has intentions to enter and attack the 14 independent villages but it is reported that the Razakars are not willing to cross the Godavari river. It is also feared that one day or the other the Hyderabad authorities might enter the 14 independent villages and attack the villagers.

6. The State Congress people requested the Hon'ble Premier (B. G. Kher) during his recent visit to Karhe-takli and Shevgaon to do something to put a stop to this lawlessness. The Premier assured them that he would bring this fact to the notice of the Government of India.

Yours faithfully,
R. C. Joshi
District Magistrate, Ahmednagar

Copy submitted to:

1. The Hon'ble Minister (Home), Bombay.
2. The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, (B. G. Kher) Bombay
3. N. M. Kamte, Esq., I.P., Inspector General of Police, B.P., Poona
4. H. K. Chainani, Esq., ICS, Commissioner, C.D. Poona

174

Government House
New Delhi
31 August 1948

Dear Friend,

I thank Your Exalted Highness for your telegram acknowledging due receipt of His Majesty the King's letter sent by me from Bangalore. I write this after returning to Delhi. I need not assure you that I am entirely in favour of a peaceful settlement of all conflicts wherever they may arise. I have been greatly distressed by the course of developments in Hyderabad and the repeated failure of attempts to bring about a peaceful settlement.

It is for my Government to deal with this as well as other matters. But I would have no hesitation to do all in my power to help in a peaceful settlement. The most urgent phase of the problem as I see it and as I know my Government see it, is the

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state of insecurity and alarm that prevails. That is the urgent issue. Allowing for all exaggeration, there is no doubt that the unrestrained activities of private armies, allowed to be armed with weapons and enjoying the support of official authority, have created a state of terror for the vast majority of the people in Hyderabad and on the borders thereof. There has rapidly grown a feeling of utter insecurity among all classes of people and a demand for intervention by the Indian Union. It is morally impossible for the people of India to ignore the conditions prevailing in Hyderabad and affecting its people, as well as endangering the peace of South India.

It is not possible to allow this sense of terror and insecurity to continue. The disturbance of civil economy consequent on this, movements of migrating people, breakdown of trade and commerce and communications that have followed as a necessary corollary of insecurity of life and honour and property, are intolerable in view of the position of Hyderabad right in the centre of India. It appears to me clear, and it must be equally clear to Your Exalted Highness, that to allow this to go on would spell ruin.

It is important to remember in the confusing context of today that there is no conflict between the interests of the people of India and the people of Hyderabad. In the present as well as in the future the interests of all concerned are common. The Government of India have repeatedly given assurance that in any political solution Your Exalted Highness' prestige and position would be safeguarded. I would request Your Exalted Highness to ponder over the situation and to do something courageous and wise to terminate the present state of alarm and insecurity and to restore full confidence and normal conditions of life and business. There is no loss of dignity involved in doing what the happiness of the people demands.

In order effectively to terminate the state of alarm which has made public opinion so clamorous for armed intervention and to restore general confidence, I would endorse the suggestion reported to have been made for this purpose by Sir Mirza Ismail who came here with Your Exalted Highness' encouragement and on your behalf. He is a statesman of wide experience and balanced judgment with intimate knowledge of affairs relating to Hyderabad, and what is more, is as concerned in the welfare of Your Exalted Highness as in the welfare of the people of this land including Hyderabad. Your Exalted Highness should ban the

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Razakars and, as Sir Mirza Ismail advised, invite the re-posting of an adequate military force of the Government of India at Secunderabad so that there may be no doubts left in the public mind in Hyderabad and outside as to the security of person and property and the basis for friendship might be laid. This should be entirely on Your Exalted Highness' own initiative. I see no other effective way of restoring security and confidence.

The steps you have recently taken serve only to add to the irritation of previous dilatory procedure, without bringing any substantial good. What is required is speedy decision and friendly trust, not controversy and delay.

This letter is purely personal and from one whom it has pleased Your Exalted Highness to trust as a true friend. The happiness of our people is within easy reach. May God guide us both.

I remain,

Your Exalted Highness' friend,
C. Rajagopalachari

General His Exalted Highness
Asaf Jah Muzaffar-ul-Mulk wal Mamalik
Nizam-ul-Mulk Nizam-ud-Daula
Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur
Fateh Jang, GCSI, GBE
Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar

175

TELEGRAM DATED 5 SEPTEMBER 1948 FROM THE NIZAM TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER DATED 31 AUGUST, ONE COPY THROUGH MY AGENT-GENERAL AT DELHI AND TWO MORE COPIES AND ONE ADVANCE TELEGRAPHIC COPY THROUGH YOUR AGENT-GENERAL AT HYDERABAD. IT APPEARS FROM YOUR LETTER THAT A VERY WRONG IMPRESSION OF INSECURITY OF LIFE HONOUR AND PROPERTY IN HYDERABAD PREVAILS AT YOUR END. I PRESUME THIS IS THE RESULT OF PERSISTENT FALSE PROPAGANDA BY CERTAIN PARTIES AND PERSONS WITH OBJECTS OTHER THAN AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIAN UNION AND HYDERABAD. THE SITUATION AT THE BORDERS WILL IMMEDIATELY AND MATERIALLY IMPROVE IF BORDER RAIDS ARE PREVENTED FROM THE ADJOINING PROVINCES. YOU REFER ALSO TO SIR MIRZA ISAMIL'S SUGGESTION WHICH HE MADE DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO DELHI. SIR MIRZA ISMAIL, THOUGH MY OLD

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FRIEND, IS REALLY NOT PROPERLY ACQUAINTED WITH THE INTRINSIC PROBLEMS OF HYDERABAD SINCE HE REMAINED HERE HARDLY A YEAR UNLIKE HIS PREDECESSORS. FURTHER HE IS ALSO UNAWARE OF THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT AND THEREFORE ACTION ON HIS SUGGESTION IS OBVIOUSLY IMPRACTICABLE. REGARDING OTHER POINTS, PLEASE LET ME SAY THAT THE MATTER OF ALLOWING INDIAN TROOPS TO REMAIN IN MY TERRITORY IS OUT OF QUESTION. MY OWN TROOPS ARE ABLE TO SATISFACTORILY SAFEGUARD THE LIFE AND PROPERTY OF MY OWN SUBJECTS AND ARE FULLY CAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THE SITUATION. REGARDING YOUR SUGGESTION OF TAKING OVER POLITICAL SITUATION ENTIRELY IN MY OWN HANDS KEEPING GOVERNMENT ASIDE, I AM AFRAID UNDER THE CHANGED CONDITIONS IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO BEAR THE ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT MY GOVERNMENT SHARING IT. THIS VERY REPLY IN SUBSTANCE I HAD COMMUNICATED TO YOUR PREDECESSOR LAST JUNE. I AM REALLY ANXIOUS TO ARRIVE AT AN HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT AND SHALL GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR VALUED CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS RESOLVING THE PRESENT DEADLOCK AND ENSURING PEACE BOTH IN HYDERABAD AND THE SURROUNDING PROVINCES OF THE INDIAN UNION. I DO HOPE YOU WILL GIVE THIS MATTER YOUR FURTHER SERIOUS CONSIDERATION AND MAKE AN EARLY SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE. MEANTIME WITH MY KIND PERSONAL REGARDS.

NIZAM

176

New Delhi
2 September 1948

My dear Rajaji/Jawaharlal,

I am sending for your information extracts of a letter which Sir Mirza Ismail has sent to a friend of his.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

LETTER FROM SIR MIRZA ISMAIL TO DIWAN BAHADUR ARAVAMUD AIYENGAR, 3/25 EDWARD ELLIOTS ROAD, MYLAPORE, MADRAS

My dear Mr. Aravamud Aiyengar,

HEH and I am carrying on a brisk correspondence. In his last letter he refers to the letter he has received from the King in which the King it appears (I quote) "has expressed his wishes and proposes that Hyderabad should resume the negotiations peacefully without further delay. Accordingly on the basis of that I have sent a telegram to the GG [Governor-General] to personally contribute in this connection and trust that he will do so, as far as it lies in his power, though everything is in the hands of his ministry. As soon as I hear from him, I shall let you know the result."

In the meanwhile Hyderabad affairs are just the same as before at least for the present and everything depends upon Rajaji's reply. Of what kind it would be I shall know in due course.

The letter concludes:

What a man he is! I shall write again directly I hear from him.

I hear L.A. [Laik Ali] is dominating him and is not a bit afraid of him. He is determined to go on with the policy of defiance.

C. R. is talking of becoming a private citizen "shortly". I cannot understand it. You must have seen the note in The Hindu of yesterday. I hope it is not true. I am writing to him.

Yours sincerely,
Mirza M. Ismail

177

New Delhi
10 September 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

You remember yesterday there was a mention of the 'Liberator' belonging to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's son being pro-Hyderabad. I asked the PIO [Principal Information Officer] to examine the issues of the 'Liberator' for the last three or four months. He says he has done so and finds that editorially the paper has avoided writing on the subject at all. He feels that in

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three or four issues, the headlines given to the news-items relating to Hyderabad might be considered somewhat pro-Hyderabad, but I have looked into this matter and find that we cannot justify even this allegation. What has been done is merely to take out the central points of the news-items and give headlines bringing out the essential points rather than giving it any pro-Hyderabad bias.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

178

Government House
New Delhi
11 September 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Orient Press correspondent or agent in Delhi should be effectively made to see that he has no right to send out such stories as long as he lives and operates in Delhi [See enclosure]. Movements of troops and operations of officers in charge of commands cannot be wired off by news agents as if they were just theoretical news, without reference to Government.

I have shown this to V.P. but he may be engaged in so many things that I thought I had better write a note.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi, 9 Sept. The General Headquarters, India, it is learnt, is sending another division to the East-West Punjab border. This would bring the strength of the Indian Army in this area to five divisions. Four divisions are already there, it is stated.

Gen. Rajendrasinghji, G.O.C., Southern Command, who was in New Delhi on a visit, left this morning for Madras by air. He is believed to be carrying with him the detailed plans for the invasion of Hyderabad.—OP

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179

New Delhi
15 September 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 11 September 1948, with which you enclosed a cutting containing an Orient Press news purporting to have been sent from New Delhi regarding the disposition of the Indian Army in East Punjab. Our enquiries show that no such message was sent from Delhi, that the Orient Press has no accredited correspondent in New Delhi, and that it is usual for the Pakistan Times or the Dawn to manufacture such news items and publish them as from Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General
New Delhi

180

SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENT ON HYDERABAD IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

For over a year now we have been attempting to come to a satisfactory settlement with the Government of Hyderabad. In November last our efforts led to a standstill agreement for one year. We hoped that this would be followed soon by a final and satisfactory settlement. Our view has all along been that the only satisfactory settlement would be for Hyderabad to accept an honourable partnership with the Indian Union, with autonomy in every respect as hitherto enjoyed, with the natural exception in matters concerning public security and foreign affairs. As regards internal government, our view has been that it is inconceivable to permit in the modern age and in the heart of India, which is pulsating with a new freedom, a territory to be indefinitely under autocratic rule and its people without enjoyment of that civic freedom and responsibility which they see exercised all around by the people of India.

Our attempt at a settlement, which so often came near to success, ended unfortunately in failure. The reason for this was obvious to us. There

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are forces at work which are determined not to allow any agreement to be reached between Hyderabad and the Indian Union, and which have progressively gained strength in Hyderabad and seem now completely to control the Government of the State. Irregular armies have been allowed to grow up; arms and ammunition are being smuggled in from abroad, a process in which foreign adventures are taking a prominent part. The private armies have become more and more aggressive and brutal, and have established a reign of terror. The repercussions of this on the border areas of the Union, and in India generally, have created a far more serious and urgent problem than even the state of political uncertainty. A full account of Razakar activities will take long. I shall give three typical incidents and a few figures.

A village inside the State offered stout resistance to these gangsters and it was put to the sword and burnt when resistance became impossible owing to the exhaustion of ammunition. The brave headman, under whose leadership the village resisted, was decapitated and his head carried about on a pole.

A large party of villagers which had fled in bullock carts in search of a haven of safety against the attacks of the Razakars was brutally attacked and the women abducted.

A train was held up, the passengers looted and a number of coaches burnt.

The House is aware of the attacks on our troops seeking to enter Indian territory enclaves within the State, and of Razakar incursions into our own villages along the border.

In this provocative campaign of violence conducted by the Razakars, 71 villages have been attacked inside the State, 140 incursions have occurred into our territory, 325 persons have been killed, 12 trains attacked, and a crore and a half worth of property looted. The latest act of aggression is the occupation of our buildings in Aurangabad and Jhalna cantonments, forcibly ejecting our watchmen.

The House will agree that we cannot permit such atrocities to continue to be perpetrated with impunity. No one is more conscious than myself of the dangers to India situated as it is today of launching on any action that may ultimately lead to military operations. The heavy task of reconstruction and development is before us calling for immediate attention, and it would be an undoubted waste of opportunity and resources to spend them on unproductive activities, whatever the provocation. I feel also very poignantly that it would be a sad contradiction of the ideals and the principles to which we have repeatedly pledged ourselves right from the beginning to the termination of our struggle for freedom from foreign rule, to launch on anything like armed intervention, but our enemies seem determined to take advantage of this ideological difficulty of ours. We cannot let our attachment to peace ruin the future of India or of those territories that fall by geographical connection within that description. The campaign of murder, arson and loot going on

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in Hyderabad rouses communal passion in India and jeopardizes the peace of the Dominion. The so-called lapse of paramountcy cannot alter the organic inter-relation of Hyderabad and India, and the mutual obligations of the one to the other.

We have been patient and forbearing. We have tried to act on the principle that no effort should be spared at any time to avoid conflict. At the present moment the dominant issue is not a settlement of the political relationship between India and Hyderabad, but that of public security. All other questions have become secondary, for peace and order are essential for the consideration of other questions. We feel that internal security and a sense of confidence can only be secured at this stage if our troops are stationed at Secunderabad as they used to be before August 1947. It is only this that can, with minimum conflict, secure a termination of the terrorist activities of private armies so necessary for any advance in the direction of peace. We are therefore intimating the Nizam accordingly.

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CHAPTER VI

POLICE ACTION

181

New Delhi
23 September 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I am going to Bombay today. As I told you the other day, I would very much like to be present at the Cabinet meeting when a decision on Hyderabad is taken. If the meeting takes place before Tuesday, I hope you will send me a telephone message so that I may come to Delhi at once.

I enclose copy of a letter I am writing to Panditji about this. Dr. Ambedkar will also return to Delhi on Monday afternoon.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad [Mookerjee][1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

23 September 1948

My dear Panditji,

According to arrangements previously made, I am leaving for Bombay today to discuss the implementation of our textile policy with the Bombay Government, the Textile Advisory Committee and the Textile Commissioners from provinces and States. I shall be in Bombay till Sunday noon when I shall leave for Ahmedabad. I shall spend a day there and return to Delhi on Monday afternoon.

I do not know when the Hyderabad matter is likely to come before the Cabinet. It may be that it will take some time before your discussions with officers who have just returned are completed. Also you will wait for Mr. Munshi to be here. It is also likely that you would not come to any decision

[1] Finance Minister, Bengal, 1941-42; member, CA, and Minister in first Nehru Cabinet; President, Hindu Mahasabha, and later founder of Jan Sangh

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until a formal intimation of the Nizam's application before the Security Council has been communicated to the Council by the Nizam's representatives. If however you decide to call the Cabinet meeting earlier than Tuesday, I hope you will please send a timely communication to me so that I may be back in Delhi to attend the meeting.

I shall be staying at 30 Altamount Road, Bombay; but you may send me a telephonic communication. Telephone No. 41399.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

182

New Delhi
30 September 1948

My dear Sardarji,

Diwan Bahadur Aravamud Aiyengar phoned up to me this morning from Madras and had a talk with me about the situation in Hyderabad. Incidentally I asked him if he could give me the names of two or three Hindu Hyderabad officers and one or two Muslim officers who might be considered for assisting the Military Governor in place of the three non-officials who are there now, whenever the Military Governor considers the time opportune for replacing them either individually or altogether. He wanted time to think about it and to let me know. He has just (2 p.m.) phoned up to me again. The names suggested by him for consideration are:

(1) I. Ramachandra Rao. He is a member of the Hyderabad Civil Service and is now the Collector of a district in Hyderabad. He is an Andhra and a son-in-law of Shri Ram Krishna Rao, who, I believe, came over here with the State Congress party.

(2) Raja Chondi Raj Bahadur. He is a Sessions Judge in Hyderabad. He is a Maharashtrian and is a sambandhi [relative] of Sir Gurunath Bewoor.[1] My informant adds that he is the brother of some well-known person whose name I failed to catch on the phone.

(3) Gupta. He is now Finance Secretary. My informant considers him very good personally, but he doubts whether, as he is engaged now in unravelling all the misappropriations of Moin

[1] ICS; Director-General of Posts and Telegraph; father of present Chief of Army Staff, General G. G. Bewoor

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Nawaz Jung, now in Paris, he could be made available. He thinks he would be the best of the three Hindus.

(4) Said Megi Bilgrami of the family of Said Hussain Bilgrami. He is now Railways Secretary to the Hyderabad Government and is a cousin of Nawab Ali Yavar Jung. He thinks he is a man of thoroughly nationalist views and is the best Muslim he could think of.

2. I had limited A. Aiyengar's proposals to people actually in service and had told him that I would rather not think of any retired officials. All the men he has suggested are now in service of Hyderabad State. One of them belongs, as you will see, to the Administrative Service, another belongs to the Judicial Service, the third man is apparently an efficient finance officer and the Muslim is now functioning as Secretary, Railways. I would suggest that these names be considered when the decision we came to yesterday becomes ripe for being implemented.

3. A. Aiyengar has been asking me on the phone for the last two or three days whether he could go to Hyderabad. I have told him not do so but to be in Madras and I promised to tell him as soon as we consider it unobjectionable for him to go to Hyderabad or to come over here. In the latest telephonic conversation he said the Raja of Gadwal Samasthan had been pressing him to go to his place for the purpose of advising him on his own affairs, specially in the present situation. He asked me if he could go to Gadwal for a day or two and get back to Madras without going to Hyderabad at all. I think he might be permitted to do this. He is by no means anxious to contact the Nizam in spite of the latter's invitation to him. If you have no objection, I shall phone him up and tell him that he might pay his visit to Gadwal and get back to Madras.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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183

Government House
Mount Road
Madras
14 September 1948

Dear Sardarji,

Many thanks for the steps you have taken in regard to Hyderabad. I offer my sincere congratulations for the start made and the progress achieved in two days. The whole country feels delighted.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
T. Prakasam[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

184

Hotel Beau-Rivage
Ouchy-Lausanne
Suisse
17 September 1948

My dear and Murrabbi Bhai,

Here I am just rejoicing on your splendid success over Hyderabad and in fact over the Security Council. Please accept my most cordial and sincerest congratulations. I am rejoicing heartily in spite of Air France having cancelled their planes and thus stranding us here as all train tickets are booked and trip by car is too costly in Swiss francs. However, I have really good news for you. In Dhirubhai[2] we have an excellent representative who has made good for India and who has made useful contacts all over Switzerland and Germany. At his request I went over Vertig factories and was pleasantly surprised. The workers are of the highest quality and products are uptodate and in some cases even ahead of

[1] Congress leader known as "Lion of Andhra"; member, CA; Premier of Madras after elections in 1946; first Chief Minister of Andhra State

[2] Dhirubhai Desai: Indian Ambassador in Switzerland

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modern weapons. Other nations are after them but Dhirubhai has obtained their consent for us. Their anti-tank, anti-aircraft and light and medium guns are of the highest grade. Their shells are ahead of existing ones. Specially their designers and prototype workers are first class and very numerous. Their research dept. is as good as any in England. They are willing to become our partners and give full benefit to our factories in India in every way. Switzerland, not being a world power and having no interest in power politics, we get their inventions, weapons and equipment without any condition or reservation. I honestly believe we should not miss this opportunity as we will within 18 months be producing our own wants. If you would like me to come and explain to you personally, I will gladly fly back whenever you want me.

With my very best wishes to you and Ba Shri Maniben.

Yours ever affectionate,
Digvijaysinghji
[Jam Saheb of Nawanagar]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

PS.

I forgot to mention rockets, which are really of the finest.

185

New Delhi
28 September 1948

My dear Bhai Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 17 September 1948 and for your congratulations on the successful termination of the police action in Hyderabad. It should be a matter of particular gratification to you to learn that in this operation the State forces also played a splendid part. The whole operation went through like a machine and our soldiers were first class.

2. I am also glad to hear that Dhirubhai is making a success of his job.

3. As regards the question of arms and ammunition, we are already actively considering it. Dr. Gerber is already here and he has had a quick inspection of our factories. I have asked H. M. Patel,[1] Defence Secretary, to be careful to make the best use of this opportunity.

[1] ICS; Director-General, Supply Department, 1942-43; Secretary to Cabinet, 1946-47; Defence Secretary; Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India

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4. I hope you are enjoying your experience of the United Nations and am looking forward to hearing a firsthand account of it when you come back.

You will be particularly glad that General Rajendra Singhji has made a name and the country feels proud of him.

With kindest regards from us both,

Affectionately yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt.-Gen. His Highness
Maharaja Jam Shri Sir Digvijaysinghji
Ranjitsinghji Jadeja, GCIE, KCSI, ADC
Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar
C/o The Indian Embassy
Paris

186

New Delhi
22 September 1948

My dear . . . ,

Now that the Hyderabad operations have been satisfactorily concluded, I should like to express on behalf of the Government of India our heartfelt gratitude to you for lending the services of your state forces in this emergency. Their assistance has been most valuable, and they have made a signal contribution to the success of the operations.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

1 His Highness Shahaji Chhatrapati
Hindupad Padashah, GCSI
Maharaja of Kolhapur, Kolhapur

2 Major-General HH, Maharajadhiraja Maharaja
Sir Bhupal Singhji Bahadur, GCSI, KCIE,
Maharana of Udaipur, Udaipur (Mewar)

3 Lt.-Gen. His Highness Maharaja Sir George
Jivaji Rao Scindia Bahadur, GCSI, GCIE
Maharaja of Gwalior, Gwalior

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187

New Delhi
22 September 1948

My dear . . . ,

Now that the Hyderabad operations have been satisfactorily concluded, I should like to express on behalf of the Government of India our heartfelt gratitude to you for lending the services of your state forces in this emergency. Their assistance has been most valuable.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

1 His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraja
Hanwant Singh Bahadur
Maharaja of Jodhpur, Jodhpur

2 Major-General HH Shri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi
Pala Sir Bala Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kiritapati
Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramaraja
Bahadur Shamsher Jang, GCSI, GCIE
Maharaja of Travancore, Trivandrum

3 Major-General HH Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh
Gaekwar Sena Khas Khel Shamsher Bahadur, GCIE
Maharaja of Baroda, Baroda

188

21 September 1948

HQ MA-in-C ISF

Reference: Your conversation with Gen. Himatsinhji[1]

I am herewith forwarding a list of units which took part in the Hyderabad operation and others which were indirectly concerned with this operation.

[1] Military Adviser-in-Chief, Indian States, later Deputy Minister for Defence

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ENGAGED IN ACTUAL OPERATION:

1 Gwalior Lancers	(Gwalior)
Mysore Lancers	(Mysore)
Mewar Infantry	(Mewar)
4 Gwalior Infantry	(Gwalior)
Rajaram Rifles	(Kolhapur)
1 Mysore Infantry	(Mysore)

INDIRECTLY ENGAGED:

1 Baroda Infantry	(Baroda)
1 Travancore Infantry	(Travancore)
2 Jodhpur Infantry	(Jodhpur)

I hope this information is what you require.

R. K. Birendra Singh Lt.-Col.
for Major-General
MA-in-C, ISF

189

Palace
Trivandrum
27 September 1948

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of the 22nd instant appreciating the services which the Travancore State Forces have been able to render in the recent emergency. I am intimating to them the contents of your letter and I am sure they will feel highly encouraged and heartened.

Yours sincerely,
Rama Varma[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Maharaja of Travancore

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190

TELEGRAM

Embassy of India
Teheran
17 September 1948

Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESS OF YOUR PLAN IN HYDERABAD. OBVIOUSLY THE TIME FOR OPERATION WAS WELL CHOSEN.

ALIZAHEER
[Ambassador to Iran]

191

Harrington Hall Hotel
11-15 Harrington Gardens
London, S.W. 7
24 September 1948

My dear Bapu,[1]

May I offer my respectful congratulations on the unique success you have achieved in Hyderabad. We are leaving tomorrow for India by the TSS Jal Azad which is due to arrive in Bombay on or about 14 October. I had received your kind telegram about my deputation. I quite understand the position. I had ventured to make the suggestion as I was anxious to do something useful which would also keep my mind away from brooding over my misfortunes during recent months. I hope you did not mind it.

India's case regarding Hyderabad was never put by the British Press. In fact, there was little or no publicity on behalf of India. Bhandari PRG is away at Paris. Kidwai is laid up in bed. Of this more when we meet.

With our affectionate regards for Maniben,

Yours respectfully,
G. S. Bhalja[2]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

[1] Father; affectionate term of respect for Gandhi used by followers. But here used for Sardar Patel

[2] Secretary, Information & Broadcasting Ministry

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192

The Palace
Malerkotla
27 September 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

It was a matter of great satisfaction to see that the Hyderabad question has been so satisfactorily concluded. It is still more gratifying to observe that there was no communal trouble during the Indo-Hyderabad tension. All those who were responsible for the success during the Hyderabad operations deserve the heartiest of congratulations.

Hoping you are quite well and in the enjoyment of excellent health.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Iftikhar Alikhan
Nawab of Malerkotla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

193

Drug (CP)
20 September 1948

પરમ શ્રદ્ધેય સરદારજી,

Pranam [Salute].

There will be a move started (if not already started) to save the Nizam and his dynasty from the natural consequences of his acts. The plea will be that circumstances had made him helpless in the hands of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen and that the Nizam himself is not bad.

While conducting the Arya Samaj satyagraha in Hyderabad I had occasion to study closely the affairs of that State, which I have tried to follow since then. The fact is that the Nizam himself is most anti-Hindu and the fountainhead of all communal movements and organisations in that State.

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I beg to enclose a photo copy of the poem composed by the Nizam and published in Rahbare-Deccan. This poem shocked Bapu and completely turned him in favour of the Arya Samaj satyagraha.

I do not expect any reply from you but would request you to give me some five minutes any time on the 28th instant. I shall phone your Private Secretary on the evening of the 27th and know your convenient time.

With deepest regards and with fervent prayer to the Almighty for our Sardar's long life,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Ghanshyam Singh Gupta[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

His Exalted Highness, the present ruler of Hyderabad State, is a poet of great merits. His ghazals are often published in the Rahbare-Deccan and his Muslim subjects read them with great avidity and eagerness. People are fashioned according to the example of their king.

We quote below lines from a ghazal composed by the Nizam and published on 25 February. These lines throw a flood of light on the mentality that inspires Muslims in Hyderabad State. They are an index to the ruler's heart. The all-powerful Ecclesiastical Department and the Tabligh movement in the State are nursed and nurtured on ideas underlying these lines. Let us quote them in Urdu:

بند ناقوس ہوا سن کے ندائے تکبیر
زلزلہ آ ہی گیا رشتۂ زنار پہ بھی

Band nāqus huā sun ke nidaye takbir
Zalzalā āhi gayā Rishtāe Zunnār pe bhi.

The English rendering of these lines is as follows:

"Silenced has become the (Hindu) conch after hearing the voice of the (Islamic) Kalma. An earthquake has overtaken the sacred thread."

Naqus—Conch which is used in Hindu temple as an instrument of call to prayers.

Takbir—Islamic Kalmā or sacred formula.

[1] Speaker of Central Provinces Legislative Assembly

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Rishtae Zunnar—Sacred thread worn by Hindus as a mark of religion.

These lines composed by the ruler of Hyderabad State impart verve and vigour to the anti-Hindu policy followed by the Nizam's Government as revealed by the various police orders and circulars issued from time to time to restrict religious and cultural growth of Hindus and Arya Samajists.

Ideas emanating from the ruler affect the entire officialdom and we are witnessing the truth of this assertion as exemplified by the conditions now prevailing in Hyderabad State. Those who are wondering at the communal outlook of the Hyderabad administration should probe deeper and find out the root cause of the trouble.

Secretary,
International Aryan League, Delhi

194

New Delhi
21 September 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

This morning's papers announce that Kasim Razvi might be sent to Delhi. I hardly think this would be wise. Certainly, for the present it would be desirable to keep him in Hyderabad State, preferably not in Hyderabad city. Later it might be decided what steps are to be taken against him. His trial should also, I think, later take place in Hyderabad State and should be a relatively short one. We have got entangled in the intricacies of the Godse trial [Gandhi murder] here, which is unfortunate.

I have just received a letter from Rajaji in which he suggests that it will be very unwise to bring Razvi to Delhi or to have his trial at this stage. He should be kept detained for the present.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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195

New Delhi
21 September 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have got your letter just now about Kasim Razvi and I was also surprised when I saw the report in the Press. In my opinion, Red Fort is too sacred and historically important a place for the trial of a common ruffian of a fanatical type like Razvi. Only yesterday I gave instructions to Menon that he should be tried somewhere in the Hyderabad State jail by a special tribunal preferably with a summary procedure. Prolonged trials of such fanatics are likely to create communal tension. I do not know where he is taken at present. No doubt his presence in Hyderabad city would be considered dangerous and perhaps military authorities want to keep him in some secret place, but I entirely agree with you that he should not be brought to Delhi at all.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

196

40 Theatre Road
Calcutta
21 September 1948

My dear Sardarji,

While I take the liberty of congratulating you and through you ourselves, on the policy regarding Hyderabad, the operations and their successful outcome, I also take the liberty of offering to you most sincerely my very best thanks and congratulations on the speech that you made just before the Hyderabad surrender. It has been widely appreciated by the Muslims of India; it has given them new encouragement regarding their position in the future and the recognition of their loyalty as citizens of the State, and many Muslim friends of mine have expressed such deep and sincere relief and gratitude that I think it proper that I

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should convey their sentiment to you. I must confess that we were deeply worried at the continued reiteration in the Press that the Hyderabad affair was a communal affair, that it may lead to serious communal repercussions within the Indian Union, that Muslim in the Union of India were all sympathetic towards Hyderabad, that in the case of an invasion of Hyderabad, they would rise and create internal disturbances and therefore they should be put down in advance, that the Muslims generally were fifth-columnists, that they were engaged in secret conspiracies, in recruiting Razakars, in collecting subscriptions etc. etc. There seemed to be some nerve centre from which such allegations were flowing unceasingly. Perhaps it was the deep distrust of Muslims, or a sense of panic and suspicion natural in our infant State, or perhaps it was mainly engineered by those who consider this a good opportunity to malign the Muslims, to arouse sentiments against them which may ultimately lead to their exclusion or extirpation from the Indian Union. The speech of Panditji in Lucknow was one of the first in which he sounded the non-communal aspect of incidents such as Kashmir and Hyderabad, and since then many of his and your statements gave the correct lead and guidance and the final blow to these sentiments of distrust and panic and hatred, which, if allowed to go unchecked, would have certainly led to a general massacre of the Muslims. Your determination also, and the visible steps that you took in Delhi to suppress all communal violence, must have made very clear your intentions. It was, therefore, that we read not only with amazement, but with perturbation, the speech of Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan[1] when he forecast communal disturbance in case of an invasion of Hyderabad. We considered the statement peculiarly unfortunate, dangerous and unwarranted, particularly when the situation is naturally so tense, and all your efforts have been directed towards placing the dispute outside the communal plane. Thank God that what he said has been falsified by events. But while saying this much, may I at the same time earnestly request you to consider one other aspect of the developments? You have given expression to the fact how loyal the Muslims have been to the Indian Union and how they have supported the action of the Indian Union against Hyderabad. This must undoubtedly have had its effect on the morale of the Hyderabad

[1] Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan: delegate to Round Table Conference n London; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1935-41; leader of Pakistan delegation to U.N. General Assembly, 1947-50; Foreign Minister of Pakistan; Judge of International Court of Justice, the Hague

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Razakars and others who had mistakenly believed that the Indian Union Muslims would create disturbance within the domains of India. I had all along felt, knowing the Muslims as I do, that there was not one who was prepared to move a little finger to help Hyderabad, or who did not consider that Razvi was bluffing and making statements that were wholly uncalled for, that it was not in his power to help the Indian Muslims at all, that far from helping them, he was really endangering the position of the Muslims by his wild and insane remarks. At the same time, however, action was being taken in various parts of India by Provincial Governments against Muslims on the basis of a supposed sympathy for Hyderabad which, for want of real and genuine evidence, was generally described as "anti-Dominion activities." I have the strongest reasons for believing that in most cases the arrests were wholly unwarranted and that in most cases there was no adequate cause for entertaining any suspicion against Muslims other than their pre-Independence activities. I am sure it will be found, on investigation by judicial authorities, that the action taken against most of these detenus is unfounded. I know that in Bengal, for instance, a paper came out in bold thick type, with the announcement that Muslims were gathering every evening in mosques (this statement was made during Ramzan) for the purpose of helping Hyderabad; for raising volunteers and subscriptions, that an ex-Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation had been arrested and taken to Delhi for interrogation, that CID officers from the Centre had come down to unearth a deep-laid and widespread conspiracy and so on, and so on. There was no justification for such statements other than that one person was arrested in Calcutta on the vague charge of anti-Dominion activity. The result of this publication was that several Muslims were attacked in the centre of Calcutta, a few were killed, there were wild rumours, and threatening letters were issued anonymously to Muslims calling upon them to withdraw from the Indian Union by 15 August 1948. I issued a statement in the Press on the wholly unwarranted nature of such an announcement and pointed out that the Hyderabad incident was purely non-communal, and that the Muslims of the Indian Union were not in favour of Hyderabad, and that I would welcome strong action being taken against those who sympathized with Hyderabad, that it was wrong and mischievous to blacken the face of all Muslims, and about the same time, the Honourable K. S. Roy[1]

[1] Leader of Congress Party in Bengal Legislative Assembly

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held a Press conference and he warned the Press not to indulge in such panicky statements. The results have been sound and the agitation died down.

In Bombay, which I had occasion to visit, I found that several Muslims were under arrest and several more were being arrested on suspicion of being involved in pro-Hyderabad activities. I made it clear to such Muslims as I came in contact with that no Muslims in India ought to help Hyderabad and any action taken against disloyal Muslims would be entirely justified when the Indian Union was taking such a serious attitude towards Hyderabad affairs. In most of the cases, however, again I am led to believe that the arrests were unjustified and rested on the slenderest evidence and hasty deductions and on anonymous letters.

I had also occasion to visit CP on private business (I have a rice mill there), and on the day that I was addressing Hindu and Muslim students at Chhatisgarh College in Raipur on Mahatmaji's mission and congratulating the Hindus and Muslims of CP on their friendliness and the CP Government on its success in maintaining peace and order, a copy of the Hitavada was placed in my hands giving a report of a speech made by the Premier, Ravishankar Shukla, at the Rotary Club, in which he most unfortunately gave expression to his suspicion and distrust of the loyalty of the Muslims of the Indian Union in general. Several Muslim citizens of Raipur asked me to convey this to you as they feel that they can have no place within the Dominion if they lose the confidence of the governing authorities.

In the UP several Muslims are under detention for no other cause than that they were Muslim Leaguers. As soon as the Hyderabad invasion was announced, a large number of Muslims in all parts of India were placed in preventive custody. This must have been done as a part of the general fear that Muslims would create internal trouble and influential Muslims were arrested because they continued to be influential. I beg to state most humbly that there was no need for such arrests. None of the Muslims arrested would have moved a little finger, as I had said before, to help Hyderabad or to create any internal trouble. Indeed, I go so far as to say that even in case of a conflict with Pakistan, the Muslims of the Indian Union will do nothing to help Pakistan or embarrass the Indian Union. The subsequent conduct of the Muslims, which has been so generously appreciated by you, also makes it clear that there was no justification for suspicion or distrust, or for their arrests.

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I feel that the Hyderabad incident, the reaction amongst the Muslims, and the gesture of yourself and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru mark a turning point in the communal relationship of Hindus and Muslims and one can really look forward now with confidence to co-operative work in the cause of the nation. I cannot tell you how much we feel encouraged in having gained your confidence and if you will allow me, I shall take the earliest opportunity of calling on you when I visit Delhi in the course of the week.

With kindest regards and profound gratitude,

Yours sincerely,
Shaheed Suhrawardy[1]

197

New Delhi
28 September 1948

My dear Suhrawardy,

Thank you for your letter of 21 September 1948. I am so glad to read what you say about Hyderabad. On the question of Hyderabad, as distinct from Kashmir, the Indian Union Muslims have come out in the open on our side and that has certainly created a good impression in the country. With our success in Hyderabad we have removed one great source of potential mischief in the communal sphere. If we can similarly get Kashmir out of the way, both Muslims and non-Muslims in India could settle down in perfect peace and harmony.

2. As regards Pakistan, I have been closely watching developments there and I am sorry to find that the poison of hate which the League was spreading in India is being continued with redoubled vigour in Pakistan. I do not know if you had occasion to read the Urdu papers of West Pakistan, during the last three months particularly. All sorts of lies and base lies have been appearing in Urdu papers inventing facts about communal disharmony and massacres of Muslims in the Indian Dominion and widely exaggerated stray incidents disturbing communal peace that have occurred. It seems to me that the Pakistan Government are either unwilling or unable to check this propaganda and, therefore, it is a part of a well-conceived plan to malign India in order to divert the attention of their people from their domestic difficulties to an imaginary enemy in India. At the same time, the Prime

[1] Leading Muslim politician of Bengal who was Chief Minister of the province at the time of partition; later Prime Minister of Pakistan

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Minister of Pakistan had the cheek to proffer his hand of friendship to India and to boast that so far Pakistan has been alone in extending the hand of friendship. I do not know what we can do to influence the leaders of Pakistan in this matter. From your own experience both at Karachi and in East Bengal, it is quite clear that no opposition is tolerated.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. S. Suhrawardy, Esq.
40 Theatre Road
Calcutta

198

3 Paper Buildings
Temple, E.C. 4
4 October 1948

My dear Pandit Nehru,

Dickie tells me that you are going to stay with Edwina and him as soon as you get to England. I want to tell you how relieved I am that the action which you were eventually driven to take did not result in large-scale communal troubles. I know how anxious you were not to take the action at all, and how hard you struggled to avoid it. I honestly believe that moderate world opinion shared your view rather than the other. Still, however that may be, everyone who wants to see a peaceful and prosperous India will rejoice, as I do, that the episode is quietly finished.

I do hope that you will succeed with counsels of moderation now that success has been achieved. I feel confident that you will agree with me that generosity must be wise and right policy on the long view. There is still room, is there not, for your vision of a centre of Muslim culture in the South, and for mine of an active and successful commercial partnership, for instance in Goa. You will know how much I trust that you may find it possible not to disturb the old dynasty, though, of course, the ruler's powers will be brought within constitutional limits.

I hope, too, that it may be possible to use some of the moderate Muslims like Zain Yar Jung and Ali Yavar Jung, who really lost power because they supported Chhatari and me in trying

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to find a genuine settlement, and also Muslim administrators in lower positions who felt the same way but could do nothing effective about it. Finally and above all, I pray that there may not be persecution of those who fell into error and are now in India's hands. Not only the late Ministers, but even Razvi might well be within the reach of mercy. Might it not be enough to extern him from Hyderabad, but to refrain from bringing him before a court?

I know that our friendly efforts in the past to find agreement in the cause of peace will excuse in your eyes any impertinence on my part in making this appeal. What I would really like would be to be allowed, say in December, to pay a private, friendly visit to the Nizam, not in any way subsidised in the matter of fees or expenses. You know the sort of advice I should give him, if he asked for it, and I should be able to say something useful about the efforts of India to help Hyderabad's accession. I would undertake not to make any statement for publication which was not approved by your Government. I really want to try once more to help the old man; with all his faults, he is still my friend.

Yours very sincerely,
Walter Monckton

H. E. Pandit Nehru
Prime Minister of India
Broadlands
Romsey, Hants

199

Claridge's, W.1
11 October 1948

My dear Monckton,

Thank you for your letter of 4 October. I hope I shall be able to meet you during my stay in London and discuss Hyderabad problems with you. Recently, events in Hyderabad have not only gone a long way to solve our Hyderabad problem but have also had a most beneficial result in the whole situation in India. The communal situation has improved tremendously.

We are proceeding cautiously in Hyderabad and for some time at least, there will be no change in the present administration which is a Military Governorship at the top, but the

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normal administration carrying on with only a few changes. There is no question of our dealing with the Nizam or his dynasty in any way which is discourteous to him.

It is our intention to utilise the services of men like Zain Yar Jung and Ali Yavar Jung as soon as possible.

We have no desire to have any persecution of any person but there is a strong feeling, both among Hindus and Muslims, against some of the leading Razakars and more specially Razvi and his clique. What will be done later will have to be decided subsequently.

I have no objection to your going to Hyderabad but it is yet early to fix any date for some time at least. Your going there might be misunderstood because, unfortunately and not incorrectly, you are associated in the public mind with certain past happenings. We can see to this later.

You mentioned something about Goa in your letter. I do not quite understand this. The problem of Goa is a separate problem which India will have to tackle because Portuguese Goa is an anarchronism in the India of today. However, we wish to proceed gently in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Sir Walter Monckton, KC
3, Paper Buildings
Temple, E.C. 4

200

London
5 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a telephone call from Padmaja [Naidu][1] from Hyderabad. She said that our army was doing a fine piece of work. The politicians were too busy [with] politics to think of doing much else. The position in the rural areas was still fairly bad, that is, Hindu hooligan elements were misbehaving.

We have made arrangements for a special secret cypher between External Affairs and wherever I might be. So if you wish to send me a secret message ask [A. V.] Pai to arrange it. No one

[1] Daughter of Sarojini Naidu; Member Constituent Assembly; Governor of West Bengal

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in the Cypher Bureau here or in the London High Commissioner's office will understand it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

201

New Delhi
19 October 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Many thanks for your letter of 7 October which I received yesterday. I am very glad to know that you had a very comfortable journey and that you developed useful contacts in Egypt on your way to London. I entirely agree with you that you should, on your return journey, stay at Cairo and, if possible, visit Istanbul. Pakistan have already done much adverse propaganda against us in the Middle East and your visit at this juncture would do us a lot of good. You need not be in a hurry to come back to India. We shall arrange that the first few days of the Assembly are devoted to comparatively unimportant business so that the business of the Assembly need not worry you at all. I would give the benefits to India as a result of your personal visit to the Middle East countries the first priority.

2. Here in India, things are getting on nicely. In Hyderabad, the military administration is succeeding remarkably well in winning the confidence of Muslims and restoring law and order. We received some astounding proposals from [General] Chaudhuri. One was suggesting the reorganisation of the Advisory Committee so as to include El Edroos and two non-officials. The second was that Razvi, who was Agent-General here, should be made Chief Secretary and the third was that Deccan Airways should resume their service immediately. Since we felt that the military administration were again probably unappreciative of the stand we had taken in our earlier directives, I decided to send [H. M.] Patel and [V. P.] Menon again to Hyderabad. They have returned and brought some material on the financial transactions of the Laik Ali Ministry and the Hyderabad Agents abroad, a gist of which has already been communicated to you by telegram. We have also issued unofficially through the Press the result of this scrutiny. You will have noticed that it involves Pakistan officials very deeply and may strengthen our case against the old regime. We have also received details regarding the Rs. 20 crore deal with

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Pakistan which was made in November 1947. These details show that Laik Ali was personally responsible for making alterations in the original Council resolution which had authorised the transfer of securities worth Rs. 20 crores only if Pakistan agreed to give sterling in exchange. It also transpired that, while the original resolution had received the approval of H.E.H. the Nizam, the subsequent modifications have not received such approval. I have issued instructions that in this matter the personal part taken by Laik Ali should be investigated. Patel and Shavax Lal have gone to Bombay yesterday to confer with Reserve Bank officials with a view to devising means of setting this transaction at nought. You will recall that we already have an ordinance which has frozen these assets, but that will expire in December and it may be possible to devise any other manner by which we can achieve our object. As a result of the discussions which Menon and Patel had with the Military Governor, Bakhle and others, it was decided that the present committee should be substituted by a council consisting of the Military Governor, Bakhle, Pradhan, Zain Yar Jung and Raja Dhoondi Raj. Of these, Bakhle and Pradhan are Bombay officials who are in Hyderabad already. Zain Yar Jung is a retired officer of the Hyderabad Government while Raja Dhoondi Raj is a District and Sessions Judge and is held in very high esteem by all sections of the people, Hindus, Muslims and others. The last named is also acceptable to the Hyderabad State Congress. The committee is, therefore, purely official and its constitution is in accord with the policy which we have already settled. We have turned down the suggestion that Razvi should be made Chief Secretary and are sending an ICS officer from the UP named L. C. Jain whom you may be knowing. Deccan Airways have resumed their service to Hyderabad both from Delhi and Bombay. The State had 70% shares in it. We, therefore, had arranged for the resumption of this service as quickly as possible. Internally, things in Hyderabad are comparatively quiet. There are a few trouble spots where Communists and Razakars are active, but they are gradually being mopped up. In Bidar, some attempt was made, on the part of Hindus, to retaliate, but I learn that the trouble is being dealt with firmly.

3. You must have seen Nazimuddin's[1] interview which appeared in yesterday's papers. In case you have not, I am sending a copy herewith. I find it striking a helpful note, but unfortunately the

[1] Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin: Chief Minister of Bengal before partition; Governor-General of Pakistan in succession to Mr. Jinnah, later Prime Minister of Pakistan

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Pakistan papers do not seem to respond to it. I am sending herewith cuttings from the Dawn of 11 and 13 October. You will see from these cuttings that the Pakistan Press is being allowed to indulge in atrocity propaganda. This is in spite of your writing to Liaquat Ali and ourselves pointing out the lapses in our Press Note. You might like to speak to Liaquat Ali or draw his attention to this propaganda.

4. On the East Bengal side, things are pretty bad. Large-scale influx of non-Muslims and even some Muslim is taking place from that side into West Bengal. Already, Calcutta is presenting a very serious problem on this account and if the present tempo and volume of immigration is maintained very soon the problem would be beyond West Bengal's capacity. How long can we tolerate this? The strain on our resources is tremendous. I myself feel that, if this problem is to be successfully tackled, we have to take firm and resolute action. It is quite clear that the Pakistan Government cannot succeed in creating conditions of security and economic contentment which alone would encourage non-Muslims to stay out. The economic conditions seem to be so bad as to induce even Muslims in East Bengal to seek comparatively better conditions in India. At the same time, it is also obvious that we cannot endanger our own economic conditions and security on account of Pakistan's failure to do their part of the business. I am beginning to wonder whether a clear indication to the Pakistan Government that, if this immigration continues on account of deterioration of conditions in East Bengal, we would have no alternative except to send out Muslims from West Bengal in equal numbers, would not goad them into some salutary action.

5. The only important matter we discussed at the Cabinet was the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill. Our Advocate-General has taken the view that the Bihar Zamindari Bill would be ultra vires the Government of India Act because

(i) the payment envisaged in the Act is payment in cash as soon as possible and not payment in bonds and that even if payment in bonds were included non-negotiable bonds would not clearly be payment within the terms of the Act.

(ii) He has also taken the view that spreading payment in 40 instalments is an indication of the safeguard provided in the Act in respect of acquisition of the property.

In the face of the legal opinion, we were unable to advise the Governor-General to give his assent, but we have postponed the

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discussion until you return as to what alternative course should be recommended to the Governor-General for being suggested to the Government of Bihar.

6. I had a talk with Golwalkar[1] the day before yesterday when he was here to see me. They seem to be in a chastened mood and their sense of discipline is still very strong. I had made it quite clear that if he came to Delhi there should be no demonstrations. To receive him at the station, there were three to four thousand people who received him in silence. Nobody said a word and no demonstration was made. They all obeyed the dictates of the Guru [Golwalkar] implicitly. I am beginning to think as to how long under a democratic set-up we can justify restrictions on this organisation, if their unlawful activities are abjured by them. I have made my views quite clear to Golwalkar, viz. that the Sangh will have to change its entire outlook and its programme before Provincial Governments could be satisfied that these activities would cease to be a menace to the peace and tranquillity of India. I also drew his attention to the reports which we are receiving regarding the secret activities of RSS men.

7. Next week I am leaving for a trip to Bombay and Nagpur. I shall probably be leaving on the 27th by train and reaching Bombay on the 28th and staying there until the 2nd. I shall be in Nagpur on the 3rd and 4th and will leave Nagpur for Delhi on the 5th morning by train so that I shall be in Delhi on the 6th when it appears from the papers you are likely to return to India.

8. I have received your telegram regarding the French Indian Settlements. We are taking steps to appoint observers for this purpose.

9. I saw a telegram from the High Commissioner's office about Sir Walter Monckton being retained for the Hyderabad case which it is proposed to launch in the UK courts about the transfer of 1½ million sterling to the High Commissioner for Pakistan. Lal has already conveyed to India House my views on this subject. I think it is high time we stopped all [connections] of Monckton with Hyderabad State. Although Monckton knew that the Hyderabad Government's attitude is entirely wrong, he has been assisting the Hyderabad delegation with his advice in preparing the case for the UNO and also at the UNO. I learn from Dr. Zakir Hussain's brother, Dr. Yusuf Hussain who was stranded in Karachi and about whose journey to India I made arrangements at the request of Zakir Hussain, that Monckton's assistant,

[1] M. S. Golwalkar; Head of RSS for 33 years; died on 4 June 1973

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Beaumont, was at the disposal of the delegation, though Monckton himself had not joined the delegation, ostensibly for reasons of health. The case itself is not of such a nature that the counsel with a knowledge of Hyderabad affairs is required. In these circumstances, I hope the High Commissioner has taken steps to withdraw the case from Sir Walter Monckton. At the most we may have to pay his retainer, but that would be a sacrifice well worth making to avoid Monckton conducting the case at all.

10. Chanda[1] is leaving for London today. I am, therefore, sending this letter through him.

I hope the discussions at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference are proceeding satisfactorily. We have not had any telegram from you about it. It is possible you may have already written to us.

With kindest regards,

Yours,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
C/o High Commissioner for India in London
India House
London

PS.

I am also sending herewith a note on political and economic conditions in Pakistan which has been sent to me by [B. T.] Thakur, General Manager, United Commercial Bank, who has got some very useful and knowledgeable contacts in Karachi. He is himself a native of Karachi.

ENCLOSURE I

KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN'S INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN NEWSPAPERS DATED 18-10-1948

Karachi, 17 Oct. The quarrel between India and Pakistan over Kashmir was the biggest single obstacle to goodwill and harmony, said Khwaja Nazimuddin, Acting Governor-General of Pakistan, in an interview to a B.B.C. correspondent here.

"We must have a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute," Nazimuddin said. "War between the two Dominions is quite unthinkable. It would be disastrous—fatally disastrous—for both."

[1] A. K. Chanda: Deputy High Commissioner for India in UK, 1948-49; Comptroller and Auditor-General, 1954-59

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"The British genius for statesmanship has a chance to prove itself once again," he added. "I see a wonderful opportunity for an effort of this kind at the London Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Pakistan believes that it is the function and duty of the Commonwealth to settle family differences and to promote friendship between the various members."

Referring to East Bengal, Nazimuddin said that non-Muslims were still leaving that province for the Indian Dominion, but it was the avowed policy of the East Bengal Government to discourage this exodus.

Hindustan Times
18 October 1948

ENCLOSURE II

CUTTINGS FROM DAWN (KARACHI) OF 11-10-48

According to him [eye-witness], in the whole area between Homnabad and Hyderabad, the Indian Army, which according to Nehru has been sent there to restore "law and order," has been let loose to perpetrate the most horrible atrocities known to human history on the innocent populace of the State.

In Gulbarga, 60 per cent of the Muslim houses have been burnt down and several thousands of people killed.

"All leaders of the Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen have been arrested and removed to "somewhere in India."

Butchery of Muslims in trains continues.

ENCLOSURE III

[DAWN OF 13-10-48]

Three letters—two postcards and one envelope—have found their way to Pakistan through the iron curtain of censorship which has been clamped on Hyderabad State by the Indian Union.

The first correspondent who signs himself M. M. writes in his letter of 30 September: "About 2,00,000 Muslims have been killed, their females raped, their children butchered and their houses looted and razed to the ground.

Another correspondent in a letter says: "When the Indian Army marched into Hyderabad it was only the Razakars who offered resistance. The Nizam's forces did not fight."

The worst sufferers at the hands of the Indian Army are the refugees who sought asylum in Hyderabad on being hounded out of the Indian Dominion after 15 August 1947.

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202

Indian Delegation to the
United Nations General Assembly
Hotel George V
Paris
26 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Forgive me for not writing to you more frequently. But you will appreciate how terribly occupied I have been in England. Today I came to Paris and after a week's stay here I go to Cairo and Bombay.

I shall present a report about the Prime Ministers' Conference on my return. I have had lengthy conversations also in regard to India and the Commonwealth and I shall inform the Cabinet of these on my return. There are other matters too which I shall deal with when I reach Delhi.

I have received your letter of 19 October with its enclosures. Thank you for it. I have today sent you a number of telegrams on a variety of subjects. I shall mention some of them below.

(1) HYDERABAD PRINCESSES AND THEIR CHILDREN. THE PRINCESS OF BERAR HAS BEEN ASKED BY THE NIZAM AND HER HUSBAND TO RETURN IMMEDIATELY TO HYDERABAD. HER ELDER SON HAS JUST ENTERED HARROW AND HER YOUNGER SON IS IN ANOTHER SCHOOL. THE PRINCESS IS VERY MUCH AVERSE TO WITHDRAWING THE CHILDREN FROM THE SCHOOLS AND I THINK SHE IS RIGHT BECAUSE THERE ARE NO ARRANGEMENTS FOR PROPER EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD. I THINK THEREFORE THAT IT WOULD BE A PITY FOR THE CHILDREN TO BE MADE TO GO TO INDIA AT THIS STAGE. OF COURSE WE CANNOT INTERFERE IN THESE DOMESTIC MATTERS, BUT A SUGGESTION MIGHT BE MADE TO THE NIZAM AND HIS SON THAT IT WOULD BE A PITY TO INTERFERE WITH THE CHILDREN'S EDUCATION.

(2) I SAW ATTLEE YESTERDAY AND HE TALKED ABOUT PROPER PUBLICITY FOR HYDERABAD IN VIEW OF ATROCITIES STORIES BEING CIRCULATED. YOU HAVE YOURSELF SENT ME CUTTINGS FROM DAWN CONTAINING THESE STORIES. ATTLEE SUGGESTED THAT FOREIGN NEWSPAPERMEN MIGHT BE ENCOURAGED TO GO TO HYDERABAD. I TOLD HIM THAT IN FACT THIS HAS BEEN OUR POLICY. HOWEVER, IT IS WORTH WHILE FOR YOU TO CONSIDER THIS MATTER AND TO MAKE SUCH OTHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR FULLER PUBLICITY AS YOU MAY CONSIDER NECESSARY.

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(3) I THINK YOU ARE RIGHT IN ADVISING AGAINST THE ENGAGEMENT OF MONCKTON TO LEAD IN THE WESTMINSTER BANK AFFAIR. IT WOULD BE A PITY, HOWEVER, IF HE WAS ENGAGED BY THE OPPOSITE SIDE. THIS MIGHT INJURE US IN THIS AND SOME OTHER MATTERS. WE ARE ANYHOW ENGAGING LEADING LAWYERS FOR THE WESTMINSTER BANK AFFAIR. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER MONCKTON SHOULD BE RETAINED FOR ADVICE, NOT FOR PERSONALLY CONDUCTING THE CASE. STAFFORD CRIPPS[1] ADVISES US TO DO SO FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS. OUR SOLICITOR, SIR DHIREN MITRA,[2] IS STRONGLY OF THIS OPINION ALSO. I THINK THERE IS SOMETHING IN THESE ARGUMENTS AND IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IN THE BALANCE TO HAVE A RETAINER WITH MONCKTON, MAKING IT CLEAR TO HIM THAT HE WILL NOT ACTUALLY APPEAR IN THE CASE.

(4) THERE IS ANOTHER MATTER REGARDING MONCKTON AND HYDERABAD. SOME PEOPLE HAVE CLAIMS FROM HYDERABAD OR THE NIZAM AND SOME CASES MIGHT BE INSTITUTED TO REALISE THESE CLAIMS. MONCKTON HAS BEEN APPROACHED BY THE CLAIMANTS TO APPEAR FOR THEM AND HE HAS ASKED US WHAT HE SHOULD DO ABOUT THIS MATTER. HE HAS TO GIVE US FIRST PREFERENCE IN CASE WE WANT HIS SERVICES. OTHERWISE IT WILL BE OPEN TO HIM TO APPEAR AGAINST NIZAM OF HYDERABAD. I DO NOT THINK THIS WILL DO US ANY GOOD AND IT MIGHT WELL INJURE OUR CASE TO SOME EXTENT. I THINK THEREFORE THAT SOME KIND OF GENERAL RETAINER SHOULD BE GIVEN TO HIM. THIS MATTER IS RATHER AN URGENT ONE AND AN EARLY REPLY IS REQUESTED.

(5) JAIPUR HOUSE. I THINK THE CABINET DECISION ABOUT ACQUIRING PRINCES'S PROPERTY IS THE CORRECT ONE, BUT KEEPING IN LINE WITH IT, IS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO LEASE OUT THE HOUSE TO THE U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER? THE U.K. GOVERNMENT ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THIS AND AS FOR [Archibald] NYE, [U.K. High Commissioner] HE TELLS ME THAT IT WILL HARDLY BE POSSIBLE FOR HIM TO FUNCTION UNLESS HE HAS MUCH MORE ROOM TO DO SO THAN THE U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER HAS AT PRESENT. I FEEL THAT WE SHOULD GO A LONG WAY TO MEET THE WISHES OF THE U.K. GOVERNMENT, MOUNTBATTEN AND NYE. NYE IS A FIRST-RATE PERSON AND IT IS WORTH WHILE HELPING HIM IN EVERY WAY. I DO NOT SEE ANY DIFFICULTY IN LEASING THE HOUSE TO HIM.

(6) OUR KASHMIR CONVERSATIONS HERE HAVE YIELDED NO RESULTS WHATEVER EXCEPT THAT SOME PEOPLE HERE HAVE PROBABLY A BETTER REALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM THAN THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] MP (Lab.) for Bristol East; Lord Privy Seal and Leader of House of Commons, February 1942; known for Cripps proposals in 1942, and member, Cabinet Mission, 1946

[2] Solicitor-General to Government of India

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New Delhi
9 October 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I would not have troubled you during your busy days in Europe, but I am sending herewith extracts from a letter which Akbar Hydari[1] [Governor of Assam] has written to Rajaji. You can go through it when you are at some leisure.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

ENCLOSURE

Government House
Shillong
30 September 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Since I last wrote to you on the 16th the Hyderabad crisis has passed away like a bad dream. It is, as you or Panditji said, a miracle that the whole affair passed off so smoothly leaving, as far as one can judge, no bitterness behind in the minds of the people of either community. I suppose you are all bothering your heads as to what should be the constitutional set-up in Hyderabad. I always used to tell my father [Sir Akbar Hydari] much to his annoyance, that it was only a question of time before Hyderabad broke up into its three constituent parts—Telengana going to Andhra, Maharatwada to Maharashtra and Kannada to Bombay or to a Kanareese province which may be formed. Whether you merge these three tracts which compose Hyderabad into the adjoining provinces or not, I feel that the Nizam and his family should be removed from the governance of this considerable and rich area. History shows that the Asaf Jahis, as distinct from their Ministers whom they have obstructed, have never made any contribution to the political or social advancement of the people over whom they ruled. They were not even good soldiers. I believe the Nizam of Hyderabad has never won a battle. The Nizams

[1] Sir Akbar Hydari: ICS; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1945-46; Governor of Assam

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have added to their territories by playing off one side against the other and so arranging matters that at the end of a war they found themselves on the winning side and could pick up a bit of the spoils. It was the Nizam's defection at a critical moment which contributed to the defeat and death of Tippu and one of the most poignant "Laments" written by Iqbal was on this subject—how Tippu waited and waited looking out for his ally the Nizam, not knowing that at that very time he was making a profitable deal with his antagonists, the British. If merger is too radical a step then I would at least abolish the Nizam and make of Hyderabad a province of the Indian Union with a Governor as in other provinces; but I am straying away from Assam into realms of policy which are not my concern. Pray forgive me.

2. Assam is peaceful on the surface but I am worried about the effect the almost certain breakdown of law and order in Burma may have on the peace of our eastern frontier. One cannot get even reasonably accurate intelligence; but every now and then an incident happens like a bubble coming up on to the surface of water—in itself nothing but showing there is possibly some disturbance somewhere under the surface. In recent weeks I have had three such incidents to cope with, one with the Mao Nagas in Manipur, which might have turned out quite seriously but for the efficient handling of the situation by the Assam Rifles. To my mind these are not just outbreaks of lawlessness which come natural to a warlike and excitable people. As such there would have been nothing to worry about, but it may be that they are engineered by some agency or agencies across our borders and as such should be treated with respect and preparation. Thanks to the assistance I am getting from Panditji and the Ministry of Defence, I am now in a fair way of being adequately prepared. I have been down with flu but I hope to be up and about in a couple of days, and soon after hope to visit both Assam Rifles and military outposts in the province. These men live hard and lonely lives; I believe they like such visits as evidence of my interest in them and also as providing an opportunity of letting me know if they lack for anything. If security of our frontiers is assured the province can go on developing; and it is a happy circumstance due to the absence of an enterprising local Press that frontier anxieties are not known in any detail by the general public; for them life proceeds peacefully. May it always be so.

Yours sincerely,
A. Hydari

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India

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204

New Delhi
13 October 1950

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 1 October 1950 about proposals for amnesty in Hyderabad made by Padmaja. I am sorry I could not reply to you earlier. I thought the best course for me would be to reply to you after my return from Hyderabad in the light of such information as I have been able to gather. Since my return, unfortunately, apart from the heavy pressure on my time, I have not been well.

In Hyderabad, I met Padmaja and had quite a long interview with her. I met the Congress leaders as well as other parties. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to meet the Jamiat leaders, but Vellodi[1] and Shankar met them. Although the appointment was fixed, I had to cancel it because that was the public meeting day and I was feeling rather tired out already. I thought if I underwent the programme of interviews with the Jamiat and some other associations which had been called to see me, it would be difficult for me to bear the strain of the public meeting. I, therefore, asked Vellodi and Shankar to meet them on my behalf. All the deputations were met. Their written memoranda had already been seen by me and I had instructed Vellodi as to the terms of reply on my behalf. I met the Press representatives also where this question was raised and where Mr. Narsing Rao[2] was present. I also met separately C. Ramachar, who was mentioned by Padmaja as supporting her. There were some others mentioned by Padmaja as supporting her viewpoint. I am sorry I could not meet them. Only I met Panna Lal Pitti when he led the Chambers of Commerce deputation. He said he did not share Padmaja's views. Finally, I met the Congress members of the Cabinet, the Home Minister and Vellodi to ascertain their views. I had also collected relevant information.

As you say, Padmaja is very sensitive. I found her almost hysteric, though frankly speaking, I cannot see any justification

1 M. K. Vellodi: ICS; Secretary, Ministry of States, 1948-49; Chief Minister, Hyderabad, 1949-52; Cabinet Secretary

2 Member, Sanjiva Reddy Cabinet in Andhra and Sanjivayya Cabinet, 1956-62

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for hysteria. The problem, considering the statistics, is really very restricted. Originally, the total number of Razakars detained in jail in the police action was 15,654. Up to the end of September 1950, 15,642 had been released already. This left only 12 Razakars at present in jail. I was told that they are of the dangerous type and could not be released. Out of the original number of more than 2,000 Razakars who were arrested for their complicity in various atrocities, 340 have been tried by special tribunals and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment or death; the rest were released or discharged without being put up to trial. Twenty-eight Razakars are under trial in jail. All these have been arrested on serious charges of murder, arson, loot, rape and kidnapping. As regards Government servants, whose case Padmaja had specially in mind, the position is as follows:

In one batch, 41 cases were registered. The total number of persons arrested was 14. 50 were absconding. Out of those 14, only eight are at present undergoing trial for offences like murder, dacoity, bribery, theft, burglary, criminal breach of trust, wrongful confining and extortion of confessions, riot and arson. In respect of 29 other cases, all the 27 accused are absconding. In respect of a third batch of 37 cases, out of 51 accused only 11 have been chalaned [placed before court], five have already been acquitted and 36 are absconding. You will, therefore, find that out of all the Government servants whose cases have been put in court, 113 are absconding, some have been acquitted already or discharged and there are only eight persons who are undergoing trial. Out of these eight persons, some have already been convicted in respect of some charges, while other charges are pending trial. The charges are serious, namely, murder, dacoity, arson, etc.

To sum up, therefore, a very substantial action has already been taken to release persons who were connected with Razakar activities, atrocities, etc. before the police action. Practically, all the detenus have been released. The number of Razakars undergoing trial is only one-sixth of those who were originally involved. The number of Government servants undergoing trial is probably about one-fifteenth of those who were involved. To my mind, this is sufficiently indicative of the lenient attitude that we have been adopting from time to time in these matters. Practically, we have confined action only to those against whom serious charges have been made and successfully investigated. In the case of Razakars and some of the Government servants serious charges have been proved to the satisfaction of at least the original courts. Appeals in many of these cases are

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pending before the High Court. This leaves only the cases of ex-ministers. There also the matter is before the High Court over a preliminary point, namely, that the constitution of a special court for the trial of this case is ultra vires the present Constitution.

It is possible, though I am not quite certain, that a policy of releases, at this stage, might create some impression amongst the Muslims. We have, however, to consider the other aspect, namely, that those who have suffered at the hands of Razakars and Government servants who exceeded their authority, will be bitter and their reactions would be most adverse. I met quite a number of persons not directly affected by those atrocities who were very bitter about these things and who were anxious that not only these but also those who had escaped to Pakistan should be dealt with, if they happen to return. In fact, some people went to the extent of saying that the Nizam, who was the fountain-head of all this, should suffer too. I naturally counselled a generous and lenient attitude. I found that of the Congress ministers three were positively against any leniency or mercy; the remaining one was against any wholesale mercy, though, he said, that individual cases might admit of some sympathetic consideration. After a study of the whole problem, my own view has been stated during the course of my speech at the public meeting. I do not think we can, at this stage, interfere with the cases; they have been entrusted to courts and the law must take its course. In some cases, appeals are pending before High Courts; in others, the trial is sufficiently far advanced—they have reached the defence stage. The case of Government servants is particularly linked with that of ex-ministers. Our case against the ex-ministers is that they approved of the atrocity policy and virtually entered into a conspiracy under which all these atrocities, both of Razakars and Government servants, were committed. The ex-ministers and Kasim Razvi along with some other top-ranking Razakars were the architects of that policy and as such were principally responsible for what took place. The Government servants may have acted, to some extent, in implementation of that policy, though not under any direct orders, with reference to individual incidents. The question would arise as to how far we could allow for this factor in an individual case. I do not think it will be possible to generalise in such matters, because, in actual practice, it is possible for Government servants to avoid getting directly involved in such atrocities, even if a policy of that kind is put through. We have ample evidence of this in our own C.D.O. [Civil disobedience] movements in India. I found that the

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ex-ministers' case, if it is to be pursued, will cost the Hyderabad Government quite a substantial amount. Unfortunately, however, it is linked in an indirect way with the case of Kasim Razvi. On the whole, therefore, I have come to the conclusion, in consultation with Vellodi, and the ministers who were present at the final discussion, that the best course would be to wait for the completion of Kasim Razvi's case and the hearing of the case which is at present before the High Court in relation to the ex-ministers. After these cases are through, we could come to a general decision. It could be implemented in individual cases on the merits of each case. I would be prepared to extend clemency in an individual case where it is deserved, but where there is a case of blatant inhuman cruelty, I do not think we would be justified in extending clemency; nor would our action be upheld by public opinion in Hyderabad, particularly in those areas where these atrocities have taken place. We have to keep in view the fact that, if, in such disturbances, the guilty go unpunished, there is a premium on lawlessness wherever communal disturbances take place. You will recall that it was principally for this reason that during our negotiations with Liaquat Ali we insisted on a provision for the punishment of offenders. I feel that, having already restricted our action in Hyderabad to putting up only very serious charges before the courts, we have no alternative but to consider clemency in individual cases, without giving anybody the impression that we are interfering with the course of justice and, at the same time, ensuring that there are no embarrassing repercussions on cases which are pending. For instance, the case against ex-ministers is linked up with Razvi's and the case of Government servants is linked with both.

Padmaja has mentioned the case of Mir Asghar Ali. The other case, of Baquer Hussain Qureshi, who was the recipient of gold medals for standing first in the Hyderabad Civil Service, has also been referred to. One has been sentenced to death, the other to transportation for life. Mir Asghar Ali has been sentenced to death in a case in which he had some villagers shot, while they were escaping from a burning village. The village was deliberately set fire to because the villagers resisted the demand of levy. In the case of Baquer Hussain, the life sentence has been passed for similar atrocities committed on Hindus, because they were reported to have cut off the beard of a Mohammedan. In neither of these two cases have these persons contended that they were acting under any specific orders of their superior officers. I am sure you will agree that, if the facts stated against them are true,

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the offences are not pardonable. However, after the appeals in the High Court are finally disposed of, the accused can put in a petition of mercy and we could look into their cases then. At present, I do not think it would be advisable to interfere with the course of justice.

I was also distressed to find Padmaja quoting to you a newspaper canard about the alleged expenses on my reception in Hyderabad. Vellodi told me that the total expenditure on my visit is not likely to exceed Rs. 12,000. This includes expenses on police protection, on travelling allowance of officers, etc. From my enquiries, it seemed that the news had appeared in two or three papers which were not of much importance. I am told by Vellodi that those newspapers disclaimed responsibility for the authorship of this news-item and are trying to foist it on some of the news services.

I also made enquiries about the alleged seizure of the properties of some of these persons by the Custodian of Evacuee Property. There is no truth in this statement. What has happened is that the property and accounts of these persons have been frozen with a view to avoiding transfers to other parties in order to defeat any sentence of fine that might be imposed on them. The wives of these Government servants saw Shankar and Vellodi under my instruction, and it transpired that only one of them was not getting any allowance from Government. Vellodi has promised to look into that case and do the needful. I have told Vellodi that in none of these cases should the families be left high and dry and that adequate provision should be made for their maintenance until trials are disposed of. I have also instructed Vellodi that, where a person is convicted and sentenced to death or to life imprisonment, the other cases pending against him should not be proceeded with, and if the sentence is finally upheld, they should be withdrawn. This was a point which the wives of Government servants particularly emphasized, and I thought it was a legitimate point which should be met.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 October 1948

My dear Sardarji,

The API news-item published in this morning's papers that the Indian troops in Hyderabad are resorting to public flogging of persons caught in the act of looting has, I must say, shocked me. Apparently this flogging was paraded as a show in public places like the Secunderabad polo grounds and large numbers of persons were given the opportunity of witnessing it!

2. I am afraid, the almost unlimited power which the Military Governor is now in a position to exercise has gone to his head and he and those who derive their authority from him are misusing it so far as this matter is concerned. It is necessary that the Military Governor should be sharply pulled up over this.

3. With the Armed Forces of India under him, supported as they are by the State forces and the State police, which must number about 30,000 each, it is difficult to understand why the Military Governor should call in aid public flogging for the maintenance of law and order. During the period last year when unmentionably horrid things, including looting, occurred in Bihar, Delhi and East Punjab, I cannot remember that any public flogging was inflicted on the offenders or any attempt was made to get the executive clothed with power to do so.

4. Public flogging is an exhibition of mediaeval barbarity and is calculated to bring the Government of India into contempt and the Indian Army with its fine past record into discredit. I think peremptory orders should go to the Military Governor to stop public flogging of this kind at once and to withdraw any orders that he may have issued permitting the infliction of such punishment.

5. I am sending a copy of this letter to Sardar Baldev Singh and General Bucher.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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206

New Delhi
12 October 1948

My dear Gopalaswami,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 October 1948 regarding flogging in Hyderabad.

I agree with you that it is most objectionable. I telephoned to H. M. Patel last night to stop it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar
Minister for Transport and Railways
New Delhi

207

LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1948 FROM MR. D. S. BAKHLE, CHIEF CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR, HYDERABAD, TO MR. V. SHANKAR, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, NEW DELHI

Please refer to your D.O. letter dated 1 November 1948, forwarding a copy of a letter received by H.M. in which it is alleged that general massacre of male members of the Muslim community has taken place in the rural areas of all districts of the State during and after the police action.

As specific reference has been made to Assoo village in Osmanabad district, I enclose for your information a copy of my D.O. letter dated 27 October 1948 to Dahejia.

2. I have gone very carefully through the daily reports which the Civil Administrators in the districts were required to send about law and order in their respective charges since they took over the administration.

3. So far as Osmanabad is concerned, the only reports I have relate to looting and burning of Muslim houses by Hindus immediately after the "cease-fire". In all cases, prompt action was taken and it was reported that looted property was being recovered in small quantities from villages. There has been no report of any wholesale massacre of Muslim males from the district.

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4. As regards Bhir, the Civil Administrator has reported on 12 October 1948 that a group of men had visited Neknoor village and collected some local Muslims in its vicinity. The police sub-inspector rushed to the place and rounded up 11 persons of the gang. Out of the Muslims collected by the villagers seven were missing and it was suspected that some of them might have been done away with. Enquiries into this are still proceeding.

Apart from this the only report I have is of burning alive a Muslim on 7 or 8 October in the southern outskirts of Bhir town. No other incident has been reported.

5. So far as Gulbarga is concerned, one Muslim was found stabbed to death on 20 September and a Pathan murdered at noon of the same day in Gulbarga city. Both offences were under investigation. On 14-10-48 about 400/500 persons, mostly low caste Hindus (Vaddars), attacked the house of one Mohamad Yousuf, a refugee from Pakistan, in the colony of the Shahpur factory, looted the house and in the fracas that ensued two Muslims who were in the house were killed. Apart from this no other incident has been reported.

6. So far as Bidar is concerned, immediately after the occupation of the districts there were reports of Hindus looting Muslim houses and occasionally murder of Muslims. Subsequently there were reports, though unconfirmed, of a number of Muslims having been murdered at Aurad, Nagupal, Rajasur, Varwathi, Kamtan, Hallikhed and Nalegaon. A number of arrests have been made in the case of these murders and the cases are still under investigation. But from the reports available to me I do not think any such slaughter as H. M.'s correspondent has in view has taken place.

7. As you are aware, the march of the Union forces through the four districts referred to above was so swift that certain pockets, away from the main lines of communication, remained to be mopped up. The sporadic murders which have been reported from this tract are mostly of Razakars who attempted to take shelter in villages. The local feeling against them was considerably embittered by the large and unregulated influx of refugees from the adjoining provinces. But it has found a vent not in the wholesale massacre of adult Muslim males but in the burning and looting of Muslim houses. It seems that the stories about the wiping out of Muslim population in various places are based on slender foundation and are being spread by interested parties to support the charge of genocide made against India before the Security Council.

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In support of this view I might refer you to the monitored broadcast from Pakistan Radio, dated 2 November 1948, of the news that a Muslim deputation waited upon the Military Governor and made representations against the wholesale massacre of Muslims that was taking place. Actually the representation to the Military Governor was a purely personal and private one in the nature of hearsay rather than a statement of facts and the leader of the deputation having seen the news broadcast by Pakistan Radio has agreed to issue a contradiction.

8. I am replying to your letter at once on the basis of the material which I have at my disposal immediately. I am, however, asking the Collectors of Osmanabad, Bhir, Gulbarga and Bidar for a full report on the allegations. I should perhaps add that stern action has been taken against communal miscreants in these districts and at the last Collectors' conference it was revealed that things had quietened down quite considerably. I shall, however, communicate with you when I hear from the Collectors.

LETTER DATED 27 OCTOBER 1948 FROM THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR, HYDERABAD, TO MR. V. T. DAHEJIA, ICS, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, HOME DEPARTMENT

This has reference to your telephone message regarding the alleged slaughter on 26 September of all male members of the Muslim community in the village of Assoo, 3 miles north of Shendri Railway station.

The DSP, Osmanabad, who was asked to investigate the matter, reports that about 12 Muslim villagers from Assoo had disappeared since 14 September, i.e. the day after police action was initiated. There is no information whether they were killed in the police action or not. Enquiries are being made. This of course is a far cry from the alleged slaughter of the entire male Muslim population of the village. Special arrangements have been made to give protection to all Muslim males and females in the village which at present is free from panic.

Will you kindly place this matter before the Hon'ble Home Minister for information?

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208

Government House
New Delhi
15 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your note and enclosure about the allegations of crime in certain parts of Hyderabad State.

Although the big charges are shown to be baseless, there is enough in Bakhle's letter to make one feel the need of educating the public over and above action taken against the persons indulging in crime. I think it will be very useful to send suitable persons to explain our policy of communal harmony and peace.

I feel Vinobaji's[1] going, if he can be persuaded, would be very useful. And I can write to him. But I can do so only if you approve and endorse the proposal and ask the Military Governor and the administration to give him every assistance and facility in his mission. Vinobaji himself would like to undertake it only if he feels you would welcome it. So please let me know. If you don't like it, I should not press.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

209

Government House
New Delhi
15 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I was not able to get you on the phone. So I write this note.

There is such a volume of fresh propaganda started on Hyderabad in intimate circles that I feel we had better do something to protect ourselves! It suggests itself to me that it would

1 Vinoba Bhave: Gandhian who pioneered bhoodan (land gift) movement

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be a good thing from all points of view that Shri Vinoba Bhave may be asked to tour in the districts of Hyderabad (rural parts in difficult areas) say for a fortnight. It will create a good impression and be generally useful. Do you think this may be done? If you agree I may try to induce him to do this, unless you yourself ask him, which would be best. This may be supplemented by one or two carefully chosen Assembly party members like Satyanarain Sinha.[1]

By the way, your information about the last gentleman is not correct. Jawaharlalji has not done anything yet for him. I am awaiting your letter about Hyderabad and Monckton.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

210

New Delhi
15 November 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 15 November 1948.

I shall certainly send one or two members of the Assembly. I shall think of some suitable persons and ask them to go.

As regards Shri Vinobaji, if you feel like it, you may write to him. I am sorry I am unable to do so.

I am sending under a separate cover copy of Monckton's letter to H.E.H. I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which Shankar has received from Bakhle. This letter was sent to him in reply to a letter with which was enclosed a copy of the letter which a Nationalist Muslim of Bombay had sent to Brelvi making allegations regarding wholesale massacres of Muslims at various places. Bakhle's letter speaks for itself and I need hardly comment on it. On receipt of further information from him, I shall write to you again.

I saw Swami Ramanand Tirtha and Dr. Melkote also this morning. They emphatically refuted any suggestions of large-scale killings of Muslims after our Army went into Hyderabad. They do say that in areas where Razakar atrocities were at their worst the local population did retaliate as soon it was in a position to do so, viz. when the Razakars had become thoroughly demoralised as a result of the entry of our Army into Hyderabad. This seems

[1]MLA (Central), Chief whip; Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, 1948-52; Present Governor of Madhya Pradesh

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to be borne out by Bakhle's letter wherein he says that the victims were mostly Razakars who had taken shelter in villages. Swami Ramanand Tirtha and Dr. Melkote are seeing Jawaharlal this evening and will tell him what their impressions are.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

211

Government House
New Delhi
18 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I propose to send the accompanying letter to Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala.[1] Would you make any changes?

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

From:
Governor-General

To:
Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala
Sevagram
Wardha, CP

I write this to you to approach Shri Vinoba and request him on my behalf to go to Hyderabad and tour in the districts for the promotion of communal harmony and goodwill. Sardar joins me in this request as well as the Prime Minister.

If Shri Vinoba agrees, we shall be very grateful and ask the Administrator to fix up a programme and give all assistance to make the tour successful.

Shri Vinoba may be asked questions regarding politics and administration, but Shri Vinoba knows how to avoid all such matters and leave it to the Government of India. What we want is to develop a spirit of goodwill and

[1] Exponent of Gandhian philosophy; editor, Young India and Harijan; member, Zakir Hussain Committee on Basic Education

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mutual confidence as well as tolerance especially in those areas where immediately after the entry of the troops and before order was restored, some misconduct and civil strife showed their head and peaceful citizens suffered. Shri Vinoba's tour and teaching will greatly help in that matter.

Kindly consult Shri Vinoba as soon as possible and let me know. I am sorry to learn he is indisposed. I hope it has been attended to and he is all right now.

C. Rajagopalachari

212

New Delhi
18 November 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of today about Vinobaji.

After returning from Government House, I had a talk with Jawaharlal and he also agrees that, in the circumstances, we nee d [not] do anything about Vinobaji going to Hyderabad. I think you can consider this matter again when Vinobaji is well enough.

In the meantime, Chaudhuri and Bakhle have just now come here from Hyderabad and I shall discuss with them whether it is necessary to send anybody there.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

213

New Delhi
19 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I met Devadas [Gandhi][1] at lunch today after you left me. I enquired about Vinoba's illness. He says [there] is something wrong with his liver.

He requested I might write to him suggesting the Hyderabad tour and ask him to do it when he is well. There seems to be no objection to this.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

[1] Youngest son of Mahatma Gandhi; Managing Editor, Hindustan Times, New Delhi

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Baitul Hafeez
Narainguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)
9 December 1948

My dear Sardarji,

Permit me to congratulate you on your great speech at Gwalior. It has encouraged those who are working for a secular State and created terror in the heart of those who persist in pursuing suicidal communal policies; it has given an effective answer to Pakistan propaganda and silenced many of those who have been carrying on a whispering campaign against you. I hope you will soon be able to establish a really secular State and a Centre as strong and stable as Asoka's pillar at Delhi. Kashmir and the machination of foreign powers—who do not hesitate to encourage communalists or the Communists as long as we keep fighting and remain weak—are only in the way. I am sure you will succeed there also.

I hope you remember, when I met you at Delhi in October, you said that you will be visiting Hyderabad and set things right. This is to request you not to delay your visit much longer, as we need you. Since my return from Delhi I have been trying to persuade Muslims to discard communal politics and to join the Congress wholeheartedly. The attempt is meeting with success, not counting those who automatically change with the times. With the growing sense of security the movement will receive greater momentum. And while the Military Governor is doing a great deal, the need is for a genuine change of outlook, that I am sure your visit will bring about. Moreover, the split in the Congress here is creating confusion. People do not know which group to join. If this rift grows then it will encourage communalists and Communists, for these groups will tend to seek allies without worrying about their character, and the Congress will grow weaker. Besides, you must have noted that the division here is largely on linguistic and provincial lines. Telengana vs. Maharashtra. Though this grouping is not apparent on the surface, yet with time the present split will only strengthen the forces of disintegration and encourage provincialism, which, in my view, need to

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be discouraged. I have already appealed through the Press for your intervention in the matter. I am writing this to you in order to emphasize the gravity of the situation and to request you to visit Hyderabad at an early date and put our house in order. I would feel grateful if you will kindly advise us what we should do.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Bakar Ali Mirza[1]

215

New Delhi
13 December 1948

Dear Mr. Bakar Ali Mirza,

I am writing with reference to your letter of 9 December 1948 addressed to Sardar Patel. He has asked me to say that he much appreciates what you have expressed. As you are no doubt aware, the Prime Minister is visiting Hyderabad, and Sardar Patel hopes that the reasons for which you wanted him to visit Hyderabad would be served by the visit of the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Bakar Ali Mirza Esq.
Baitul Hafeez
Narainguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)

216

Government House
New Delhi
(Undated)

My dear Vallabhbhai,

It seems you cannot escape Swami Tirtha "who refuses to disclose his real name". He won't let you go. This is from today's Statesman again! [See enclosure] He promises you to "secure assistance of a large number of Muslims," in addition to his "well-knit

[1] Member, Lok Sabha; General Secretary of Hyderabad State Congress after police action

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organisation of over two lakh members and hundreds of whole-time workers."

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Tuesday: Though not anxious to remain in the limelight, having seen the beginning of his dream's fulfilment—the achievement of Hyderabad's freedom—Swami Ramanand Tirtha, President of the State Congress since its inception 10 years ago, is likely to play an increasingly important part in the coming weeks. He may even be Hyderabad's first Prime Minister in the proposed Interim Government.

The State Congress, which, according to Swami Ramanand Tritha, is the most competent party to form a government, is also at present the only body which can fill the political gap caused by the disappearance of the Ittehad. There are also indications that the State Congress will grow rapidly in popularity and stature.

Before leaving for Hyderabad today, where he proposes to call a meeting of his Working Committee, Swami Ramanand Tirtha expressed his confidence that the State Congress could produce the requisite talent for forming a government. "But I have no personal ambitions," he said.

Asked if he wished to retire from public life Swami Ramanand Tirtha stated: "I shall not force politics out of my way."

Swami Ramanand Tirtha (that is not his real name, which he refuses to disclose) donned the Sadhu's garb 18 years ago when he was properly initiated into the school of Vidvat Sanyasis. The Vidvats did not believe in the ritual of self-mortification; instead they relied upon knowledge for their salvation, explained Swami Tirtha.

The Swami who is the "father" of the national movement in Hyderabad is an M.A. in Politics from the National University of Poona. Leaving college in 1926 he worked as a labour leader in Bombay.

Later, returning to his native State he opened a number of educational institutions. "My real purpose was to train a band of selfless workers who could fight the Nizam's autocratic rule," he said. "Our people had become spineless after generations of feudal oppression."

The Swami devoted 10 years to this spade work before taking to active politics.

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No sooner had he announced his intention to form a State Congress than he and his 42 colleagues were arrested. Since then Swami Ramanand Tirtha has courted arrest five times, spending in all four years in jail.

But nothing seemed to daunt him or his followers, who continued to grow in number. The State Congress last year had a total strength of over 200,000. "It is," said Swami Ramanand Tirtha, "a well-knit organisation with hundreds of wholetime workers."

In the State Congress President's view the Interim Government of Hyderabad should include such Muslim representatives as could be trusted to co-operate with their colleagues in all essential matters. "The Cabinet must be homogeneous," he said.

The Swami was hopeful of securing the assistance of a large number of Muslims in the task of rebuilding the State on non-communal lines.

The Statesman
New Delhi

217

Government House
New Delhi
23 April 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Before Razvi's fasting gets into the papers, as it is bound to, let us do some little publicity with regard to the trial impending. Without infringing the laws regarding fair trial and no comments during trial, we may, I believe, publish the charges and the constitution of the court and the orders passed about the trial. This will prepare the public to estimate the motives behind his fast. If you agree, this may be done at once so as not to lose time.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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CHAPTER VII

STATE CONGRESS RIFT

218

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad Residency
24 January 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PRAY SETTLE OUR DIFFERENCES [SO] THAT HYDERABAD MAY CALMLY FORGE AHEAD IN BEST INTERESTS OF INDIA. COUNTRYWIDE SUPPORT AND ALLSIDED SYMPATHY FOR US. MEMBERSHIP ALREADY NEARING FIVE LAKHS AND MOST PROMINENT CONGRESS LEADERS WORKERS OF TELENGANA AND KARNATAKA WITH US. CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FROM MARATHWADA FORTHCOMING. OUR STEP APPRECIATED AS RIGHT CORRECTIVE TO SWAMIJI'S POLICY. INSPITE POPULAR STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE WE ARE UNHAPPY OVER DISUNITY CREEPING INTO VILLAGES. I PLACED MYSELF AND ORGANISATION UNRESERVEDLY IN YOUR HANDS WHEN [I] SAW YOU AT DELHI AND AGAIN WHEN MENONJI CAME HERE. PANDITJI UNABLE TO SPARE SUFFICIENT TIME. OTHERS MET UNSUCCESS. MUNSHIJI APPEALED FOR UNITY AND WE PUBLICLY EXPRESSED READINESS FOR HIS MEDIATION BUT IN VIEW CIRCUMSTANCES HE DIRECTED BOTH PARTIES TO YOU. THINGS HAVE REACHED STATE WHEN YOU ALONE CAN GUIDE AND SOLVE. I PRAY AGAIN INTERVENE BRING UNITY BEFORE HYDERABAD RECEIVES YOU. READY TO SEE YOU AT DELHI WHENEVER CONVENIENT TO YOU. AWAITING YOUR DIRECTION.

RAMAKRISHNA RAO

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219

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
[Undated]

Shri Ramkrishna Rao
C/o Janardanrao Desai[1]
Fateh Sultan Lane
Hyderabad Residency
Deccan

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 24 JANUARY. SWAMIJI HAS REACHED DELHI TODAY AND HAVING TALKS WITH HIM AND DR. MALKOTE TOMORROW. WOULD LIKE YOU AND JANARDAN DESAI COME HERE TOMORROW IF POSSIBLE OTHERWISE DAY AFTER TOMORROW WITHOUT FAIL.

VALLABHBHAI

JOINT STATEMENT

We are happy to announce that a complete understanding has been reached between the workers of the Hyderabad State Congress. Mutual consultations have disclosed a complete identity of views on the programme and objectives of the Congress. Most of the points of difference on organisational matters have also been agreed upon, but the few which remain, we are determined to resolve by mutual consultation, failing which we shall abide by such advice as Sardar Patel may give us. Henceforward, we shall all function under a single organisation called the Hyderabad State Congress under the presidentship of Swami Ramanand Tirtha, and we look forward to the day when Sardar Patel will visit the State in the last week of February to assist us in further cementing the unity which mutual consultations under his inspiration have achieved. We hope to give the present administration our full co-operation and assistance as a united body and work together with single-minded devotion for the welfare of the people of Hyderabad and the country at large.

New Delhi
5-2-1949

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
Janardanrao Desai

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[1]Janardanrao Desai: member of State Congress from Karnataka area; Secretary of PCC, 1949-52; for some time member of Rajya Sabha

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FINAL AGREEMENT

As a result of prolonged deliberations and mutual consultations, we have come to the conclusion that, in the interests of Hyderabad and its people and country at large, we must work with complete harmony and co-operation in the programme and organisation of the Hyderabad State Congress.

With a view to achieving that harmony and unity of action, we agree as under:

(a) There will henceforth be a single organisation called the 'Hyderabad State Congress' under the presidentship of Swami Ramanand Tirtha.

(b) The members enrolled on forms issued by Sjt. Janardanrao Desai shall be incorporated in the Hyderabad State Congress membership.

(c) For future enrolment, a common agreed form shall be devised and the rules for distribution, etc., shall be settled by mutual consultation.

(d) We shall settle the composition of the Working Committee by mutual consultation, failing which we shall abide by such advice as Sardar Patel may give us on the occasion of his visit to the State. Until such settlement, any controversial issues concerning the functioning of the Congress shall be settled by joint consultation between Swami Ramanand Tirtha and Sjt. Ramakrishna Rao. All consequential changes in the provinces, districts, etc., shall be similarly made by joint consultation between Swami Ramanand Tirtha and Sjt. Ramakrishna Rao, who may, if necessary, refer to a third person mutually agreed upon.

New Delhi
5-2-1949

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
Janardanrao Desai

220

TELEGRAM

Aurangabad Cantt.
28 February 1949

Shankar
Private Secretary to
Hon'ble Minister for States
Bolarum Residency
Hyderabad

PRESUME ALL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RIVAL CONGRESS GROUPS SETTLED. PLEASE SEND MESSAGE CARE ADMINISTRATOR AURANGABAD.

MENON STATESIND

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221

TELEGRAM

Camp: Bolarum Residency
Hyderabad
28 February 1949

V. P. Menon
Care Administrator
Aurangabad

YOUR TELEGRAM. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RIVAL CONGRESS GROUPS SETTLED. FORMULA REGARDING PROVINCIAL AND DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEES SETTLED IN MY PRESENCE HERE YESTERDAY. AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED REGARDING WORKING COMMITTEE PERSONNEL BUT ON DIFFERENT BASIS FROM YOURS. NUMERICALLY GROUPS WOULD BE REPRESENTED IN A REVERSE MANNER TO THAT CONTEMPLATED BY YOU. THIS I FEEL IS BEST PROOF SWAMIJI'S GROUP COULD HAVE GIVEN OF THEIR EARNESTNESS AND SINCERITY AND CONFIDENCE IN OPPOSITE PARTY.

SHANKAR

222

Camp: Ambala
6 March 1949

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

I am sending herewith a cutting from the Daily News of Hyderabad. It is most undesirable that propaganda of this kind should gain currency. I should like you to issue a contradiction. After all, you yourself agreed to Swamiji retaining Shroff if he wanted to. If this sort of mischief were allowed to develop, it would lead to very serious consequences and we shall again be jeopardising the understanding and goodwill which you have attained. Please see, therefore, that the needful is done.

2. I have also been distressed to receive some telegrams; one was from Heda and the other from Damodar Das regarding the inclusion of Shroff. There was another telegram regarding the exclusion of Heda. Having agreed to leave matters entirely to

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Swamiji's discretion, I do not think it will be possible for you or for any members of your organisation to find fault with the manner in which that discretion is exercised. Though he had given you the choice to nominate any members whom you like except five whom they wished to take for themselves, instead of availing yourself of that offer, you asked Swamiji to exercise his discretion. He has done so and irrespective of how he did so, you and your friends have now to submit to it. You should see that there is no deviation from that attitude, otherwise I am afraid what we have done would be undone.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao
Hyderabad (Dn.)

223

Kachiguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)
10 March 1949

Pujya Sardarji,

I have received your letter dated 6th instant despatched from Ambala Camp together with the cutting of the Daily News of Hyderabad dated 1 March. The news published by the special correspondent on 28 February correctly represented the feelings of many of my friends including Heda and Damodar Das. They seem to have been under the impression that as Shroff had himself volunteered to resign and you mentioned about this offer of his before all of us, he would not be retained by Swamiji in the Working Committee. But I was under no delusion about it. I perfectly agree with you that having left the matter entirely to Swamiji, it is not open to us to grouse. It was open to us to accept his offer of eleven seats, and in that case Shroff would have automatically been avoided. Some of my colleagues were strongly in favour of accepting it. But I am convinced that I did the right thing in not accepting that offer. For one thing, it was not a genuine offer made with the intention of allowing us to run the organisation and co-operating with us. Secondly, we would not only have been accused of having taken undue advantage of your presence here and imposing an unjust settlement, but with rancour in their hearts, Shroff and his friends, once out

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of the Working Committee, would have created difficulties for us in the Standing Council. I hoped also that the storm of opposition that arose against them during the last few months would make them work more carefully and rectify their methods. These considerations, as well as the hope that we might create real unity by adjustment and working together, prompted me to throw the whole burden on Swamiji again. I have been able to convince my colleagues and friends about the correctness of this stand. The first flush of resentment having been over, everybody has now settled down, and I am glad to inform you that there is not going to be any deviation from the settlement accepted by us in your presence.

The telegrams sent to you are the result of their unfulfilled expectations. Swamiji promised Desai on the morning of 28 February before we saw you that he would give six seats in the Working Committee and General Secretaryship to members of our group. He repeated the promise before journalists who published the news in papers. Everyone is expecting that Swamiji would appoint me or someone else from my colleagues as the General Secretary. People consider that this step would be the best means of forging real unity among the rank and file of Congressmen and of improving the standard of the work of the Congress. But he seems to be now backing out of the promise because he feels that the power of full discretion that he got does not bind him even to his own promises. This is a sorry state of affairs, but I assure you, Sardarji, that nothing will be done by me or by my friends to jeopardise the understanding arrived at under your guidance. I am only anxious that our workers are assimilated into the organisation. As soon as that is done, we will loyally carry out the Congress programme on the lines indicated by you, irrespective of other considerations. Whatever the dissatisfaction, I shall see, as far as possible, that no grumbling member of our group rushes to the Press or does anything to create trouble. But it is not possible for anybody to keep guard over unruly Pressmen or other critics. There are also people who fish in troubled waters. I think Swamiji should, therefore, either give no room for criticism at all, which is difficult, or feel less touchy about it. His own Urdu daily Nai Zindagi has published a cartoon of his depicting him as without eyes, nose, and brain. He could not control his own trusted lieutenant who runs the paper. So far as I am concerned, I shall take every precaution to see that no kind of propaganda is made by any of my friends and colleagues. We have been requesting Swamiji to undertake joint

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tours so that we may remove all causes of friction among workers in the districts. But so far he has been going alone, and some of his workers are still indulging in hostile propaganda against us. Anyhow, we hope to rectify all these and eventually succeed in forging unity as far as possible.

Thanking you for the kind letter and advice,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
B. Ramakrishna Rao

224

New Delhi
13 March 1949

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Thank you for your letter of 10 March 1949. I am glad to know that you are approaching the matter in the right spirit. It always pays one to do one's own duty irrespective of what the others do. That has the merit of keeping one on the right track and I hope you and your people will continue to deal with matters in this spirit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao
Kachiguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)

225

Hyderabad (Dn.)
1 April 1949

Pujya Sardarji,

The whole country is on its knees in prayerful thanks to Almighty for your providential escape in the plane crash. While your feeling that it was a sort of 'variety entertainment' is characteristic of your spirit, the country was on the brink of a grave calamity. I offer you my most respectful congratulations. May God spare you for India for many years to come and keep you fit to serve her!

It is not my purpose to complain to you, but I think I should keep you informed that Swamiji's and his party's attitude has

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not changed at all. We are pulling on somehow in the Working Committee though Swamiji and his office have not still completed the implementation of the agreement with regard to the provincial, district and other committees reverting to the status quo ante. Technical and other difficulties are still being created. We are trying to overcome all these and make necessary adjustments.

There are also certain matters pertaining to the administration of the State which are important and which I would like to acquaint you with. The dual system of administration in vogue in the districts and other consequential policies in regard to services etc., have created a general dissatisfaction at present. I think you should know some details about it, so that you may direct necessary changes to be made.

If you permit me to do so, I shall go over to Delhi in the second week of this month and personally explain to you the position. I hope it will be possible for you to spare some time. I shall be grateful for a line in reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Ramakrishna Rao

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

226

New Delhi
4 April 1949

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,

Thank you for your letter of 1 April 1949. I fully realise how you must have felt. I myself was anxious to see that the anxiety of my friends was removed at the earliest possible moment, but, somehow, it could not be as early as I wished.

I am sorry to hear that things are not exactly as they should be, but we have to make the best of it and I do hope you will carry on in the spirit in which you have expressed yourself.

I hope to be comparatively free in the second week of April as the Assembly session would be over.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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New Delhi
4 February 1949

My dear Buch,

I am sending herewith a letter regarding recent disturbances in Hyderabad which HM has received from a very reliable source. You will see that the account which is given in the letter is an eye-witness account. HM is rather upset over this report and is particularly concerned over the failure to use Indian Army troops to quell these disturbances. I suggest that you show this report to Secretary and adviser and either discuss it yourself or suggest it to them to discuss it with HM at a very early opportunity.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

N. M. Buch Esq., ICS
Joint Secretary
States Ministry
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

The news that the internal rift in the State Congress organisation has been closed has been most gratifying indeed! Hyderabad owes a great debt of gratitude to Sardar Patel in particular and many other of her well-wishers for their act of great statesmanship in bringing the two parties to a better and truer sense of realities.

But with the end of this most distressing and unfortunate setback follows close at its heels the very important, heavy and responsible task of rebuilding Hyderabad on really national and democratic lines . . . the very basic objective for which alone Hyderabad has gone through all the prolonged struggle for the past one generation generally and for the past couple of years more intensively.

It becomes therefore important to learn from experience gained locally and outside and evolve accordingly a precise and clear line of action so as to ensure:

(1) smooth development of a secular and democratic Hyderabad;

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(2) healthy integration of Hyderabad as an integrated live unit with India, so that she may contribute her best, which she definitely can, to mutual advancement and solidarity;

(3) contact with

(a) the masses who must be educated for responsible citizenship,

(b) the chief political organisations, and

(c) administration, so as to give them timely constructive suggestions, especially when the principle of adult franchise in the face of the low state of literacy and even desperately lower state of responsible thinking has already been accepted and the background of Hyderabad politics has been so intensely communal and feudal.

It is, however, neither possible to expect a sudden changeover [from the] rabid communalism of the recent past nor permissible to connive at rabid retaliation and the formation of small feudal groups of Maharashtrians, Andhraites, etc., etc. — all being so opposed to the principle of citizenship of a non-communal, secular, democratic state. Need therefore for strong and quick action to curb all such anti-democratic and anti-secular tendencies and to decommunalise the highly communalistic set-up of the past becomes most urgent, even if it means sacrificing a few innocents. And here waiting for judicial "proof" and giving a "long rope" it is feared will not do. Mischief-makers leave little obvious proof of their deeds! All suspects must be meted out exemplary punishment to produce a much-needed moral effect if public confidence, shattered for ever so long, has to be regained.

Public confidence cannot be regained by looking for mere judicial proof nor by expecting the public to have an impossibly long patience to see things set right gradually and with time! The police force and the clerical force of offices have got to be immediately largely de-Muslimised and, such an act must be interpreted as an act of political expediency rather than as one of communalism. Even a change to alter their composition immediately to one of one Hindu to two Muslims in the first instance, will go a very long way on the one hand to create much-needed confidence in the majority community and on the other hand minimise the chances of sabotage and undependable intelligence reaching top administration. Any extra expenditure this may involve Government in by compensating them by long leave and/or otherwise should be fully justified. Here it may be pointed out that many observers feared and foresaw even a greater flare-up than occurred on Mahatmaji's death anniversary day and that what happened may even have been engineered by past masters let loose!

While feelings of provincialism had been growing for some time all over India they had assumed pretty menacing proportions in Hyderabad. It may be

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recalled that it was chiefly this mulki [person of local origin]-non-mulki feeling which formed the chief basis of the attack on and setting fire to the house of Nawab of Chhatari! This is, it is felt, being revived again in a different form under the same garb, by creating Andhra, Maharashtrian and other blocs in the services! While this has to be effectively counteracted to prevent nepotism and inefficiency it cannot be denied that unless the local element is included adequately in the administration, whatever the administrative set-up, it is least likely to command the much-needed confidence and co-operation of Hyderabadis in general.

Yet of the best local talent some must be kept out of the administration to continue the essential work of contact with the masses, the chief political organisations and the administration alike, and giving the latter the much-needed unbiased constructive suggestions from time to time and educating the former [on the] rights, responsibilities and duties of true citizenship.

Already the strike fever is on. Right or wrong, opportune or inopportune, conducive to the good of the larger interests of the country or otherwise, attempts at cheap leadership successfully manoeuvre these strikes; and efforts at appeasement somehow of labour—lest communism may spread, —on the part of the administration, irrespective of what economic and industrial calamities may befall the country later, deserve sufficient calm consideration and husbanding of local restive elements to constructive work.

Yet it has often been remarked: "Has Hyderabad got persons who could shoulder all these administrative responsibilities forthwith?" Curiously enough, this same argument used to be put [forward] by the Britisher before the Indian! Hyderabad may not have many or all A-1s, but surely Hyderabad can at once produce sufficient B-1s, to soberly discharge these responsibilities—at most with some assistance here and there from India, with whom she means to integrate.

A tentative plan [for the] administrative set-up with a panel to choose from is accordingly attached. It recommends as a special feature adoption of a system of an advisory cabinet secretariat so that with ministers' coming from people's representatives and/or nominees who are yet quite likely to be inexperienced in the technique of administrative routine [they] may receive sufficient assistance from mature and experienced administrators possessing a wide outlook.

Begampet
Hyderabad (Dn.)

Raja Bahadur Lt.-Col.
K. N. Waghray

PS.

For favour of kind perusal of Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and State Minister of India, in connection with his reported impending visit to Hyderabad.

K. N. Waghray

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A TENTATIVE PLAN FOR THE ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP

or Military..... Governor } from Indian Union, with intimate
Civil..... Dewan } personal knowledge of Hyderabad affairs

Council of seven Ministers
*(elected) or preferably nominated in the first instance

†Honorary and preferably retired people with administrative experience

Assisted by a local Cabinet Secretariat of five advisers on health, education, local law and local politics, and economic and industrial development

For policy framing

Permanent Secretariat
with sufficient ministerial powers delegated for administration

Heads of Departments
with sufficient secretarial powers delegated to speedily and effectively carry on day-to-day executive administration.

For execution of policy

*N.B. It would be preferable to have five local people and two from India in the first instance, the two from India being for law and order and for finance. Of the five local, three should be Hindus, one a Muslim, one of Scheduled Caste.

†For Advisers, selection should be made from amongst those who have retired from executive posts and who are known to have a broad and national outlook.

PANEL FOR MINISTERS

Swamiji [Ramanand Tirtha]
Melkote
B. Ramkrishna Rao
Vaidya
Vinayak Rao
Raja Rameshwar Rao
Raja Bahadur Bisheshwarnath
Abul Hassan Syed Ali
Turab Ali
Thomas
Subbiah
Mehdi Nawaz Jung
Padmaja Naidu
Mrs. Head
Janardanrao Desai
G. Ramachari
Bindoo
Ramchander Nayak

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Government House
New Delhi
5 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Perhaps you may not be seeing the Dawn these days. Here is an article on the Hyderabad riots which you should read.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

We wonder whether the lethargic conscience of the UN Security Council will be stirred by the renewed outbreak of communal fury against the Muslims of the capital of the overrun Dominion of the Nizam. Ever since Hyderabad was betrayed to India by the treachery of Gen. El-Edroos who seems to have acted with the secret connivance of his foolish and greedy master, Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Muslims of the State have been victims of continuing oppression and discrimination. It was the countryside that first suffered the onslaught of massacre, loot, arson and rape, and hundreds of thousands of Muslims who could escape with their lives were driven to some of the larger towns as refugees. Then it was Secunderabad's turn. Now it would appear that Hyderabad city itself has become the scene of these communal orgies. It is regrettable that the Government of India continue to deny that an iron curtain of censorship is still extant, when there is enough evidence to show that the military regime has made it next to impossible for the truth about the happenings there to reach the outside world, except in garbled and watered down versions. It was a remarkable performance for the Indian representative at Lake Success to have told the Security Council that there was no censorship and observers from any part of the world were free to visit Hyderabad and see things for themselves. The President of the Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference promptly pointed out that the request of the Pakistan Press for permission to send their representatives to Hyderabad was refused by India and the ban still continues. That request we renew today and we ask the Government of India to accord permission and facilities to the Pakistan newspapers to send their representatives to Hyderabad immediately so that the full

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facts of the present outburst of violence in Hyderabad city may be studied on the spot by other than Indian sources and the truth reported.

Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung, Leader of the Hyderabad Delegation to the Security Council, has naturally been deeply distressed by the breakdown of law and order in Hyderabad which has put in peril the life and property of the Muslims. He has also reiterated the significant fact which all impartial observers know and have testified to, that whereas before the Indian occupation the condition of law and order in Hyderabad was fairly normal and relations between Hindus and Muslims were most cordial, lawlessness has become chronic since Indian occupation and Hindu-Muslim relations have completely deteriorated. No one will blame Nawab Moin Nawaz Jung for suggesting that all this is planned and that a powerful hidden hand is at the bottom of it all. The Leader of the Hyderabad Delegation has also reiterated his decision to pursue the Hyderabad case before the Security Council which still retains cognizance of it. It is to be hoped that the matter will be raised once more in the Security Council at the earliest possible occasion.

It must have been humiliating to all the other countries which took part in the recent Asian Conference held at New Delhi that the only valid argument in his defence which the Dutch delegate, Dr. Van Royen, was able to advance in the Security Council in justification of his country's outrage against Indonesia, was the citing of India's action in Hyderabad. India's position as one of the countries which took a lead in calling the Asian Conference is challengeable on the score of her own hands not being clean and the Dutch delegate exploited the situation to his advantage. However, that fact cannot possibly weaken the good case which Asia and the Middle East have against the Dutch, and the New Delhi decisions in that regard should not be allowed to be disregarded merely because one of the participating countries was itself open to a similar charge. India will nevertheless be well advised to make amends for what she has done in Hyderabad, so that she may not be accused of living in a glass house herself and being inconsistent in the ideals she preaches and the policies she pursues.

Dawn
3-2-49

229

Ministry of States

I enclose copies of two letters which I have written to the Military Governor together with its enclosures and the letter from the Military Governor dated 17 February 1949. I suggest that Adviser discuss this at Hyderabad with the Military Governor

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and let me have instructions. In the meantime I am discussing this matter with the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations to ensure that the Afghan Charge d'Affaires does not get unnecessarily agitated.

I am also sending a copy of this note and its enclosures to P.S. to H.M.

N. M. Buch

ENCLOSURE

Military Governor, Hyderabad
Bolarum Residency
Bolarum (Dn.)
17 February 1949

The Deputy Secretary
Ministry of States
Government of India
New Delhi

Subject: Afghan Nationals

Reference your letter dated 8 February 1949.

2. When the police action terminated, owing to the orders in force at the time, a large number of arrests were made by police and military officers. At the time they had powers to do this. Naturally, among those arrested, the majority were Muslims and among the Muslims, a certain number of Afghan nationals were included. They had been pointed out as Razakars by people who were, at that time, considered reliable.

3. Later, powers of arrest were taken away from military officers, while the powers of arrest of police officers were clearly defined. An investigation was carried out into the number of persons arrested and where there was no charge, they were released. The Afghan nationals, who had been arrested, it was found, had been arrested either owing to the fact that their unpopular profession of money-lending had made them targets of dislike or else that they had taken some active part against the Union army and police.

4. Originally, it was the intention that all Pakistan nationals would be evacuated back to Pakistan, and consequently the Dhond repatriation camp was opened to hold such personnel in custody until such time as the Government of India could make the necessary arrangements for this evacuation. Among the personnel moved to the Dhond repatriation camp were a number of Pathans, who at that time went of their own free will. This they must have done because they thought that conditions in the State would be difficult for them. Since then, because conditions in the State settled down so quickly, many

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of the repatriates of Dhond have asked to return. The Government of India's policy regarding Afghan nationals has also somewhat altered and there appears to be no orders now for their immediate repatriation. As a result, those Afghan nationals, who have been identified as such in the Dhond camp, are being permitted to return to Hyderabad State. The present situation is that no Afghan nationals are held in jails within Hyderabad State unless there is a definite criminal charge against them. Those Afghan nationals who were at Dhond are being permitted to return to the State.

5. Naturally, during the retaliatory period, to which we have referred in our previous reports to the Ministry of States, a certain number of Afghan nationals suffered from the hands of Hindus. This retaliatory action was put down as quickly as possible and with as little loss of life and property as possible. Once again, I would like to say that the main profession of Afghan nationals within Hyderabad State has been money-lending and as such they have not been popular. This unpopularity entailed, in some cases, a certain amount of rough handling.

6. At present there are no restrictions whatsoever on Afghan nationals within Hyderabad State, and they are permitted to move about freely. Those few who are destitute are housed and fed by the Hyderabad Government. When Sardar Ghulam Mohammed, Afghan Charge d'Affaires, came to Hyderabad, he expressed himself as entirely satisfied as regards the action taken about Afghan nationals within the State. These people are still not overpopular with the majority community but no active resentment against them has been evinced since 15 October 1948.

Major-General
Military Governor
J. N. Chaudhuri

Ministry of States
New Delhi
22 February 1949

Regarding the repatriation of Afghan nationals from Hyderabad, I enclose a copy of a note recorded by the Deputy Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, with which the Joint Secretary has agreed. Could you kindly let us know whether there are any ground on which we could differ from the views of the Ministry of E.A. & C.R. and if not how many persons would fall within the categories in respect of which immediate repatriation [is] possible?

Yours sincerely,
N. M. Buch

Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri
Military Governor
Hyderabad

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At J. S.'s suggestion I called Sardar Ghulam Mohammed, Afghan Charge d'Affaires, to discuss this case with him. I told him of the large number of Afghan nationals in camps in Hyderabad who were awaiting repatriation and asked whether after his visit to the State he had formed any ideas on the subject. He began by saying that he would be very frank and would discuss the matter without mincing words. He said that he was thankful for the courtesy and hospitality that he had received in Hyderabad from our military and civil officers, and for the facilities accorded to enable him to see and talk to his compatriots. He said it was not correct to assume that all Afghan nationals in Hyderabad were dismissed policemen or servicemen, moneylenders or beggars. A good proportion of them were well-to-do persons with houses, lands and flourishing business. They had been put in jails and in camps at the reports of petty officials who were more often than not led to make such reports because of personal vendetta or for dishonest motives. Apart from being thoroughly uncomfortable in camps they were being subjected to a lot of anti-Indian propaganda by Pakistan nationals, who were similarly interned. It was for the Government of India to decide but, as a friend of India, he would suggest our going slow with this repatriation business. Those Afghans who were able to earn a livelihood in Hyderabad should be allowed to do so, as repatriation on a wholesale basis would create a stir in tribal areas and in Pakistan and would give handle to third parties to embitter relations between Afghanistan and India. It should be remembered that these people had suffered heavily during the police action in one way or another; some had lost their relations and friends; others had their houses and property looted; while all those who had been lodged in camps and in jails for some months now were in a sullen and bitter frame of mind. Sending them back at this stage, through Pakistan where they would be got by Pakistanis, would be a mistake. He agreed that people without means of subsistence had no business in a foreign country, but pleaded for special consideration for Afghan nationals who had been coming to and living in India for scores of years even as peddlers, labourers etc. A good many of them were merchants, artisans etc. and should have no difficulty in continuing with their avocations. He felt sure that in course of time even these people would wind up their businesses and return home but they should not be rushed, and repatriation should be staggered over a sufficiently long period of time. He agreed that ex-employees of the civil and military forces of Hyderabad who had obviously no means of livelihood now should be sent back, as also any undesirables against whom the Government of India had specific complaints. But as had been urged by his Government in the case of Afghan nationals generally, (and they were thankful that the Government of India had accepted this in principle) he would not advocate the wholesale repatriation of these 2,000 odd Afghans.

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I thanked Sardar Ghulam Mohammed for letting me have his views and said that after we had considered the matter further, we would trouble him again for a further talk.

There is a good deal in what Sardar Ghulam Mohammed says. The wholesale repatriation of these 2,000 odd Afghans will almost certainly give rise to adverse propaganda against us, and will undo all that we have been doing during thelast few months to strengthen our relations with Afghanistan. The Military Governor might be asked to scrutinise his lists carefully. For the present we should repatriate only the following categories:

(1) Ex-servicemen; (2) undesirables against whom there are specific complaints, and (3) those imported during the last few months to augment Razvi's gangs.

There can be no quarrel over the repatriation of the above and we might make a beginning with them, letting the others settle down to their normal avocations. I agree with Sardar Ghulam Mohd. that in the changed conditions of India, only those Afghans will find it worthwhile to remain who have either substantial businesses or other interests in the country and that all others will gradually turn homewards. We may let matters take their course.

B. K. Kapur
17-2-'49

230

23 February 1949

This is in continuation of my letter of yesterday. We have now received a further note from the E.A. & C.R. Ministry of which I enclose a copy. I also enclose copies of the enclosurers to the note regarding what appeared in the newspaper 'Afghan' of Karachi. We have already received your express letter dated 17 February 1949, and I am passing on the information received from you to the E.A. & C.R. Ministry. I am also telling them that the Afghan Charge d'Affaires is getting unnecessarily agitated and that there is no truth in the statements which appeared in the newspapers published in Pakistan. It would be very wrong for the Charge d'Affaires to issue any public statements on the basis of such unfounded allegations. I suggest that you show the letter which I sent to you yesterday and this letter to HM and Adviser at Hyderabad and after discussion with them let me have your comments so that I could ensure through E.A. & C.R. Ministry that no wrong impressions are carried by the Afghan Charge d'Affaires.

Yours sincerely,
N. M. Buch

Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri
Military Governor
Hyderabad

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Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Khan, the Afghan Charge d'Affaires, came to see me again this afternoon of his own volition about the Afghan nationals in Hyderabad.

2. He began by asking whether any decision had been taken by the Government of India in this matter and on my replying in the negative said that the matter had now assumed considerable urgency. He referred to two articles in the Karachi newspaper "Afghan" in which he had been taken severely to task [for] having, as he put it, sold the interest of his countrymen to India. I place below translation of the articles in question. Sardar Ghulam Mohammed was much exercised over these articles and said that in fairness to himself and his country he would have to issue a statement explaining the true facts, which would not be complimentary to India. He was receiving large numbers of letters every day from Afghan nationals in Hyderabad, who were complaining bitterly of the difficulties that they were experiencing every day. From a letter recently received by him it appeared that there were some 1,700 Afghan nationals in Hyderabad of whom about 450 had been detained—300 or so in Dhond camp and the rest in various jails. While the condition of those detained in camps or jails was deplorable, those outside were equally badly off. They find it difficult to conduct their business as they were not able to move about freely. A good many of the people who had been detained were there because of personal enmities with local petty officials, even though there was nothing specific against them. Many of them were well off financially having houses, cinemas, lands and other property acquired during many years' stay in Hyderabad.

3. He said that the detention of such large numbers of Afghan nationals in camps and in jails was giving a handle to various interested parties for adverse propaganda on communal lines thereby embittering Indo-Afghan relations. This was most unfortunate, as he knew that the Government of India was as eager as his own Government for a further strengthening of the relations between the two Governments and peoples. If the Government of India could make a gesture immediately by releasing all those Afghans who were well off and against whom there was nothing specific, providing them adequate security on their release, the effect would be stupendous. Such a step would also facilitate the repatriation of those whom the Government of India wished to send away. And to this end the full co-operation of the Afghan Embassy would be forthcoming. If necessary he would be ready to go to Hyderabad again to examine on the spot with representatives of the Government of India cases of all those persons who should be repatriated.

4. During his last visit to Hyderabad, he had impressed upon the Military Governor the urgency of:

(a) releasing all those who were in camps and in jails, and

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(b) issuing some sort of laissez passer to those outside to enable them to move about freely.

He was sorry to see that although this request had been accepted at the time, neither of the two proposals had as yet been implemented.

5. Finally Sardar Ghulam Mohammed pleaded for urgent consideration of this question as these Afghan nationals had been under detention for several months, and the agitation concerning their release was gathering force in India and outside.

B. K. Kapur
22-2-'49

States Ministry should see in continuation of our previous note on the subject. We would like to discuss urgently.

P. A. Menon
23-2-49

231

TRANSLATION OF A CUTTING FROM AFGHAN, KARACHI, DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1949

Afghans in Hyderabad—I

Not long ago, All India Radio broadcast in Persian, Urdu and Pushtu the statement made by A. S. Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Khan, formerly Charge d'Affaires and now Counsellor to the Embassy of His Majesty the Shah of Afghanistan in Delhi. In the broadcast it was mentioned that the Sardar described the position of the Afghans in Hyderabad to be satisfactory and added that some of the hardships which the Afghans were experiencing in Hyderabad would soon be removed by the Military Governor.

At the time of this broadcast of All India Radio, the Government of India withdrew the orders asking the Afghan nationals to leave India. It is natural that this step of the Government of India produced a good effect on relations between India and Afghanistan. But [from] the news which we get from the scene of Hyderabad pictures the position of Afghans [seems] to be otherwise. After an interview which I, the writer of this article, had two days back with one of the newly-arrived Afghans, I arrived at the conclusion that all announcements of the Government of India regarding the Afghan nationals and other Muslims living in Hyderabad have been nothing but a part of propaganda. In order to have more information about the truth of the statement of Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Khan, we turned to Kabul Radio but so far no news has come from that source to prove the validity or otherwise of that statement.

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We have known that the Afghans who number more than 2,500 in Hyderabad pass their lives in great difficulty and distress. They are denied all human rights, even their small property has been seized and all have been detained in a concentration camp. Their meals and clothes demand the pity of the Military Governor. But does the Military Governor of Hyderabad feel pity for the Muslims and the Afghans residing in Hyderabad? This is deduced from this that so far more than a half million Muslims have drunk the cup of immortality as a result of the police action of the Government of India.

Baki Kul

232

TRANSLATION OF CUTTING FROM AFGHAN, KARACHI, DATED 11 FEBRUARY 1949

Afghans in Hyderabad—II

And even today the massacre of the Muslims of Hyderabad continues.

At the time when the Nazis were at the peak of their power they were giving strange excuses for imprisoning the innocent persons, calling themselves to be their protectors.

The persons who were imprisoned in this manner were told that as the public feelings were against them, it was considered necessary by Government to protect their lives and keep them in a safe place so that their lives might not be endangered. The safe place of the Nazi administration was a concentration camp. The same thing is being done by the Military Governor in case of the Afghans and the other Muslim leaders of Hyderabad.

It is not a secret that at the time of chaos and fight between Muslims and Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, thousands of Hindus and Sikhs took shelter in the Holy land of Afghanistan and the self-respecting Afghan nation did not refuse to help these refugees materially and morally. But the ungrateful Hindus, in return of kindness, made thousands of our Afghan brothers sacrifice their lives on account of religious fanaticism. We have no intention that we should incite the feelings of the Afghan brothers to avenge Hindus and Sikhs residing in Afghanistan. But it is our desire that our Afghan brothers should know the result of our kindness and brotherly attitude towards Hindus and Sikhs.

"At last one born of a wolf, will be a wolf
Even if he is brought in the company of human beings."

If Sardar Ghulam Mohammed Khan has actually described the position of Afghans in Hyderabad as broadcast by the Hindustan Radio, it is a

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matter of regret why he has seen the position of the Afghans from the point of view of the Military Administration of Hyderabad. We can never bring this in our mind that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Khan has no interest for the nationals of his Government and his religious brothers and dear countrymen.

"When a limb feels pain
The other limbs have no rest."

And therefore we are certain that the broadcasts of All India Radio with regard to the statement of the above named Sardar are wholly baseless. We have strong documentary proof to show that the Military Government of Hyderabad have behaved in such a cruel manner with our 2,500 Afghan brothers that there is hardly any parallel in history.

It is possible that as a result of the recent steps of the Afghanistan Government, the hardships of the Afghans in Hyderabad might have been lessened to some extent, but

"The oppressed heart is difficult to be made happy by a man;
The broken glass is difficult to be joined."

The Government of Afghanistan, keeping in view the international law and the treaties between India and Afghanistan, will not take any action violating its undertakings, but the fire of vengeance has been kindled in the heart of every Afghan from the Durand Line and as soon as the situation helps, we shall send with great pride good tidings to the souls of the martyrs of the Hyderabad battlefield and their dependents that they have been avenged.

233

TELEGRAM

20 November 1949

From Milgov Bolarum
To Foreign, New Delhi
Info Southcom, Poona
Hq. Hyderabad Army
Chief Secy., Hyderabad

FOR STATESIND. YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 15 NOVEMBER. DHOND REPATRIATION CAMP WAS CLOSED ON 10 NOVEMBER. AFGHAN AND PAKISTAN NATIONALS ARRANGEMENTS FOR WHOSE REPATRIATION HAVE NOT YET BEEN FINALISED BY YOU ARE DETAINED HERE UNDER ARRANGEMENTS OF HYDERABAD ARMY. SUGGEST REPRESENTATIVE OF AFGHAN CONSULATE IS DIRECTED TO CONTACT CHIEF SECRETARY HYDERABAD GOVERNMENT IF HE LIKES TO SEE AFGHAN NATIONALS HERE.

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234

TELEGRAM

Kolhapur
19 February 1949

V. Shankar
Secretary, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

THANKS YOUR WIRE. IN VIEW OF SHRI BALASAHEB KHER'S LETTER TO SARDARSAHIB KINDLY RECONSIDER DECISION. SARDARJI CAN EASILY FLY TO KOLHAPUR ON WAY BACK FROM HYDERABAD TO DELHI EVEN ON TWENTYEIGHTH IF NOT POSSIBLE ON FIRST MARCH AND FAVOUR KOLHAPUR WITH FEW HOURS' PRESENCE. KINDLY WIRE COMPLIANCE OUR REQUEST.

RATNAPPA KUMBHAR, KOLHAPUR

235

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
20 February 1949

Ratnappa Kumbhar
Kolhapur

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. MUCH REGRET KOLHAPUR CANNOT BE INCLUDED.

SHANKAR

236

TELEGRAM

Camp Madras
23 February 1949

Major General Chaudhuri
Military Governor
Hyderabad (Dn.)

REFERENCE OUR CONVERSATION ON TWENTYFIRST. SARDAR AGREEABLE TO PROGRAMME EXCHANGE OF VISITS.

SHANKAR

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237

TELEGRAM

Camp Nagpur
28 February 1949

Major General Chaudhuri
Military Governor
Hyderabad (Dn.)

PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOURSELF AND CONVEY TO THE PEOPLE OF HYDERABAD AND MEMBERS OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION CIVIL AND MILITARY MY SINCERE GRATITUDE FOR THE WARM AND AFFECTIONATE WELCOME THEY EXTENDED TO ME. HYDERABAD HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY IN MY THOUGHT AND I HAD BEEN LOOKING FORWARD TO A PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH ITS PEOPLE AND THE ADMINISTRATION. I WAS VERY HAPPY TO FIND THAT THE PEOPLE WERE SETTLING DOWN TO THE CHANGE FROM THE RECENT PAST WITH COMMENDABLE DISPLAY OF SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE WISE AND SKILFUL GUIDANCE OF YOURSELF AND YOUR COLLEAGUES WAS MEETING EFFECTIVELY WITH THE MANY DEMANDS WHICH THE CHANGING ORDER AND CHANGED SITUATION WERE MAKING ON IT AND WAS TACKLING WITH ORDERLINESS AND PRUDENCE THE MANY DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH IT IS FACED. I SHOULD IN PARTICULAR LIKE TO THANK THE POLICE AND ARMED FORCES FOR THE EXCELLENT TRAFFIC AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH MY VISIT. I AM ALSO HAPPY THAT MY VISIT WAS UTILISED BY THE STATE CONGRESS TO EVOLVE A SETTLEMENT OF THEIR OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES WHICH I HOPE WILL ENDURE. I PRAY THAT THE PEOPLE OF HYDERABAD WILL MAINTAIN THE PROGRESS THEY HAVE MADE AND WILL IN COURSE OF TIME DECIDE UPON THEIR FUTURE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR NEEDS, SUITED TO THEIR GENIUS AND IN ACCORD WITH THE LESSONS OF HISTORY AND FACTS OF GEOGRAPHY.

VALLABHBHAI

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238

New Delhi
1 March 1949

My dear Chaudhuri,

We landed here safely this morning, and directly after that I have plunged into the usual rounds of interviews, meetings and engagements. But my mind is full of my tour, and I thought I should write to you to thank you both for the generous hospitality extended to us during our stay in Hyderabad. I know how much strain our stay imposed on both of you and on your staff. You will, of course, make light of it, but that would be only out of the regard and consideration you have for us.

I have come back with a full appreciation of the tremendous task in which you and your colleagues are engaged. That has enabled me to recognise all the more the value of their work and the contribution which the Military Administration, under your able and inspiring leadership, has made to the restoration of normal condition in Hyderabad and to the many improvements which have been effected in the affairs of the State.

Please convey to your colleagues and your staff my sincere thanks for all that they have done and, in particular, for the pains they took over my visit to Hyderabad.

With kindest regards to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri
Military Governor
Hyderabad (Dn.)

239

Hyderabad (Dn.)
3 March 1949

My dear Friend,

I was glad to get an opportunity of making my acquaintance with you when you paid a visit to Hyderabad, and hope that this will prove to be a happy augury for the future of the

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premier State of Hyderabad which has got a peculiar status and traditions of its own among the other Indian States.

2. I trust you enjoyed your visit and safely reached Delhi and are quite well.

Yours sincerely,
Mir Osman Ali Nawaz
(Nizam VII)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Dominion of India
New Delhi

240

New Delhi
4 March 1949

Dear Exalted Highness,

I should have written to you earlier, but unfortunately I have been plunged in work ever since my return and have hardly any time to myself.

2. I was very glad to meet you and to make your acquaintance. As I have written to General Chaudhuri, it was very reassuring to find Hyderabad settling down to recent changes so well.

3. I was also happy to learn that Your Exalted Highness had adapted yourself so readily to changed conditions. As I told Your Exalted Highness, while error is a human failing and divine injunctions all point to forgetting and forgiving, it is the duty of human beings to contribute their share to this process by sincere repentance and by employing the period that is left in discharging their duties to their people and to their God. I should once more like to repeat that advice which, I can assure Your Exalted Highness, is in all sincerity intended to be friendly.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Exalted Highness
Asaf Jah Nawab Sir Mir Usman
Ali Khan Bahadur
Nizam of Hyderabad
Hyderabad

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241

Military Governor's Residence
Bolarum (Dn.)
5 March 1949

Sir,

On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I wish to thank you most sincerely for the telegram and letter you sent me from Nagpur and Delhi. To these thanks may I further add the personal thanks of my wife and myself?

Your visit to Hyderabad has been of the greatest help to this Government on the task you have set us. Your frank exposition of policy, your settlement of the State Congress differences and your clarification on various points have all cleared the air both with the Government and with the people. Further, the knowledge that we always had and will always continue to have your support in what we do, will give us added strength. All sections of Hyderabad are quite clear that you are behind us. There is no need for me to reiterate our constant endeavour to do our best for Hyderabad and India.

Speaking on a personal note, I have to admit that when my wife and I knew that we were to be your hosts, we had no little feeling of awe. The kindness which you and your daughter showed us, the way you put us at our ease and the genuine friendliness which you both gave us, very rapidly changed that feeling of awe to one of affection and regard, which went to reinforce the regard which we already had for you and your deeds. As I said to you in the car, it was a genuine pleasure to have you as a guest.

Thank you again for your letter and telegram.

Yours sincerely,
J. N. Chaudhuri

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

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242

Military Governor's Residence
Bolarum (Dn.)
4 March 1949

My dear Shankar,

With reference to your letter dated 28 February 1949 from Government House, Nagpur, regarding the three memoranda which HM received from deputations that morning, the points made by the two Scheduled Castes deputations and the Muslim deputation are well known to this Government. In particular, the points by the Muslims were discussed briefly between HM and myself and he stated that he did not wish any further clarification on the points.

Under the circumstances, I suggest that I do not forward you the detailed views on these memoranda unless HM expresses a desire to hear what we have to say. I would be grateful if you would let me know HM's views.

Yours sincerely,
J. N. Chaudhuri

V. Shankar Esq., ICS
New Delhi

243

New Delhi
10 March 1949

My dear Chaudhuri,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 March 1949 regarding the three memoranda which HM received from the Scheduled Castes deputations and the Muslim deputation.

2. HM does not wish to have any detailed information or views on these memoranda; he would just like to know what the general position arising out of those memoranda is and what your comments are on it.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Maj.-Gen. J. N. Chaudhuri
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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244

TELEGRAM FROM MAJOR-GENERAL CHAUDHURI, MILITARY GOVERNOR, HYDERABAD, TO STATES MINISTRY

15 March 1949

UNDERSTAND SHRI VINOBA BHAVE TOURING HYDERABAD STATE ON GOODWILL MISSION STARTING FROM AURANGABAD ON 15 MARCH. NO OFFICIAL INFORMATION RECEIVED IN REGARD TO THIS. PLEASE INFORM WHAT FACILITIES SHOULD BE GIVEN.

REPLY FROM STATES MINISTRY

INFORM CHAUDHURI TO KEEP CONTACT WITH HIM AND GIVE HIM ALL FACILITIES HE MAY REQUIRE.

245

WIRELESS MESSAGE

16 March 1949

From Chief Civil Administrator
Hyderabad
To Statesind
New Delhi

A FEW INCIDENTS OCCURRED YESTERDAY 14 MARCH WHICH TOOK A COMMUNAL TURN. IN MOHALLA MUSHIRABAD AREA AT ABOUT 1330 HOURS A DRUNKEN BRAWL BETWEEN TWO HINDUS AND TWO MUSLIMS DEVELOPED INTO A COMMUNAL RIOT. POLICE REACHED THE SCENE PROMPTLY AND MADE ARRESTS OF FIVE MUSLIMS. TWENTY MORE ARRESTS WERE MADE LATER IN THE NIGHT. THE SAME EVENING AT ABOUT 1830 HOURS A MUSLIM HALWAI HIS SON AND HIS SERVANTS ATTACKED SOME HINDUS WHO HAD GONE TO HIS SHOP FOR SWEETS. IMMEDIATELY HINDUS AND MUSLIMS ASSEMBLED BUT WERE DISPERSED BY THE PROMPT ARRIVAL OF THE POLICE. 20 MUSLIMS INCLUDING THE HALWAI AND HIS SON WERE ARRESTED. IN MOHALLA SULTAN BAZAR A MOHAMEDDAN RESENTED SPRINKLING OF COLOUR. NOTHING SERIOUS HAPPENED THERE. PICKETS POSTED AND INTENSIVE PATROLLING DONE IN THE AFFECTED AREA AND ALL TODAY AND

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LIQUOR SHOPS CLOSED LAST NIGHT AND TODAY. NO INCIDENTS HAPPENED DURING 14/15TH NIGHT OR 15TH MORNING. TOTAL NUMBER OF INJURED IN THE 14TH INCIDENTS IS 11—NINE HINDUS AND TWO MUSLIMS. ABOUT 1430 HOURS TODAY 15TH MARCH HINDUS AND MUSLIMS OF ZAMISTAN IN MULSHIDABAD AREA PELTED STONES AT EACH OTHERS' HOUSES. THE SUB-INSPECTOR OF POLICE WHO WENT TO STOP IT SUSTAINED A MINOR INJURY NEAR HIS EYEBROW. ABOUT 1645 HOURS A HINDU CONGRESS VOLUNTEER OF MOHALLA ANANTAPUR CAME TO IGP WHO WAS ON THE SCENE WITH SWORD CUT WOUNDS ON HIS HEAD AND OTHER INJURIES. ANOTHER HINDU ALSO CAME WITH SWORD CUT INJURIES. THE ASSAILANT OF THE FIRST PERSON IS PAIGAH ARMY SEPOY WHOSE SWORD WAS SNATCHED AND CUT WOUNDS INFLICTED ON HIM ALSO. HE HAS BEEN ARRESTED. MORE ARRESTS ORDERED IN THIS AREA. PAIGAH ARMY PEOPLE ORDERED TO BE CONFINED TO BARRACKS. POLICE FORCE REINFORCED AND CURFEW IMPOSED. ORDER ALSO ISSUED BANNING ASSEMBLY OF FIVE OR MORE PERSONS AND CARRYING OF WEAPONS AND LATHIS FOR THREE DAYS IN THIS AREA. FORTUNATELY TODAY'S RIOTS DID NOT CREATE ANY REPERCUSSIONS ON ARYA SAMAJ PROCESSION OF ABOUT TEN THOUSAND AND A SIKH PROCESSION OF ABOUT EIGHT THOUSAND AND NO INCIDENTS REPORTED FROM THE CITY SO FAR 2030 HOURS. INTENSE PATROLLING BEING DONE IN THE WHOLE CITY AND CONCENTRATED EFFORTS BEING MADE TO LIMIT THE AREA OF TROUBLE.

246

TELEGRAM

7 May 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

VINOBAJI VISITING HYDERABAD STATE 15TH TO 30TH.

DAMODARDAS

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247

New Delhi
9 May 1949

Dear His Exalted Highness,

It is rather late in the day for me to acknowledge receipt of your very kind congratulations on my escape from the accident. I had already issued a Press statement acknowledging these messages, because I knew it would be long before I would be able to do so personally.

I need hardly say how much I appreciate the kind thought which prompted you to send me the message.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Exalted Highness
Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur
Nizam of Hyderabad
Hyderabad (Dn.)

248

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad
12 May 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER OF 9 MAY JUST RECEIVED. IN MY OPINION YOUR GREAT PERSONALITY IS A VALUABLE ASSET FOR INDIA AT THIS CRITICAL PERIOD WHEN WHOLE WORLD IS IN TURMOIL. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

NIZAM

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249

DRAFT

26 November 1949

My dear Friend,

Your Exalted Highness' letter of 9 November 1949, specially in view of its contents, deserved an earlier acknowledgement, but I thought I should wait for the Prime Minister's return from abroad in order to apprise him of the same before replying to Your Exalted Highness. I hope you will not take the delay amiss.

2. Menon, while handing over your letter to me, has given a complete report of the discussions which he had with Your Exalted Highness. I am personally most grateful to you for the spontaneous and generous gesture that you have made and for the prompt manner in which Your Exalted Highness has already started implementing it. I need hardly assure you that in accepting it we fully reciprocate the spirit in which it has been made.

3. Your Exalted Highness will recall that, during my discussion with you at Hyderabad, I emphasized that while human beings are given to error, spiritual merit lies in recognition of that error and making atonement for it. From that point of view, I have no doubt that the manner and extent of Your Exalted Highness' offer would be regarded by the people of India as sufficiently indicative of the change, and I sincerely hope that it will evoke a sympathetic response from your own people when the facts are known to them at the appropriate time. For my part, I can assure Your Exalted Highness of my continued friendly interest in your welfare.

4. I am grateful to Your Exalted Highness for the good wishes which you have sent to me and the solicitude which you have expressed regarding my health.

With my warmest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

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CHAPTER VIII

SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE

250

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Shankar,

Under instructions from the Prime Minister, I am enclosing herewith a copy of Shri B. N. Rau's[1] detailed report regarding the Hyderabad question in the Security Council, for Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister's information.

A. V. Pai
Principal Private Secretary

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

LETTER DATED 27 MAY 1949 FROM B. N. RAU, CONSTITUTIONAL ADVISER AND REPRESENTATIVE, INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE UN, NEW YORK, TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI

I have already telegraphed to you a brief summary and the result of the discussion in the Security Council on the Hyderabad issue. Although we made an attempt to have the subject, once and for all, removed from the agenda, we did not at any time expect that the attempt would succeed, if only for the reason that such a thing has apparently never been done in the past. The Canadian and Chinese members of the Security Council were themselves in favour of our proposal, but after sounding their colleagues they came to the conclusion that it might not secure the seven votes necessary to get it adopted; and rather than make such a proposal, provoke a discussion, and ultimately lose, they preferred to let the Council simply adjourn after Zafrullah's statement.

At the conclusion of his address Zafrullah made three proposals: (i) that the point of competence should be referred to the International Court of

[1] ICS; Jurist and administrator; Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-45; India's Permanent Representative to the UN; Judge of International Court of Justice

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Justice; (ii) that in the meantime there should be a general amnesty for all political prisoners, and persecution and discrimination should be stopped; and (iii) that the future of Hyderabad should be decided by a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. But he found no supporters for any of these proposals and the Council adjourned almost immediately after he had concluded his speech. This means that the Security Council, having heard all that there was to be said for and against India on the Hyderabad issue, considered that there was no justification for any kind of intervention by the United Nations. The issue may therefore be regarded now as dead for all practical purposes.

If I may say so, I am glad that we abandoned our original idea of not participating at all in the proceedings. There has been a persistent feeling here that India's action in Hyderabad was rather like Hitler's in Austria or of Mussolini's in Abyssinia and that we were fighting shy of any discussion because we had no case on the merits and hardly any in law. The USA, Norway, Canada and China advised us more than once that non-participation would be detrimental to India on this particular question, besides weakening her position all round. To have kept aloof in these circumstances would have been not only fatal to our moral prestige but might also have led to some kind of intervention by the United Nations. We should then have been compelled to resist the intervention, which would have made our position still worse. I am, therefore, glad that we took the opportunity of explaining our position. Actually we had a good case both on the merits and in law; all that was necessary was to put it forward fairly and clearly. The result was apparent almost immediately. The USA and Canada were completely converted by the argument that to permit Hyderabad or any other Indian State to be independent would mean the disintegration of India, and they were particularly impressed by our reference to what is happening in Burma as a result of Karen State claiming independence. The Canadian member went so far as to say that after reading our statement in the Security Council he felt that India should have taken action in Hyderabad earlier than she did. Even Egypt felt the force of the argument about disintegration. At the end of the first day, (Thursday, 19 May) there was a general feeling among the members that whatever might be said of the method used by India, she was right in her political objective of not permitting any independent islands in the very heart of her territory. Against this feeling Zafrullah could make no headway and I think the disclosures at the trial of Sydney Cotton, which proved that gun-running was going on in Hyderabad, with Pakistan as an accomplice, from the end of May 1948, further weakened his position. Needless to say, he did all that he could, by extensive quotations, chiefly from the Dawn and in other ways, to discredit India. He even produced photographs of the Nizam, taken with the Prime Minister, and with the Deputy Prime Minister after the surrender, and asked members to judge for themselves whether the Ruler of a

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State as extensive as France could look like that, if he was really a free man! Probably none of the members knew what the Nizam looked like in private life even in his best days. Even so, I do not think they were very much impressed by the photographs. Almost the only slip which Zafrullah made was his allusion to the fact that the Laik Ali Government had removed the State ban on Communists.

During the interval between Thursday and the following Tuesday, we met all the members of the Council except Dr. Arce [Argentine] and discussed the whole question in detail with each. When the debate was resumed on Tuesday (24 May), it was fairly clear that members had already made up their minds as to what they should do. While Zafrullah was speaking, a hint was conveyed to me by some of the members, including the President, that I need not trouble to reply. Since I had no intention of replying in any case, I had no difficulty in complying. The result, as I have already mentioned, was that there were no speeches at all after Zafrullah's, not even by Dr. Arce of the Argentine or by Fawzi of Egypt, and the Council adjourned. After the close of the meeting, Zafrullah came to me in the delegates' lounge and was more cordial than he had ever before been, either in Paris or here. He explained that he had to put the case of his Government, that he was most anxious that Indo-Pakistan relations should improve, that there were now only two issues pending between the two countries, namely, that of Kashmir and that of certain irrigation canals and that if these could be got out of the way, there was no reason why the two countries should not come closer and closer together. Needless to say, I cordially reciprocated his wishes.

I should like to bring to your notice that the question of Kashmir is even now looming large in the minds of the members of the Security Council. The representatives of the USA, Canada and Norway referred to it pointedly when I went to discuss the Hyderabad issue with them, and they seemed very anxious that India should not put herself in the wrong. The representative of the USA was particularly concerned as to the awkward position in which Admiral Nimitz[1] would be placed if, after he had been designated Plebiscite Administrator, the truce agreement fell through and there was to be no plebiscite. I have already telegraphed to you certain points (suggested by discussions here) on which I should be grateful for any new material you can send.

[1] UN Administrator for Plebiscite in Kashmir

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5 June 1949

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 June 1949 about Hyderabad.

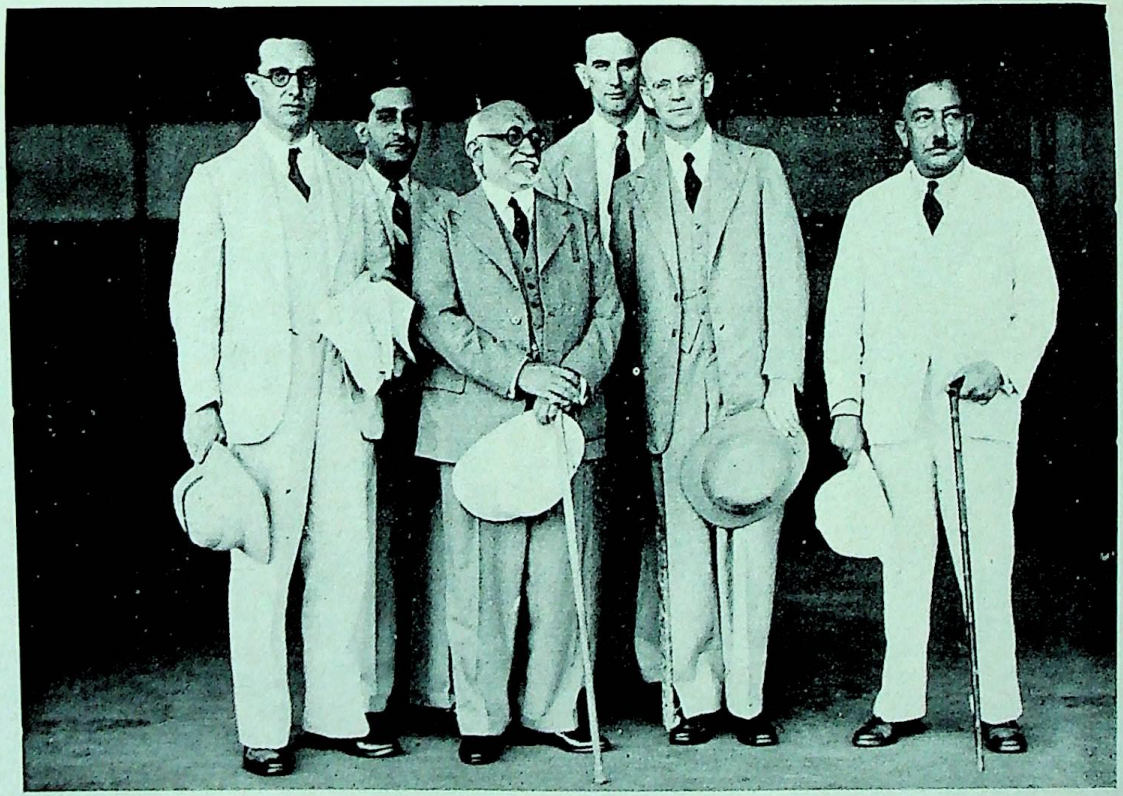
2. I can quite appreciate your anxiety in regard to the situation there. I myself have been somewhat worried on that account and am fully aware of the difficulties as well as the delicacy of the situation.

3. A full report on Hyderabad was presented to the legislature along with the estimates for the Ministry of States in March last. I took care to present as detailed a report as possible because I felt that the Legislature should be apprised of all that we had done in Hyderabad since the police action. I was thinking of having another report some time in September which would give a further six months' account, but in view of what you say I would be prepared to have another report compiled to bring the March report up-to-date.

4. I have seen Jaisoorya's[1] letter to the Press. On the whole, I think it is an intemperately worded and partisan statement. With regard to the death sentence on eight men in Nalgonda, the position is that the Military Governor came here early in April and we took up with him the question of appeals in cases of sentences of death. I told him quite clearly that we must provide for an appeal. He announced this decision at a Press conference on 13 April. On the 14th, the Hyderabad Government issued a Press Note on the subject. Still, Jaisoorya pretends ignorance of these Press announcements. As regards the death sentences being announced to the public, I do not see why it should have been done by Government. These were treated as normal cases and no Government goes and announces every case of death sentence to the public. Even in political cases of such importance Government never announced such sentences. The Press itself reports the proceedings of the cases and the general public comes to know of them. The analogy of the Godse trial is completely misconceived. There can be no parallel between the

[1] Dr. N. M. Jaisoorya: Member of Lok Sabha, 1952-57

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MEMBERS OF THE NIZAM'S EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE: (LEFT TO RIGHT) SIR WALTER MONCKTON; ALI YAVAR JUNG, SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS; SIR AKBAR HYDARI, PRIME MINISTER; MR. JOHN FOSTER, M.P., JUNIOR OF WALTER MONCKTON; SIR THEODORE TASKER, REVENUE AND HOME MINISTER; AND SIR MEHDI YAR JUNG, POLITICAL AND EDUCATION MINISTER

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THE RAJPRAMUKH OF SAURASHTRA, THE JAM SAHEB OF NAWANAGAR, ADMINISTERS THE OATH OF OFFICE TO PREMIER U. N. DHEBAR. THE SARDAR IS SEATED ON THE LEFT

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cases of these eight Communists and the Godse trial. This shows the extent to which Jaisoorya is prepared to go in order to malign the present administration. There was undoubtedly a regrettable delay in passing the necessary law in pursuance of the Military Governor's announcement providing for appeal, but this was due to a change in the legal Adviserships. A. N. Shah, who was appointed Legal Adviser for six months, left that post and was succeeded by Sir George Spence, but the latter did not take over for some time after Shah's departure. Similarly, Jaisoorya's criticism of failure to bring Razakars to book is ill-informed. He must have known that no less than about 1,500 Razakars are in custody for crimes of murder, arson and loot. The delay in taking their cases to court is due to the fact that there is no sufficient investigating police available. A large majority of the local police either deserted or became thoroughly demoralised. In any event, it was impossible to trust the local police to take up investigation of these cases because of its partisan communal character. With some difficulty we could spare some police from the provinces, but that has proved unequal to the magnitude of the task. I am afraid I cannot deal with his charge against the members of the Indian Union police because no specific instances have been given. The only really disturbing point in his note is regarding the disappearance of important witnesses and persons such as the family members of Kasim Razvi. Of this, the Hyderabad Administration have to give a convincing explanation.

5. As regards the political problem, the position is very complicated. We have to appreciate matters in their proper background and perspective. We went into Hyderabad with a comparatively small number of administrators, police force etc. The local administration, since the police action started, was thrown completely out of gear. After the police action, the local police and military force virtually ceased to command any influence or make any impression. Our own forces were limited and took some time to secure control. The local civil service was sullen and completely demoralised. The Muslim population was at best uncco-operative, distrustful and thoroughly shaken. The roots of the State Congress were not deep enough; in fact, as an organisation its influence was extremely limited. The other elements of the population exhibited all the ill-effects of a highly autocratic regime worsened by its patently communal character. Flatterers and sycophants abounded; real and trustworthy men were few and far between. The State Congress at the time of the police

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action had in its ranks a considerable section of men who had taken to crime not entirely without mixed motives. To add to this, the organisation itself was hopelessly divided into two sections, each virtually trying to strangle the other.

6. In such a situation, as I have described above, there was no escape from military regime to start with. Quickly, that regime lost its military character and except for General Chaudhuri, who is now more a civil than a military Administrator, the administration is completely civil. It was the first task of the administration to restore some sort of order out of chaos. That, even its worst critics have admitted, it has succeeded in doing. The only areas which have defied its authority are the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. With these, I shall deal presently. Its second task was to push ahead with the work of preparation for elections to the Constituent Assembly. Electoral rolls have now been completely prepared for all districts and elections will be held, according to present estimate, at the end of this year or early next year.

7. As regards day-to-day administration, none is more conscious of its shortcomings than the men at the top of the administration or ourselves in the States Ministry, but it is sometimes forgotten that administration presents a veritable Gordian knot which, unfortunately, cannot be cut at one stroke, but has to be patiently unravelled. The local administrative machinery, except for the Hindu officials, many of whom were themselves not above board in regard to integrity, and a small number of Muslims about whose integrity the same can be said, suffered from the presence of a large element of disloyal or "unloyal" men. We had, therefore, necessarily to import officers and other staff from the provinces. None is in a better position than yourself to appreciate the difficulty of the provinces in sparing their staffs. It is with difficulty that we could satisfy our needs only partially from provincial deputations. As our manpower is seriously depleted both at the Centre and in the provinces we ourselves are carrying on somehow. It was, therefore, impossible for us to put any great pressure on provinces to spare their men. Nevertheless, we could get at least some good officers and, though the team we sent to Hyderabad was a mixed one, it has certainly done something to infuse into a corrupt and creaking machinery a system and an order which it sorely needed. I know that some of them have a reputation of lack of integrity. Although there is no excuse for it, the blame is not entirely theirs, because in Hyderabad there is a tradition of corruption, intrigue and inefficiency. It might interest you to know that out of the specific allegations of bribery

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and corruption only some 5% on investigation are found to be true and the rest are found false.

8. Then there is the question of the reaction, on popular minds, of our administrative machinery, policy and actions in Hyderabad; but we have to remember that when we talk of popular organisations in Hyderabad, we cannot apply our own standards. It was from this point of view that I advised Swami Ramanand Tirtha first to create unity in his ranks and then to spread the roots of his organisation so that at the forthcoming elections the State Congress can acquit itself creditably. I told him to win over the Muslims so that the organisation can be really broadbased and non-communal. I helped him to achieve unity, but I find that the real unity is completely lacking even now. Whatever unity and harmony there is, is only on the surface. The popular movement in Hyderabad is of very recent origin. In other States, where the movement is older and has taken a more firm root, we are finding it difficult to sustain it. You must be following the developments in Rajasthan, in PEPSU, in Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh and even in Mysore. Almost everywhere, either the administrative machinery is deteriorating or is at best at a standstill. It is functioning under the stimulus and inspiration provided by a few officers whom we have lent from outside. Left to themselves, I have no doubt that almost all these units would gradually sink into chaos and complete breakdown. We cannot afford to run that risk in Hyderabad, particularly so long as it attracts international attention. Until we have a properly elected legislature or body, to which political organisations can owe responsibility, it will not be safe to withdraw the official machinery. To introduce at this stage, a dyarchical system under which alone infusion of popular element inside Government is possible would lead to internal weaknesses and conflict in the executive. This would be absolutely fatal. With the elections only six to eight months ahead, I feel that we cannot take any such risk or launch upon any such experiment. At the same time, there are certain aspects of the problem which do not cease to cause me worry and I propose to discuss these with General Chaudhuri when he comes here next week. The most important is that the publicity machinery in Hyderabad seems to be either ineffective or in the habit of falling into errors. That has to be remedied immediately.

9. As regards the Razakar prisoners, I do not see what the Red Cross has to do with it. People outside India seem to give our action the character of a war. We should give such people no

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countenance whatsoever and I hope Dr. Martin will be the wiser after your interview with him.

10. I shall now deal with the situation regarding Communists. Here also we have in a large measure to deal with the legacy of the past. You know the old Communist-Razakar alliance. Then there is infiltration continuously going on from Madras to Hyderabad and vice-versa. There is need for concerted action between Hyderabad and Madras. We have arranged several joint meetings at which I took care to send the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. We have been able to achieve some sort of unity of action and concerted moves. It is on account of this that we have been able to get a measure of our difficulties and strictly to circumscribe the area of operations. There are sporadic activities elsewhere also, but that is to be expected. After all we cannot prevent such activities in the provinces either. Look at Calcutta where incidents happen from time to time. The two districts of Warangal and Nalgonda are areas covered with forests. With the coming of the monsoon, communications become difficult and in some cases impossible. There is no doubt that the Communists have created certain vested interests. With poor peasants, the return of confidence, once gone, is a slow process. They have to tread warily and one cannot blame them. Another serious factor is, I regret to say, a lack of cohesion and unity in the local forces. About this, as far as I can see, the difficulties are largely personal. For all these reasons the improvement is slow. I do not see why we should not be as patient with Hyderabad as we are, say, with Calcutta. General Chaudhuri's statement that he expected an intensification of Communist activities with the onset of the monsoon was based on these considerations as well as past experience. That does not mean, however, that we are losing control. However, I am going to discuss this matter with him when he comes here and we shall try to intensify measures as much as possible.

I think we should also do well, when we think of the defects in the present administration, to take into consideration what it has achieved. There can be no doubt that the administration has restored law and order over the whole of Hyderabad with the exception of a small area in Nalgonda and Warangal districts. It is well on the way to solving the jagirdari problem. We have appointed an Agrarian Commission whose Chairman, Mr. Madhav Rao,[1] has reported himself for duty in Hyderabad.

[1] Collector of Aurangabad

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The work of reorganisation of the civil service and police is in progress. The dearth of suitable material inside the State is notorious, particularly in regard to police, but the administration is doing the best it can. The economy of the State is being put on a sound basis. Its administrative structure is being overhauled. Brisk preparations are going on for the holding of elections. If we take into account the handicaps under which the present administration has been functioning, I do not think we can call it a bad record.

I have now given you a detailed statement of factors which, in my opinion, are germane to a consideration of the whole problem. Like you, I am also uneasy and worried about certain aspects and features of our administration there. I am thinking how best we can deal with those difficulties. It will not take us long to change the present set-up, but who knows we may land ourselves into a worse situation! We can prevent things from getting worse, but it is very difficult to deal with a situation when things are in a mess. It is the latter situation which I anticipate if we yield in the present circumstances to the so-called popular clamour. I feel myself that before the popular organisations can be called upon to take up the reins of administration, they have to justify themselves. The only way they can justify themselves is by securing a popular verdict in the coming elections which are near at hand. Till then we have got to hold on to the administration and to maintain law and order and good government, so that when the time comes we can hand over to the popular representatives, who would be responsible to a properly constituted legislature, a going concern, a stable administration and a peaceful situation. If we can do this, any popular apathy or frustration which we may have to face now need not deter us.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Camp Dehra Dun

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252

Ministry of States
New Delhi
8 June 1949

Dear Shankar,

The Military Governor suggested that he might come to Delhi and see HM and HPM. 14th afternoon at 4 appears to be a suitable time for HPM. I am suggesting to General Chaudhuri that he might come to Delhi on the 13th morning and fly straight to Saharanpur, see HM and return, if possible, the same day. He could then see HPM on the 14th and return to Hyderabad on the 15th morning. The visit is only to enable General Chaudhuri to explain in person both to HM and to HPM the present situation in Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Vellodi

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
Dehra Dun

PS.

If these suggestions are approved by him, I shall not trouble HM with a visit earlier than Monday next when I shall come with General Chaudhuri.

253

Camp Dehra Dun
9 June 1949

Dear Vellodi,

Thank you for your letter of 8 June 1949.

HM would like to see General Chaudhuri after he has seen HPM. He may, therefore, come here on the 15th morning.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri M. K. Vellodi
Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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254

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad
7 August 1949

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

JUST LEARNT OF YOUR ARRIVAL AT BOMBAY FOR HEALTH REASONS. IN COMMON WITH ALL INDIA I PRAY FROM BOTTOM OF MY HEART YOU MAY COMPLETELY RECOUP YOUR HEALTH AFTER CHANGE AND REST AND THE COUNTRY HAVE THE BENEFIT OF YOUR GUIDANCE FOR MANY MANY YEARS TO COME.

AZAMJAH
[Prince of Berar]
Eldest son of the Nizam

255

Bombay
9 August 1949

Your Highness,

I am writing to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your very kind telegram of 7 August addressed to Sardar Patel. I am glad to inform Your Highness that since his arrival in Bombay he has been feeling much better.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

256

Hyderabad (Dn.)
30 August 1949

Dear Sardarji,

It is about a month that I sent you a letter conveying to you an outline of what we had all agreed regarding Interim Government. I hope you have received it. However since then certain developments have taken place which I should have

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communicated to you. But in view of your indifferent health I did not do so. Now that you are better and also certain new issues regarding the Constituent Assembly in Hyderabad have come up, I am writing to you.

A few days ago we learnt that constituencies for the Consembly in Hyderabad were being fixed up. So we approached Mr. Shiveshwarker, the Election Commissioner, for details. We were given to understand that all constituencies were single-member constituencies except where there were seats reserved for Harijans or Muslims. This in our opinion will not be proper for two reasons, namely, (i) that will give ample scope for Brahmin, Lingayet, Reddy and Maratha controversies and propaganda of a communal character and deepen communal fanaticism. Instead, if there were to be multi-member constituencies, say, of two to four members, we can set up candidates of different communities ourselves and thereby counteract the communal line. (ii) secondly, the State Congress organisation, as it stands today, has a general influence. So multi-member constituencies will be of greater advantage for it. In single-member constituencies the local interests and money-bags are likely to wield greater influence and have more scope for manipulations.

We would therefore request you to consider the issue. We feel that all the constituencies should be of not less than two general seats and of not more than four seats.

Another matter which we would like to bring to your notice is about a rule which lays down that a person wishing to stand for election must have resided in the constituency at least for 180 days within the constituency in which he wishes to contest. That also goes against the organisation and also the real state of affairs. There being general backwardness most of the intelligentsia of all communities reside in towns and cities. If they are not allowed to stand for elections elsewhere because of this rule, it will mean exclusion of deserving people. We would therefore request you that in the given circumstances this rule should not be incorporated and persons should be freely allowed to stand for election anywhere they like. This was in fact done in the case of formation of the Indian Constituent Assembly.

We were told by Shiveshwarkar that he would be sending his proposals to the States Ministry and it is the States Ministry which shall finalise it. We would therefore request you to consider the above point of view of ours in finalising the question of constituencies and the condition of 180 days' residence.

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With regard to the matter referred to by me in my last letter, we had decided that a deputation should wait upon you. But then B. Ramakrishna Rao and others changed their mind. They wanted to link up the political issue with the organisational elections. We could not agree to that for we felt and still feel that fair and democratic elections were a necessity. I told you so frankly and without any reservations whatsoever when I met you. It does not mean that contests in elections would amount to non-co-operation afterwards. I told B. Ramakrishna Rao the same. But he could not agree. So the matters have remained where they were. It is unfortunate, still it seems it cannot be helped, when a section refuses to accept the democratic verdict elections would put all the claims in their proper places and a new chapter of realism and respect will begin. A better organisation will emerge. And I consider that Swamiji is the only man today who should be at the helm of affairs as the president. He alone will be able to integrate the different forces in the State.

Finally I am glad to inform you that the food levy system has been changed and I think the new one will do justice to the poor peasantry. That would solve a long standing grievance of the masses.

With pranams,

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Shroff[1]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

257

Camp Bombay
3 September 1949

My dear Shroff,

Thank you for your letter of 30 August 1949.

2. I have asked Menon to look into the questions about electoral rules which you have raised.

3. I naturally would not like to say anything in regard to the organisational matters raised, in view of the forthcoming elections.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

G. M. Shroff, Esq.
Hyderabad

[1] Member of State Congress of Hyderabad; Education Minister

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258

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad
31 August 1949

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

I WAS GLAD TO READ IN PAPERS YOU ARE MAKING SATISFACTORY PROGRESS AND TRUST YOU WILL BE WELL AGAIN SOON. GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VALUABLE HELP IN MY PERSONAL AND FAMILY MATTERS.

NIZAM

259

TELEGRAM

Camp Bombay
2 September 1949

His Exalted Highness Nizam
Hyderabad Residency
(Deccan)

MOST GRATEFUL YOUR EXALTED HIGHNESS' TELEGRAM OF THIRTY-FIRST. AM NOW FEELING MUCH BETTER.

VALLABHBHAI

260

Bombay
31 August 1949

My dear Chaudhuri,

I am sending herewith a letter which Shri Dharam Prakash, a Member of the Constituent Assembly of India, has handed over to HM. The question concerns Venkat Rao who was a Harijan Member of the Nizam's Government, but who subsequently was placed under house arrest; presumably because of the forgery charge against him, he has now been sent to jail. Dharam

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Prakash suggested that, pending his trial and the question of bail etc., Venkat Rao may be placed under house custody like other Ministers. I promised to pass on this request to you. I believe the idea is that, if Venkat Rao could be so leniently treated, he might adopt a reasonable view and the Harijan position inside Hyderabad might improve.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri
Hyderabad (Dn.)

261

16-B, Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
21 September 1949

Dear Mr. Shankar,

On my arrival back, I saw Shri Vishnu Sahay[1] and also Shri D. P. Dhar.[2] I am glad the events have taken a turn that might be of immense help to the State Government to win the confidence of the people of Jammu. They will be failing in their duty if they do not avail of the opportunity. They have, however, not released Prem Nath Dogra and other leaders.

I learn from reliable sources that Shri Venkat Rao, ex-Minister of the Nizam's Government, who is awaiting his trial in Hyderabad Central Jail, would soon be challaned, as his case is now ready for prosecution. In case this case is going to the court soon, Shri Venkat Rao will have an opportunity to apply for bail, but if there be still some delay for his case to be challaned, then it is in all fairness highly essential that either Shri Venkat Rao is kept under house arrest, as other Ministers of the Nizam's ex-Government are subjected to, or he be enlarged on bail till the case is challaned.

You might be remembering that I handed over to you a petition of the people of Hyderabad, both Harijans and caste Hindus, requesting Sardar Patel to do justice in this case. I

[1] ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Food, 1951-53; Secretary for Kashmir Affairs and Labour Secretary, 1953-57; Acting Governor of Assam, November 1960-Jan. 1961; Cabinet Secretary, Government of India, 1958-62; member, Planning Commission 1962; Governor of Assam, and Nagaland, 1962-67

[2] Ambassador of India to Russia, presently Union Minister for Planning

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am constantly receiving representations from the various Harijan organisations of the State to see that this is done. If you think that it would not be improper, you please suggest to Major General Chaudhuri to accept any of these alternatives.

It would not be out of place to mention that the entire group of Shri Venkat Rao has joined hands with the State Congress and Swami Ramanand Tirtha speaks highly of these people. I myself met Venkat Rao in jail; he has assured full support and unflinching devotion to the Congress and has issued instructions to all his friends and supporters to strengthen the Goverment and the hands of the State Congress in organizing the Harijans of Hyderabad State on the platform of the All India Dalit Jatiya Sangha.

I strongly hope that you will do all you can to move in the matter. I intend visiting Hyderabad shortly. I shall feel grateful to you if you will please let me know what you have done before I leave.

Thanking you very much,

Yours very sincerely,
Dharam Prakash
[Member of Constituent Assembly]

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
Bombay

262

New Delhi
27 September 1949

Dear Mr. Dharam Prakash,

Thank you for your letter of 21 September 1949.

I am glad that Jammu is again settling down.

As regards Venkat Rao, if he were placed under house arrest, the court would not be able to release him on bail. As soon as the charge-sheet is placed before the court, it would be open to it to release him on bail. I am afraid we cannot do anything to procure an order of release from the court. A regular application will have to be made which the court will consider on its merits.

As regards the grievances of Harijans, Sardar suggests that you might take these up with the Military Governor when you go there.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Mr. Dharam Prakash, MCA
16-B, Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi

263

Bolarum Residency
Hyderabad (Dn.)
6 September 1949

My dear Shankar,

Please refer to your letter dated 31 August 1949 with regard to Shri Venkat Rao, Harijan Member, ex-Laik Ali Ministry. The case against Mr. Venkat Rao is now ready and will be going to court very shortly. One of the main reasons why we detained him in jail rather than under house arrest, was that if the court ordered bail and he was in jail, bail could be granted. If he was [under] house arrest, we could make no differentiation between him and the other Members of the Laik Ail Ministry. I am sure you will agree with this view.

Perhaps you would be good enough to let me have HM States' views on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
J. N. Chaudhury

V. Shankar Esq., ICS
Bombay

264

Bombay
21 September 1949

My dear Chaudhuri,

Thank you for your letter of 6 September 1949 regarding Shri Venkat Rao.

2. HM agrees [with] the view that you have taken of the case.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Maj.-Gen. J. N. Chaudhuri
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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Aurangabad
12 September 1949

Dear Sardarji,

I am grateful for your letter of third instant.

I am writing this letter to you with regard to the Umri Bank affair over which a storm is being raised by Shri Janardhanrao Desai and his colleagues. Possibly this is a last bid for winning the elections, which they are finding more and more difficult. It was not much unexpected as I had informed you in person. Swamiji had spoken to you about it and had expressed his wish to create a trust. You seemed to have allowed him to do as he thought proper. When I met you I wanted your permission to publish the accounts. But you advised me to wait and take into confidence, if we could, one or two of their group. Before I explain as to why we have not been so far able to do so, I wish to place before you some more detail of the whole affair.

The Umri Bank affair was an event which came off during the people's struggle against the Nizam's regime, in which many people took part. It was not an incident actually planned by the Committee of Action or its provincial branches. It happened that some of our workers were a party to the affair. They along with others of the place schemed and successfully carried out the attack. After that they persuaded their other colleagues and confided the matter to some of us. We advised them to be careful in seeing that the amount is spent only for intensifying the struggle and not a pie should be spent towards personal matters. They all agreed as they had undertaken the plan as an attack on the then existing government, and not as a dacoity for selfish end.

Since then the money was spent for struggle purposes. Bigger schemes were planned and moneys spent for them. The necessary material had to be purchased at enormous cost. Immediately after the police action much of the material was returned to the Government, some was destroyed and some melted away as scrap iron. Besides this, as the struggle continued for over fourteen months many a centre in Marathwada fell short of funds and they had to be supported. For all this the entire

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amount was first converted by them into I.G. currency with great difficulty, risk and at abnormal rates of exchange. Sums were advanced to us for the above purposes from time to time as the need arose. Immediately after the police action when Swamiji was released he was posted with the whole affair and was also informed about the balances which were left and with regard to the wishes of the participants as to its future use.

That is the whole situation. Viewed sympathetically and with appreciation of heroism and bravery involved in the attack, the whole affair could be considered as most honest and straightforward, particularly when one tries to find out and keep in view the details of various such incidents that took place during the anti-imperialist struggle in India. However, for those who wish to look at it from a different angle the whole affair could be interpreted as a heinous crime, first rate scandle and extravagance.

It is for all this that we have not so far taken these people into confidence. After all nobody gave us accounts during the struggle time and after. All the centres practically functioned autonomous. We have shown you the details of the account, for we believe that you will view them as they should be done as a part of the struggle and conditions prevailing thereunder. When we find that these people have been condemning—continuously—struggle and border activities as activities of looters, when all our tried workers are charged [with] being unsocial, when there is that indictment of Swamiji for almost everything that happens in the State, it is difficult to confide these matters to such people. Today they malign us for not taking them into confidence, tomorrow they are bound to propagate about the expenditure and about the character of the trust which may be created. In their campaign of falsehood they have gone to the extent that we did not wish to join the Indian National Congress, while it was under your advice that we refrained from applying for affiliation; then they say that the Interim Government did not come off because of us; that Panditji and Sardarji have no confidence in us; and that the people too have no confidence. With this indictment from them and their attitude of condemnation of the struggle, we do not think that we could confide them with these affairs.

They have been saying so many things about the Umri Bank amount including that we have given tens of thousands of rupees to our workers for the election campaign. I wish to convey to you that since I showed you the account we have not touched the amount. We have considered it as a thing of trust and there

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it stands. I challenge these people to prove such a case of payment. We are certainly spending some money for election purposes but that is all from other small resources which we have. In fact that is not even one-tenth of what these people are spending. It is not for me to say wherefrom they are getting these amounts.

If they mean that we are carrying on propaganda through our publications, then I have to accept their charge. That we are doing when we find that practically the entire Press in Hyderabad is cornered by them. I would like to understand why they should grudge little things we have tried to build up. Be that as it may, we have only to say that no sooner we find that people have no confidence in us we shall all set ourselves aside. We have neither the status of the rich nor of being one of those sophisticated few. The confidence of the people is the only capital we have. That being clear we know that after all such Umri Banks are not going to be the beginning and end of our life-work. It is work [of] the people which shall build up the nation and we and our workers are pledged to it.

Nonetheless, as a matter of reality and facts we feel that the entire matter should be viewed with sympathy and with appreciation of the valour and honesty that it involved. And in coming to the conclusion as to the way in which the balances are to be utilised the wishes of the participants should be considered, along with the fact as to how the incident stood vis-a-vis the Committee of Action. It was only a matter of trust and confidence in some of us that the matter was confided to us.

We have told you everything, Sardarji, and we are prepared to tell you many things additional you want. I am not doing well and so I have come back to Aurangabad. No sooner I feel better I wish to come and see you.

With pranams,

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Shroff

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

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266

Bombay 6
13 September 1949

My dear Shroff,

Thank you for your letter of 12 September 1949.

I told Swamiji, when he came to Dehra Dun, that this is not a matter in which I wish to get involved. It is entirely for the conscience of himself and of the Congress organisation in Hyderabad.

I am sorry to hear that you are unwell and hope you are better now.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri G. M. Shroff
C/o Hyderabad State Congress
Hyderabad

267

Nampally
Hyderabad (Dn.)
28 September 1949

Pujya Sardarji,

I had written a detailed letter a fortnight ago intimating to you certain matters relating to the State Congress. It is very unfortunate that I have to approach you with further developments that have altogether deteriorated the situation.

Many Working Committee members and members of AHCC keenly feel that it would be scandalous to allow the properties of the Congress organisation to be appropriated and spent by a small group of Swamiji's followers as their secret and exclusive fund or property. Swamiji tided over the difficult situation created at the time of AHCC by promising to take the Working Committee into his confidence. But he has now turned round as usual and refused to do that on the ground that they

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belong to the accounts of the struggle period and cannot, therefore, be published or audited. He has quoted a letter of the General Secretary of the INC* in support of his contention. Even assuming the correctness of the General Secretary's view, we are not asking for any 'publication or auditing' of the accounts. We are only asking Swamiji to place before the Working Committee the detailed list of properties and the accounts of funds including that of Umri Bank. The Working Committee and even the AHCC has a right to be correctly informed. The fact that the State Congress was connected with the Umri Bank affair was admitted by Shroff in an article published in New Life. He offers to make a clean breast of it if a guarantee [of immunity] from legal consequences is forthcoming from the questioners. Naturally, therefore, the Working Committee wants to make sure as to what the properties of the Congress are, specially because some individuals are claiming some of the properties as their own. If this kind of fraud is allowed there will be no end.

Secondly, the manner in which Swamiji and his group are using the office in their hands for malpractices, coercion and other tactics in the Congress elections makes any fair election impossible.

1. Scores of membership books submitted by enrolling authorities of our group have disappeared and names of thousands of members enrolled by us have not been enlisted because of the loss of books. Corrections are refused because the original forms are lost.
2. No certified lists of members are available and where they exist, they are not shown to our members in many places especially in Marathwada.
3. Nomination forms have been refused, intending candidates are threatened. One Narsingrao Kulkarni, an intending candidate for delegateship, was paraded in the streets on the back of a donkey, his neck bedecked with a garland of shoes. The Government have arrested the culprits whom Swamiji's lieutenants are trying to get released.
4. All unfair methods are being adopted in order to have a regimented election to suit the ends of their party caucus.

We have, in view of the above facts, made a requisition to Swamiji for calling an extraordinary meeting of AHCC for thrashing out all these issues. A copy of the letter is sent herewith

* Indian National Congress

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for your information, so that you may be pleased to take necessary steps for ensuring a fair election.

I trust that your health has improved well as reported in the papers and you will bestow your special attention to our affairs as you have been pleased to do herebefore.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Janardanrao Desai

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

268

New Delhi
1 October 1949

My dear Janardanrao Desai,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with your letter dated 28 September 1949. I have received equally voluminous correspondence from Swamiji and Shroff.

You can well understand that this mutual mud-flinging has caused me considerable pain and distress. That members of a responsible organisation should indulge in such squabbles and in such undignified controversies hardly does any credit either to the individuals concerned or to the organisation itself.

When I came to Hyderabad and finally arranged a rapprochement between both the groups, I did so in the genuine belief that both sides would play the game and that thereby they would acquire that sense of responsibility and dignity in public life which would be worthy of those in whom ere long the electorate might repose its trust and confidence. In the background of the recent past, I had some misgivings and entertained some doubts, but I had faith in human nature and hoped that mutual understanding and a spirit of accommodation would prevail, but I regret to find that my misgivings and doubts have been confirmed as against the hope and faith that I entertained.

I wonder if both of you appreciate the immensity of the stakes involved. Hyderabad is no longer a remote spot that it was some years ago. It is the nerve-centre of the South, the focus of international attention and a difficult enough problem. As such, it needs a united approach on the part of Congressmen. It calls for exhibition of the utmost sense of responsibility, public

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decorum and selflessness, of which its citizens may be capable. Instead, we have a clash of personalities, irresponsible behaviour and mutual bickerings, which have lowered us in the eyes of the world. I do not know whether even now matters can be put right, but if they cannot be, I can hardly see any signs of betterment in future. The prospect is undoubtedly dark for the organisation which is preparing itself to rule the destinies of the State.

I can, therefore, only say that I am sick of all these quarrels and only hope that both sides will heed the warning while it is yet time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Janardanrao Desai
Working Committee Member
Hyderabad State Congress
Nampally
Hyderabad (Dn.)

269

New Delhi
1 October 1949

My dear Shroff,

I have received your two letters. I have received equally voluminous correspondence from Janardanrao Desai.

You can well understand that this mutual mud-flinging has caused me considerable pain and distress. That members of a responsible organisation could indulge in such squabbles and in such undignified controversies hardly does any credit either to the individuals concerned or to the organisation itself.

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I can, therefore, only say that I am sick of all these quarrels and only hope that both sides will heed the warning while it is yet time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri G. N. Shroff
C/o The Hyderabad State Congress
Hyderabad (Dn.)

270

Hyderabad (Dn.)
2 October 1949

Dear Sardarji,

Pranams.

I beg of you to excuse me for writing you during the last month oftener than what I am possibly expected to do.

I am grateful to you for your letter of 13 September 1949. You have therein left the entire matter to the conscience of Swamiji and of the Hyderabad State Congress. But I wish to submit that even though we confided what we knew about the Umri [Bank] affair to Swamiji on his release after the police action, he was in no way connected with it. It was I who mainly dealt with it right from the beginning and as such I should shoulder its responsibility mainly.

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In my last letter I have tried to place before you the entire affair and have made a clean breast of it. I had done my humble bit in seeing that the amount was brought under general control and that it was spent for the struggle and in the cause of the people. In doing that, under the circumstances that existed then, I had promised to the participants that their wishes shall also be considered with regard to the utilisation of any balance that may be left after the termination of the struggle.

It will be clearly seen that there was never a dispute as to its utilisation for public work alone. My only wish has been that the promises I had solemnly given to the participants should be honoured and that because of the very nature of the problem it should be limited to the trusted few and not made an organisational affair or a matter of party dispute. It was only for that that we proposed the creation of independent trusts and utilisation of at least a part of the money for any public work in Nanded district where the incident took place.

But all these essential facts of the affair and our straightforward dealing are sought to be suppressed today, and an attempt is being made to censure us over the issue by those who are themselves playing a game of falsehood and blackmail.

It is an irony of circumstances that having given 12 years of life to national work without taking a pie for home needs, charges of misappropriation, even though faked, have to be faced.

I should have liked to act up to your advice in such a delicate situation. And even if it be presumptuous for me to again bring up the matter before you, I still do it with a sincere request and hope of being excused.

However if that cannot be done I would like that the matter be gone into by one or two impartial persons from the Indian National Congress who have the experience of conducting movements and struggles and are not prejudiced against us. Let them go through the entire facts of the affair and make their recommendations. We shall accept the same.

We have spoken regarding these matters to Shri R. R. Diwakar[1] and Shri Nijalingappa.[2]

[1] President of Karnatak PCC; pioneered movement for separate Karnatak State; AICC member; member, CA; Central Minister, 1948-52; Governor of Bihar, 1952-57; President, Gandhi Peace Foundation

[2] President, Karnatak PCC, 1945-46; member, CA and Parliament, 1947-56; Chief Minister, Mysore, 1956-57 and 1962-68; Congress President

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On a wider plane I would even suggest that much of the trouble with our organisational affairs would be over if the State Congress is affiliated to the Indian National Congress. There may be difficulties but I feel that at this stage they may not prove to be formidable.

The organisational elections are being carried through but they may take a little more time than what we originally thought. Anyhow, we hope to complete them. Now I am keeping better health.

My deepest respects to you and Maniben.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Shroff

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

271

New Delhi
6 October 1949

My dear Shroff,

Thank you for your letter of 2 October 1949. I have already replied to your earlier letters.

In regard to the particular matter you mention, I feel that, if Swamiji's conscience is clear about the matter, he has nothing to fear. Truth will triumph in the long run.

I shall be having a talk with Diwakar and Nijalingappa and ascertain what they have to say.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri G. M. Shroff
Hyderabad (Dn.)

272

Narayanguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)
29 September 1949

Dear Sardarji,

Herewith is enclosed a copy of the telegram published in the Daily News of Hyderabad and reported to have been despatched to you by the so-called Kisan Congress. I would not have written this to you if the telegram had not been published in the paper.

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The charges made are wholly baseless and incredible. I can assure you that all possible precautions have been taken to see that fair and democratic elections are held. It is the realisation of utter defeat by the dissident group that is driving them to desperation resulting in such frantic efforts to slander the whole organisation. May be similar telegrams are being sponsored from other quarters also. It is a well-organised propaganda.

R. R. Diwakar has been here for the last three days and he is in the full know of matters and situation.

I hope you have recovered completely. I pray you will be restored to normal health very soon.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM THE DAILY NEWS OF HYDERABAD
DATED 28 SEPTEMBER 1949

Bhir, 27 September: The following telegram has been sent to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, New Delhi, on behalf of the people of Bhir district:

"SWAMIJI UNDER DOMINATION COMMUNISTS WHO CALL THEMSELVES MARXISTS. ACCOUNTS NOT CLEAR. PEOPLE IN DANGER AND HELPLESS. NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RAZAKAR REGIME AND SWAMIJI REGIME. OFFICES CLOSED FOR RIVAL CANDIDATES. UNDEMOCRATIC ARBITRARY POLICY OF OFFICIAL GROUP THREATENING KILLING RIVAL CANDIDATES. NUMEROUS IMPEDIMENTS CAUSE DIFFICULTIES IN CONTEST. ELECTION DATES OF CITY TOWN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES NAMES OF ELECTION OFFICERS THEIR TIME OF OFFICE WORKING QUOTA OF EACH CONSTITUENCY NAMES POLLING STATIONS AND MANY OTHER THINGS RELATING TO ELECTIONS NOT DECLARED YET IN NEWSPAPERS. ALL ELECTION OFFICERS ARE FROM SWAMIJI GROUP OR APPOINTED BY SWAMIJI GROUP THEREFORE THEY ARE INFLUENCED BY THEM AND SUPPORTING SWAMIJI'S GROUP ELECTIONS. THEY CONDEMN RIVAL CANDIDATES HOOK OR CROOK. REJECTING ELECTION PAPERS OF RIVAL CANDIDATES UNCONSTITUTIONALLY. . . . CITY VILLAGE COMMITTEES FORMED WITHOUT DECLARATION OF ELECTION DATES AND NAMES OF ELECTION OFFICERS CALLING PUBLIC IN STATE CONGRESS AID INSTITUTIONS. SWAMIJI HIS FOLLOWERS MAKING MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA AGAINST KISAN CONGRESS AND DESAI GROUP

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WHICH MAY LEAD TO RIOTS AND BLOODSHED. WE REQUESTED SWAMIJI POSTPONE ELECTIONS TILL ALL COMPLAINTS DISPUTES ARE DECIDED BUT IN VAIN. PRAY INTERVENE IMMEDIATELY [and] ORDER STATE CONGRESS HIGH COMMAND TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS AT ONCE AND HAVE ELECTIONS UNDER OUTSIDE OFFICIAL SUPERVISION AS HYDERABAD CONSEMBLY ELECTIONS AND THUS SAVE OUR SOULS.

273

Bolarum Residency
Hyderabad (Dn.)
13 September 1949

My dear Vellodi,

I send you a transcript of a conversation I had with Mr. Janardanrao Desai this morning. As it undoubtedly will interest HM States, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy direct to Shankar.

Yours sincerely,
J. N. Chaudhuri

M. K. Vellodi, Esq., ICS
Secretary, Ministry of States
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Military Governor
Bolarum Residency
Hyderabad
13 September 1949

Janardanrao Desai came to see me today and made the following points:

(a) The forthcoming Congress elections were unfair in that Swamiji's group had more funds at their disposal than his own group. Swamiji's group were utilising the Umri Bank robbery funds, which were cashed in Nagpur and where Mr. Bindu[1] has recently been to draw on them. Mr. Desai estimated that about Rs. 10 lakhs were

[1] Home Minister of Andhra

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still available from these funds. He had suggested to Swamiji that for the purposes of the election these funds should be spent jointly by both parties, but Swamiji had refused. Swamiji had also refused to indicate how these funds had been spent, stating that they were not State Congress funds but funds held in the name of private individuals.

(b) The forthcoming Congress elections would lead to an outbreak of violence between the two parties and instances of this had already occurred.

Note: This is correct as instances have occurred in Gulbarga and Aurangabad and in Nalgonda district two murders have been reported where one group has had two members of the other group murdered. I foresee further trouble during these forthcoming elections and I know you agree with me as we discussed this previously.

(c) Mr Desai pointed out that the whole case rested on Swamiji's presidentship, though there had been considerable pressure for an uncontested election for presidentship, and though the names of both Mr Ramakrishna Rao and Mr Bindu had been put forward, Swamiji had refused these, and was going to contest the elections.

(d) The split between the two Congress parties was becoming more and more marked. The Working Committee as such was a complete farce and Swamiji's group were continually taking action without any reference to the Working Committee. For example, certain proposals had been put before the Agrarian Reforms Committee, which had not the approval or even the knowledge of the Working Committee as a whole.

(e) Swamiji, though he had made no public statement about the result of his visits to Panditji and the result of his talk with Mr Menon, had been saying in private that Panditji had promised to back his party fully, while Mr Menon had appeared to .give him encouragement. This was having a demoralising effect on Mr Desai's group.

(f) Though Swamiji had been saying that he would sweep the elections for presidentship, he would actually only be getting through by the barest minimum of votes and this would tend to instability within the party.

Mr Desai then asked me to approach the Government of India on behalf of his party as it was essential that the right-wing groups of the Congress were given support by the Government of India. He also stated that as I was in the Government of India's confidence, what advice would I give him under

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the circumstances described above. If the Government of India so wished, he and his party were quite ready to resign from the Working Committee and even resign from the Congress itself.

Mr Janardanrao Desai then said that actually Swamiji and his party had been carrying on secret conversations with the Socialist Party and intended at some time or the other to move into the Socialist Party en bloc. Seeing an expression of surprise on my face, he said that though he had not got the facts to prove this, he was aware that Swamiji's group had been having secret meetings with some Socialists, while the leftist tendencies of this group must be taken into account.

Throughout this recital, I maintained a discreet silence, but finally when Mr Desai asked me definitely for advice on the subject, I said to him that in my position it was not possible for me to give him any advice, nor would it be right for me to interfere in the internal dissensions of a purely political party. I suggested that once again he should take his trouble to Sardar Patel, who would probably be in the best position to advise him. Mr Desai then stated that Sardar Patel would be extremely dissatisfied with the result of all these dissensions and it would mean the withholding of power from the State Congress for some considerable time. I remarked that this was probably a correct statement but once again it was not for me to comment on it. Mr Janardanrao Desai then stated that he would consult Mr Ramakrishna Rao and that they would both put their trouble down in writing and send it to Sardar Patel. He also stated that he would send a copy of this representation to me.

Maj.-Gen. J. N. Chaudhuri
Military Governor

274

Hyderabad (Dn.)
1 December 1949

Sir,

On relinquishing my appointment as Military Governor of Hyderabad and returning to the Army, I feel I must write to thank you for all you did for all of us during the period of the Military Administration. I have always had the greatest admiration for you and your achievements, but it is only through working directly under your command that I have realised how great they are. On my part, the help and experience I have gained, particularly from the guidance I have received, will always be of inestimable advantage to me in the future.

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May I thank you again and say that I hope if the future so decides, I will have the pleasure and honour of serving you again?

Yours sincerely,
J. N. Chaudhuri

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

275

New Delhi
5 December 1949

My dear General Chaudhuri,

Thank you for your letter of 1 December 1949.

2. It is so good of you to express so much devotion and affection. On my part, I should like to say how gratified I feel that the confidence reposed in you has been so amply justified. By way of my appreciation of your services, I need hardly add to the letter which I have written to Sardar Baldev Singh, a copy of which I enclose.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Maj.-Gen. J. N. Chaudhuri, OBE
Camp Gwalior

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
5 December 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

Major-General Chaudhuri relinquished his appointment as Military Governor of Hyderabad on 1 December 1949. I should like to say how grateful I am to you for having spared his services for so long although I know that the Army needed him badly. He has put in more than a year of most useful work. It was partly a work of pacification and reconstruction and partly of police action, not only against Razakar-ridden Hyderabad, but also against the Communists of Warangal and Nalgonda. In both these spheres of activity, General Chaudhuri acquitted himself creditably. He has shown unusual ability, a ready adjustment to civilian needs, a high capacity for, and

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a grasp of, administrative affairs, and an attitude of sympathy and understanding towards the large population of heterogeneous elements committed to his charge. Under him the State of Hyderabad has undoubtedly made rapid progress towards peace, tranquillity and stability and a great deal of the success achieved is due to the confidence in his impartiality and tolerance which he inspired. I wish him all success in his new job.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Minister for Defence
New Delhi

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CHAPTER IX

ESCAPE OF LAIK ALI

276

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad
11 January 1950

Statesind
New Delhi

22 SOCIALIST-CONTROLLED LABOUR UNIONS PARTICIPATING IN GENERAL STRIKE SINCE THIS MORNING. ESSENTIAL SERVICES BEING RUN WITH AID OF GARRISON ENGINEER. STRIKE PEACEFUL SO FAR.

CHIEF SECRETARY
HYDERABAD

277

TELEGRAM

14 January 1950

From Chief Minister
Hyderabad
To Foreign
New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR MENON STATESIND FROM VELLODI. STRIKE SITUATION NO CHANGE. PEACEFUL EXCEPT IN ONE CASE WHERE SOME WORKERS WHO ATTENDED A LOCAL COTTON MILL WERE BADLY HANDLED BY STRIKERS. SITUATION WILL BE REVIEWED AT CABINET MEETING TODAY.

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278

TELEGRAM

27 February 1950

From Chief Minister
Hyderabad
To Foreign
New Delhi

FOR MENON FROM VELLODI. REFERENCE YOUR SECRET MESSAGE OF 22 FEBRUARY. HYDERABAD NOMINATIONS TO PARLIAMENT. SWAMIJI WITH WHOM I DISCUSSED HAS DEFINITELY TURNED DOWN NOMINATION. SUGGEST YOU KEEP THIS SEAT VACANT FOR TIME BEING AND ANNOUNCING THE OTHERS. NAIK'S NAME WAS SUGGESTED TO ME BY BINDU.

279

TELEGRAM

26 January 1950

From Chief Minister Hyderabad
To Foreign New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR STATESIND. MENON FROM VELLODI. CELEBRATIONS THIS MORNING WENT OFF WELL EXCEPT FOR TWO INCIDENTS. 1. THE CONGRESS LEADERS ABSENTED THEMSELVES FROM THE FUNCTION HAVING ACCEPTED THE INVITATION BEFOREHAND. 2. ON HEH'S RETURN JOURNEY BY CAR TO HIS PALACE A HINDU MAHASABITE NAMED KESKAR THREW A GRENADE WHICH FORTUNATELY DID NOT HAVE A DETONATOR AND THEREFORE DID NOT EXPLODE NOR DID IT LAND ANYWHERE NEAR HEH'S CAR. HEH HIMSELF WAS NOT AWARE OF THIS INCIDENT EVEN AFTER HE REACHED HOME. KESKAR HAS BEEN ARRESTED. HE HAS CONFESSED THAT HE HAD THIS GRENADE WITH HIM FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS. HE IS BEING INTERROGATED. THERE IS NO DISTURBANCE OR COMMOTION ON ACCOUNT OF THIS INCIDENT.

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280

New Delhi
28 January 1950

My dear Bindu,

I have received information that the leaders of the Hyderabad State Congress absented themselves from the function of oath-taking, although they had accepted the invitation earlier. This has come to me as a great surprise. You and the State Congress should have known that these functions were being held as part of an all-India programme related to the new Constitution coming into force. Any non-participation would be not only an insult [to] the new Constitution but also an act of grave impropriety. I should like to know what the reasons were that led you and your colleagues to take this step.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri D. G. Bindu
President
Hyderabad State Congress
Hyderabad (Dn.)

281

Narayanguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)
6 February 1950

Dear Sardarji,

Your letter dated 28 January 1950 was duly received. The facts behind the reported boycott of the oath-taking ceremony are as follows:

The Nizam being made Raj Pramukh it became a matter of deep resentment in a large section of the people here including some Muslims. The State Congress workers also were affected very much. This matter was, therefore, discussed in the Working Committee which was held on 25 January 1950. Some of us therein had suggested that in order to appease the feelings of our

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own rank and file it would be better if we abstain from the oath-taking ceremony of the Raj Pramukh. But the decision was not taken by the Working Committee. Next morning, however, we found to our surprise that some local papers published a distorted report in bold headlines. Those who were not present in the Working Committee and who had already accepted the invitations were probably misled by these Press reports.

We were thinking of issuing a clarification. But after discussing with Mr. Vellodi we thought that it would probably lead to further complications and controversies in the Press. I may assure you, however, that there could be no idea of insulting the inauguration of the Republic which was celebrated by the Congress throughout the State and we were all engaged in the various functions arranged either by the organisation or by the Government.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
D. G. Bindu

282

Narayanguda
Hyderabad (Dn.)
22 February 1950

Dear Sardarji,

The second session of the Hyderabad State Congress is going to be held under the presidentship of Shri D. G. Bindu on 28 February, 1 and 2 and 3 March 1950 at Nizamabad. It is needless to stress the importance of this session as the vital issues which are facing the people of Hyderabad have to be decided.

I hope you will bless the session by sending a message.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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283

Hyderabad (Dn.)
7 March 1950

Dear Sardarji,

The session of the Hyderabad State Congress is over and I have handed over the charge of presidentship to Shri. D. G. Bindu. I am starting a weekly newspaper Vision from the 13th of this month. It will propagate the Congress ideals and interpret the situations in light of Mahatmaji's teachings. I would be thankful if you bless it with your message.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

284

New Delhi
25 March 1950

My dear Swami Ramanand Tirtha,

Some time ago I received your letter asking for blessings from me for your paper Vision. I was thinking over it when reports reached me that there was some sort of propaganda going on in parts of Hyderabad State, which those reports trace to you, to the effect that for your exit from the Congress and for the present state of the State Congress affairs in Hyderabad, it was I and my intervention which were responsible. I did not pay any credence to these rumours, but now I am informed on a very reliable authority that this propaganda is a fact. I thought I would ask you myself whether there is any truth in it. You will, of course, let me know what the basis of your own information is. I naturally would not like to comment on it unless I had verified it from you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
Hyderabad

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285

Hyderabad (Dn.)
31 March 1950

My dear Sardarji,

Your letter of the 25th instant to hand. I was out of station for the last three days. Hence the delay in sending a reply.

I was pained to read the contents of the letter. I have never been the source of any propaganda nor is there any propaganda of the type you suggest, though some people have a feeling that the States Ministry is with the erstwhile dissidents. This is due, in my opinion, to the propaganda carried on by certain sections including some of the dissidents, even before my withdrawal from the presidential contest, that I did not enjoy your confidence. When I accepted your advice at Delhi and acted upon it, this was interpreted to mean lack of confidence in me. Soon after the withdrawal, I called the workers and explained to them clearly that the ultimate responsibility for the withdrawal was only mine. The episode ended there. The whole thing is now of the past.

I do not know whether you have been informed that I have gone out of the Congress. The words "your exit from the Congress" in your letter give me that impression. I have not gone out of the Congress. I am devoting myself more to constructive work, while helping Sjt. Bindu wherever he needs it.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Swami Ramanand Tirtha

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

286

New Delhi
22 April 1950

My dear Swamiji,

Your letter of 31 March is still due to be replied. I have been very busy ever since and hence the delay. You still seem to think that it was on my advice that you left the presidentship of

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the State Congress. I had been only advising you and your other colleagues to compose the differences amongst yourselves. I have never expressed any preference for any individual. The expression "your exit from the Congress" was used by my correspondent. It was not my own.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Swami Ramanand Tirtha
'Seva Niketan'
Begumpet P.O.
Hyderabad (Dn.)

287

TELEGRAM

6 March 1950

Home Minister
Hyderabad
Foreign
New Delhi

STATESIND BAKHLE TO MENON. GUARD COMMANDER REPORTED TO THE IGP AT 1340 HOURS TODAY 6 MARCH THAT LAIK ALI HAD ESCAPED. IMMEDIATE VISIT BY IGP TO LAIK ALI'S RESIDENCE REVEALED THAT WHOLE FAMILY AND SERVANTS HAD DISAPPEARED. FORMAL INVESTIGATION IS IN PROGRESS TO DETERMINE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH ESCAPE EFFECTED. BELIEVE LAIK ALI LEFT ON 4 MARCH. COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE MADRAS, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, COLOMBO AND NAGPUR INFORMED WITH A VIEW TO SEARCHING AIRPORTS, RAILWAY TRAINS AND PRIVATE AND PUBLIC MOTOR VEHICLES.

288

EXTRACT

Amraoti
Camp Bombay
8 March 1950

My dear Sardar,

I travelled from Amraoti to Akola by a passenger [train] reaching Akola at about 2.30 p.m. on 6 March 1950. As I often do, as Akola is approaching, I tried to locate the airstrip. This

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I was doing on this particular occasion and it appeared to me that an aircraft was standing on the strip.

On the 7th morning I heard of Mir Laik Ali's escape on the radio which is also reported in this morning's papers. It occurred to me that Laik Ali will aim at making a bee-line for Pakistan. And if so, he would arrange the escape by air from an isolated and unguarded airstrip like the one at Akola. Having thus connected the two incidents together, I thought the best thing would be to report the matter to you so that it might be investigated.

Yours sincerely,
Ramrao Deshmukh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

289

New Delhi
10 March 1950

My dear Mishraji,

We have received information that on 6 March at about 3 p.m. an aircraft was seen standing on the airstrip at Akola. The airstrip must be somewhere near the rail route from Amraoti to Akola. If this is so and an aircraft was standing on the strip, the suspicion is that the aircraft might have been there to take Laik Ali to Karachi. I may explain that the account has been given to me by a passenger who travelled on that route and there may or may not be anything in it. I wonder if you could kindly say whether there can be anything in it.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

The Hon'ble Shri D. P. Mishra
Home Minister
Government of Madhya Pradesh
Nagpur

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290

Nagpur
13 March 1950

My dear Shankar,

Please refer to your letter dated 10 March 1950. Seth, the Chief Secretary, also received an enquiry on the subject from Buch. A copy of Seth's letter to Buch is enclosed for your information.

I am reaching on the 17th.

Yours sincerely,
D. P. Mishra

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

12 March 1950

My dear Buch,

Please refer to your letter dated 10 March 1950. The report given by Ramrao Deshmukh [See No. 288] has been enquired into through the Deputy Commissioner, Akola. He got enquiries made at the airstrip as well as in the neighbouring villages to find out if any plane had landed at Akola any time on or about the 6th instant. He reports that the last plane that landed there was on 21 February. After that no plane has visited the Akola airstrip. Deshmukh must have been mistaken when he thought that he saw an aeroplane standing on the airstrip.

Yours sincerely,
K. B. L. Seth

Shri N. M. Buch
Additional Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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291

EXTRACT

New Delhi
10 March 1950

My dear Gopalaswami,

I saw your editorial on Laik Ali's escape. I hope in calmer moments you have realised that you have rushed into print far too soon. That particular news about his keeping a beard is entirely unfounded. He did keep his mustache untrimmed, but that, you will agree, is unlikely to be particularly noticed. I would have liked the Press as well as Parliament to suspend judgment until there was some material to go upon. As it is, both have reacted on sheer speculation, even to the extent of involving the Inspector-General of Police without realising that he is not in a position to defend himself. What is worse, when statements are contradicted or proved untrue, there is no retracing or regret, either on the part of the Press or on the part of Members of Parliament. After all, it is common prudence to allocate responsibility only after the facts have been ascertained. I do feel that the whole question has been taken up far too soon, that is, sooner than the circumstances warranted. I do not say anything on the responsibility which is generally placed on the States Ministry for this. Obviously those who say so do not know how things are done in details.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri K. Gopalaswami
C/o The Times of India
Bombay

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New Delhi
11 March 1950

My dear Prime Minister,

The Sardar mentioned to me just now that you were upset because we have strengthened the Nizam's palace guards. This has nothing to do with Laik Ali's escape. Vellodi had information yesterday that attempts might be made upon the Nizam's life. As soon as he got the report, Vellodi, whose relations with the Nizam are extremely cordial, went to His Exalted Highness and told him what he had heard. The Nizam was most anxious that every arrangement should be made to protect his life and property. Vellodi also discussed with the Nizam the number of policemen or military to be sent to King Kothi and the places where they should be put on guard. After ascertaining the Nizam's wishes, Vellodi made arrangements as desired by him. King Kothi has hitherto been guarded by the Nizam's old guards. These remain and we have merely placed additional guards in certain strategic places. When His Exalted Highness saw the Press report today that these guards were placed as a result of Laik Ali's escape, he authorised Vellodi to contradict the news and to issue a report that the guards had been placed at his request and with his concurrence. Vellodi has already done this.

I am going to Hyderabad on the 14th and if you have any instructions to give I shall be grateful to receive them before I go.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister

Copy to:
Shri V. Shankar, ICS, PS to HM States

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New Delhi
14 March 1950

My dear Gopalaswami,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th.

I do realise that the public must be feeling very sore about Laik Ali having escaped, but, however important the person might be, we have to have a sense of proportion. The whole Press seems to have reacted to it as if a great national calamity has happened. Escapes of criminals from jails—where guards and rules are much more strict—are not uncommon. After all, you must remember that even during the British regime, when police efficiency was greater because it was more ruthless, Jayaprakash Narain did manage to escape from jail and was not apprehended for several months. From England, where both intelligence and police arrangements are first-class, people have escaped, even though they were under surveillance or in jail. So far as the escape is concerned, therefore, intrinsically there is nothing much to worry about.

We then come to the question of the importance of the individual himself. If Laik Ali were in India, at the most he would have faced a charge and might have gone to jail, if the prosecution case was strong enough. Having seen the case myself, I know the difficulties that are involved in proving a criminal case. Well, the public might have got some satisfaction that the man has been sent to jail and has got his deserts. At the same time, we would have had world opinion to the effect that he was not allowed the counsel from outside, that the defence had been hampered at various stages, the trial was prejudiced and that Laik Ali was the victim of vengeance. Whether this propaganda would have been effective against us or not is a different matter, but this definitely is an item on the liability side. Let us now see what the position is now that he has escaped. We can at least have the negative satisfaction that, had we not treated him humanly and considerably, he could not have escaped. To that extent, therefore, world opinion cannot charge us with having been efficient in our vindictiveness. You are quite right in saying that he will make fantastic statements about Hyderabad and India. Do you think that in

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the long run that will make any difference to the volume of opinion that already exists against us? Laik Ali will not be able to do anything more than [what] Moin Nawaz Jung has done or could have done unaided. So far as I can see, Laik Ali's presence at Lake Success will not add one bit to the strength or weakness of our case. Indeed, we can make out that his own presence at Lake Success is proof of the facilities which he enjoyed even under surveillance. Actually, my own feeling is that Laik Ali, if he had escaped immediately after the police action, would have been much more danger than Moin Nawaz Jung. Now he is probably less because Moin Nawaz Jung has already stolen his thunder. Against this, you have to consider that, if Laik Ali were in India, you could never have touched his property. Now that he is gone, he will have to pay the penalty for absconding from justice and will have to part with his entire property. Personally, if I had the choice between Laik Ali and all his property, I would select the latter.

I have deliberately drawn this balance-sheet not with a view to excusing neglect or negligence but only in a plea for a sense of proportion in dealing with this particular subject and educating the public to assess it at its worth. I hope it will enable you to view the whole matter in a proper perspective. For the rest, you can leave it to Sardar to deal drastically with anybody who was in the conspiracy or through whose neglect all this has taken place. There is no doubt that it is a bad business, but even bad business must be viewed in its proper place and not projected on the screen beyond its proportions.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri K. Gopalaswami
The Times of India
Bombay

294

Hyderabad (Dn.)
24 July 1950

My dear Sardarji,

I am happy to inform you that for the first time in the history of Hyderabad its representatives are attending the ensuing session of the Indian Parliament. All of them will reach New Delhi by 30 July 1950.

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Almost all of them have had no experience of the working of any legislative assemblies, much less of the august Indian Parliament. But they are coming with the fervent enthusiasm of serving the country. They will be meeting you at New Delhi to pay their respects to you. They will be ever in need of your guidance and blessings. Smt. Padmaja Naidu, the talented daughter of that great lady, Smt. Sarojini Devi, is one of the representatives of Hyderabad.

The following is the full list of the 16 representatives of Hyderabad.

1. Smt. Padmaja Naidu.
2. Kashinathrao Vaidya (President, Harijan Sevak Sangh).
3. Konda Venkat Ranga Reddy (President, Telengana Congress Committee).
4. Chenna Reddy (Secretary Telengana Congress Committee).
5. Jamalapuram Kesava Rao (ex-President, Telengana Congress Committee).
6. Arige Ramaswamy (Harijan, Joint Secretary, Telengana Congress Committee).
7. Puli Ramaswamy (Harijan, Congress delegate).
8. J. H. Subbiah (Scheduled Castes Federation).
9. Anna Rao (Member, All Hyderabad Congress Committee, Secretary, Karnatak PCC.
10. Manik Lal Gupta (Member, AHCC)
11. Pannalal Pitti (Businessman, Congress sympathizer).
12. S. V. Naik, (Member, AHCC).
13. Abul Hasan Syed Ali (Member, Working Committee, Hyd. State Congress).
15. Baqar Ali Mirza (genuine Nationalist Muslim and a Congressite, an associate of the Congress throughout in the past).
15. Harish Chandra Heda (Secretary, Andhra 'B' province, comprising the two cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad).
16. G. Ramachary (Member, AHCC).

Some of the members have expressed their desire to me that they like to join the Congress Parliamentary Party. But I do not know whether it is possible at this juncture when the State Congress is not affiliated to the Indian National Congress. In any case, they will have to act according to your advice and guidance.

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With best regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
D. G. Bindu
President

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

295

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad Residency
6 September 1950

Shri Shankar
Bombay 6

KINDLY ARRANGE INTERVIEW WITH SARDAR ANY DATE AFTER ELEVENTH INSTANT. PLEASE WIRE.

Bindu
Congress
Hyderabad

296

TELEGRAM

Bombay
6 September 1950

Bindu
Care Congress
Hyderabad

YOUR TELEGRAM. TWELFTH AFTERNOON SUITABLE.

Shankar

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The Residency
Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn.)
11 September 1950

Dear Shankar,

Sub: Hyderabad State Congress

I enclose for Sardar's information copy of a letter I have addressed to V. P. Menon today.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Vellodi
[Chief Minister, Hyderabad]

Shri V. Shankar, ICS
Bombay

ENCLOSURE

The Residency
Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn.)
11 September 1950

Dear Menon,

Subject: State Congress

I have been for some time intending to give you my impressions of the Hyderabad State Congress and its affairs since I came here up to the present day. In view of the elections that will take place, presumably some time next year and in view also of existing conditions in the State where the Government have four representatives of the Congress in the Council of Ministers, the present state of the Congress is a matter of considerable importance. I may say at once that my relations with the president of the State Congress, Shri Bindu, and the office-bearers of the State Congress Committee have been and are cordial. The same is the case in regard to relations between the Congress Ministers and myself.

2. In the New Year when it was finally decided (I believe very largely due to Sardar Patel's intervention) that Swami Ramanand Tirtha should vacate the office of president of the State Congress, there was considerable goodwill

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exhibited for his successor, Shri Bindu. Swamiji has never taken kindly to the change and in public has consistently behaved like a sulky schoolboy. The day after he returned from Delhi having acquiesced in the decision, he was present at a party in Hyderabad where I met him. He then told me that he considered that the decision was unwise and that but for Sardar's insistence he would not have agreed to it. As you know, Swamiji is a deep person, and in spite of his profession of goodwill towards the present head and office-bearers of the State Congress organisation, I do not honestly believe he is working in harmony with these. Behind the scenes I suspect that he is doing everything possible to undermine the influence of the present Congress executive in the State. One hardly sees him in the company of Bindu or others. The so-called leftist wing of the Congress, which contains an assortment of people consisting of Communists, Socialists, Arya Samajists, RSS and such others, are supposed to be inspired by Swamiji. The Marathwada area is predominantly Swamiji's group. This was quite evident during the recent food crisis in Aurangabad district, where the Civil Administrator had reported that while the Socialists and the leftist groups were busy attacking the Government and creating trouble, the Congress was nowhere in evidence. In the Telengana districts the Congress is on the whole more active and has been so since the election of Mr. Ranga Reddy as president of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee of Hyderabad State. Nanjappa[1] tells me that the Congress has been of very great assistance to him in some of the Telengana districts. Ramakrishna Rao is a force to be reckoned with in these parts, though I do not think he has yet been able to establish any control or influence over the more radical sections of the Congress in the Telengana districts.

3. Financially, the State Congress is in a difficult position. I do not believe that there are any large funds at its disposal. In the past it had obtained funds from all sources, from Razakars or would-be Razakars, from black-marketeers and from others. For the last several months both Bindu and Janardanrao Desai have been putting up proposals to me of one kind or another for assistance to industries of a doubtful character in the State. I have no doubt that they are driven to this kind of thing in order to raise funds for the Congress, unless, as it may well be the case in respect of one or two of them, for personal gain. A political organisation that is so greatly lacking in cohesion as the State Congress of Hyderabad today and whose finances are in a precarious state cannot, I fear, hope to achieve any substantial results during the elections. The only hope for the State Congress, in my opinion, is in its affiliation to the Indian National Congress and its reorganisation under a person who is able and astute and whose integrity is undoubted. If early steps are not taken towards this end, the result of the elections in the State may prove to be an embarrassment.

[1] V. Nanjappa: ICS; Special Commissioner, Hyderabad

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4. I have recorded these impressions not after any consultation with either Bindu or others. This I will do in due course, but in view of the approaching session of the Congress in Nasik, I thought that these impressions might be useful to Sardar Patel. As he is in Bombay I am sending a copy of this letter to Shankar.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Vellodi

Shri V. P. Menon
Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

298

New Delhi 2
16 September 1950

My dear Shankar,

I enclose a copy of the opinion recorded by the Advocate-General, Hyderabad, in the Shoebullah Murder case. The question of filing an appeal for the enhancement of the sentence of transportation to death will be considered in a meeting on the 18th or 19th when Mr. Shavax Lal[1] returns from Hyderabad. This is for H.M.'s information.

Yours sincerely,
N. M. Buch

V. Shankar Esq. ICS

ENCLOSURE

HYDERABAD ADVOCATE-GENERAL'S VIEW ON SENTENCE IN THE SHOEBULLAH MURDER CASE

Regarding the non-imposition of the death sentence on Kasim Razvi and two of his co-accused, on the ground that two eye-witnesses are said to be required according to Hyderabad law, I have to state that that view is not correct. According to Section 109 of the Hyderabad Evidence Act, though two witnesses are required for proof of a case of murder, it is nowhere stated that the witnesses should be eye-witnesses. The tribunal which gave the accused a lesser sentence of life imprisonment were obviously misled by an old ruling of the Hyderabad Judicial Committee reported in 24 Deccan Law Reports page 41, but a very much later ruling of the same Judicial Committee, reported in 33 Deccan Law Reports page 154, has distinctly laid down that

[1] Law Secretary; Secretary to President of India

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the two witnesses necessary in a murder case need not be eye-witnesses for imposing a sentence of death, and there is no provision either in the Hyderabad Criminal Procedure Code or the Hyderabad Penal Code requiring two eye-witnesses.

I would, therefore, suggest that a revision petition may be filed in the High Court for enhancing the sentence of the three accused from life imprisonment to death, as being the proper punishment in a case of this kind where a cruel and ghastly murder was brought [about] in a preplanned and deliberate manner. The president of the tribunal has stated in his judgment that the proper sentence in this case would have been one of death, had it not been for what was represented to him by his two colleagues.

299

Camp Lake View Guest House
Hyderabad (Dn.)
5 October 1950

My dear Vellodi,

On the completion of my visit to Aurangabad, which was mainly designed to enable me to see the beauty and splendour of Ajanta and Ellora, I should like to pay to you my high appreciation of all the arrangements that you had made for the comfort and success of my visit. I was most gratified to find that these cave masterpieces had been preserved with so much care and in such a fine state. It is a fine record of which any administration could be—and we all should be—proud. I should like you to convey my thanks to all the officers and men at Aurangabad, Ajanta and Ellora, who contributed so much to the success of this visit. In particular, I should like you to convey to Dr. Yazdani my personal thanks for the most interesting and illuminating talks which he gave us while taking us round the caves. Please assure him that I have very much profited from them and that I shall try to see that all that can be done for the upkeep and permanent record of these treasures is done.

I am attaching herewith a copy of the note which I have sent to the States Ministry. I should like your own Archaeological Department to examine in advance the suggestion which I have made in the note and let me know their views about the practicability and some idea of the expenditure which might be incurred.

I have told Ramakrishna Rao during my journey to Ajanta that we must have at Fardapur something like the Railway Hotel

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in which we stayed at Aurangabad. I found that the Rest House there was looked after very well and all that is necessary is to instal modern sanitary fittings. This could very easily be done at a comparatively little cost, and I think it is worthwhile taking it up.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri M. K. Vellodi, ICS
Chief Minister
Hyderabad (Dn.)

ENCLOSURE

MINISTRY OF STATES

Yesterday and the day before, I was privileged to see the beauty and splendour of Ajanta and Ellora. The grand religious spectacle of both the sets of caves, their great artistic and architectural merits and the historical and sociological interest which attach to them have all impressed me profoundly. While every care and attention is being bestowed on the upkeep and maintenance of these caves and all that is possible is being done to make the visit to these caves as comfortable and attractive as possible, I feel that a very real effort should be made for the preservation of these monuments for purposes of study, research and record. I found that, while select photographs and plates of sculptural and artistic interest had been taken and were being preserved, there was no connected or serial pictorial record of these gems of art. Such a record would be most valuable not only with a view to preserving these records for the future in the event of any unfortunate natural calamity, but also to facilitate historical, religious, artistic, architectural and sociological study and research. My own view is, for whatever it may be worth, that a complete film record of the paintings as well as the sculpture of these caves should be taken and preserved. The record may be in colour as well as in black and white in one connected series. A number of copies will be necessary for purposes of storage, for study and research in all-India libraries, museums and the National Archives of India. The negatives will also have to be very carefully preserved. As it is, both man and nature have committed many an act of vandalism. In spite of our best efforts, this will continue, though to a very much reduced extent. The film records which I have suggested will also enable us to review the results of our efforts [at] preservation and to take appropriate measures as a result of our constant vigilance. From all these points of view, I think the suggestion which has occurred to me deserves very prompt and serious

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consideration, and I would be glad if the Director-General of Archaeology were asked to take up this matter very early. I know it will require considerable expenditure, but I should like to know how much it will cost so that I might be able to tap private philanthropy for this national service.

V. J. Patel
H. M. States

5 October 1950

300

New Delhi
10 October 1950

My dear Vellodi,

We reached here yesterday. I am afraid I have been feeling quite fatigued after the strenuous tour. I could not, therefore, write to you yesterday as I intended.

2. I should like to say how grateful we all feel to you and Mrs. Vellodi for the way we were looked after wherever we went. It is no formal letter of thanks that I am writing. I wish to express my genuine feeling that I could not have been in better hands than those of both of you. One always longs to return to one's home, but the happy memory of the hospitality and service such as I enjoyed when we were all with you lingers and refreshes. Please convey our thanks to Mrs. Vellodi also.

3. Although I had publicly expressed my thanks to those who worked for me during my stay in Hyderabad State, I should like you to convey my personal thanks to all those officers and men, who, you think, are deserving of a special mention. I myself should like to include the I.G.P., Mr. S. N. Reddy, and Mr. Hyder, who were in constant attendance and spared no pains in looking after me.

With kind regards to you both,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri M. K. Vellodi, ICS
Chief Minister
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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301

12 October 1950

Dear Sardarji,

My wife and I are most grateful for your kind letter of 10 October and for the generous manner in which you have been pleased to refer to what we were able to do to make your visit to Hyderabad comfortable and pleasant. The weather was not, perhaps, all that could be desired, though the days that you spent here were milder than the fortnight preceding them. You were not looking very strong on the morning of the day that you left and, as I wrote to Menon, even HEH remarked about it. We hope, however, that you have completely recovered from the effects of the tour. Again, as I wrote to Menon, I regard it a tragedy that you are not ten years younger and that your health is not as robust as one could wish. There is all the more reason, therefore, for you to avoid exertion.

2. I have already communicated to the IGP and Mr. S. N. Reddy your appreciation of their efforts to see that you were comfortable and secure. I shall also write to Mr. Hyder now. I have sent a general letter to all officers and men of the Hyderabad Government who helped to make your visit a success. I have also personally thanked Bindu and his colleagues.

With kind regards from us to you and Maniben and Shankar,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Vellodi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

302

7 October 1950

My dear Friend,

This morning when Sardarji met our members informally, I requested him to give a message to the Hyderabad Press on the eve of his departure. He was kind enough to say that he would

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comply with our request. I need not stress here the importance of such a message in view of the existence of certain mischievous and communal elements amongst us.

I would therefore request you to remind him of his promise and send us the message (see enclosure) before you leave here for New Delhi.

I would also like to express our sense of gratitude to Sardar-ji for the meeting with us today.

With heartiest greetings,

Yours sincerely,
A. V. Rajeshwar Rao[1]

V. Shankar Esq.

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
13 October 1950

The Hyderabad State Congress has been issuing the bulletin entitled Hyderabad Affairs. No public organisation worth the name can in these days function without adequate publicity. I congratulate the Hyderabad State Congress for keeping the general public informed of its activities through its own publications. I hope this bulletin will serve the people of Hyderabad faithfully and will be both instructive and educative. I wish the venture all success.

Vallabhbhai Patel

303

Hyderabad (Dn.)
7 October 1950

My dear Friend,

On the occasion of your second visit to Hyderabad, I venture to send for your acceptance a photograph of mine and also a copy of a book written by St. Nihal Singh some years ago, who was commissioned by the State to write this, and also a book of my poems translated by Nizamat Jung, ex-Member of Council. I trust you will find the reading of the book very interesting, as it gives some idea of the historical background of this premier

[1] Journalist of Hyderabad

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State. Besides, I am sending two copies of the photograph taken the other day on the occasion of the lunch at King Kothi, a building which dates back nearly half a century and where I stayed for 45 years.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mir Osman Ali Khan
Nizam VII

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Lake View Guest House
Hyderabad (Dn.)

304

Camp Lake View Guest House
Hyderabad (Deccan)
8 October 1950

My dear Nizam Sahib,

Many thanks for Your Exalted Highness' letter of 7 October 1950 and the photographs and books which you were good enough to send me. I much appreciate your kind thought in sending them and hope Your Exalted Highness will accept a return token of my photograph which I shall send Your Exalted Highness later on from Delhi. I am afraid my visit put you to so much trouble. For this and your kind hospitality, which we all enjoyed, kindly accept my sincere thanks.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Exalted Highness
Mir Osman Ali Khan
Nizam VII
Raj Pramukh of Hyderabad
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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305

New Delhi
12 October 1950

My dear Nizam Sahib,

We returned to Delhi on the 9th and, as promised in my letter of 8 October 1950, I am sending Your Exalted Highness a copy of my autographed photograph which, I hope, you will be good enough to accept.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Exalted Highness
Mir Osman Ali Khan
Nizam VII
Raj Pramukh of Hyderabad
Hyderabad (Dn.)

306

TELEGRAM

Hyderabad Residency
15 October 1950

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER DATED 12 OCTOBER AND PHOTOGRAPH RECEIVED THROUGH CHIEF MINISTER. I SHALL WRITE IN DUE COURSE. HOPE YOU AND YOUR DAUGHTER ARE QUITE WELL.

NIZAM

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307

25 November 1950

My dear Friend,

I thank you for your letter dated 8 September 1950, in reply to the letter which I sent on the eve of your departure from Hyderabad. I have also received, through the Chief Minister, your autographed photograph which I have placed with the photographs of other distinguished persons in Falaknuma Palace.

2. During your second visit to Hyderabad, I noticed that due to indifferent health and advancing age, you found some difficulty in walking, even a short distance, without the help of a stick. I, therefore, venture to send a trifling present for you in the shape of a walking-stick. The ivory handle of this stick, which came in my possession along with other old articles of my family, dates back nearly half a century, and I am taking the liberty of sending the same to you as a token of my goodwill and appreciation of what you have done for Hyderabad State and also for my dynasty. It is my honest conviction that all those who, like myself, have received due consideration and sympathy at your hands, must be grateful to you, since they have fully realised that, even under the changed conditions of the world, whatever they enjoy is due to your staunch support and guidance.

3. I am writing this not merely to please or flatter you, but, believe me, this is my genuine feeling which compels me to express my personal sentiments in these few lines, and, I trust, you will forgive me for my frank and straightforward statement.

I trust you are in the enjoyment of the best health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mir Osman Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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308

New Delhi
1 December 1950

My dear Friend,

Thank you for Your Exalted Highness' letter of 25 November 1950 and for the very kind and warm sentiments which you have expressed therein.

In dealing with the States, my aim has been to secure the interests of India with the maximum amount of goodwill and in a spirit of full accord and understanding. I am very glad to find that this has been fully reciprocated by the rulers of Indian States and it has given me real pleasure to know that Your Exalted Highness shares that response.

I am most grateful to you for the consideration and kind thought which has prompted you to send me the walking stick.

I am afraid my health has not been satisfactory recently, but it is improving as much as it can having regard to the circumstances in which I have to carry on. These are difficult times and one must subordinate one's own interests to the larger interests of the country.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Exalted Highness
Nawab Mir Osman Ali Khan
Raj Pramukh of Hyderabad
Hyderabad (Dn.)

309

30 November 1950

My dear Friend,

I was very sorry to hear from the Chief Minister today that you are not feeling well. I trust that you will soon be restored to your normal health, as in my opinion India is in need of your valuable services and guidance, specially at a time when the

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whole world is passing through a crisis . . .; so, let us hope that nothing serious will happen that may mar the peaceful condition of India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mir Osman Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

310

New Delhi
6 December 1950

My dear Vellodi,

H.M. has received a letter from HEH making enquiries about his health. If I can, I should like not to trouble H.M. with a reply. Perhaps you can communicate to HEH that H.M. is grateful to him for the enquiry which he has made and is very sorry that he is unable to reply to him himself just now, but, as soon as he is well enough, he will take an early opportunity of doing so. In the meantime, you might tell HEH that H.M. is making rather slow progress, but that is what the medical advisers expect, having regard to his age, the condition of his heart and his chronic abdominal trouble.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri M. K. Vellodi, ICS
Hyderabad (Dn.)

311

Undated

To
The Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India

Honoured Sir,

Jamiat-i-Ulama, Hyderabad, offers the warmest and heartiest welcome to your honour on behalf of the Muslims of Hyderabad State. Your honour's visit to the State which has been arranged in spite of health considerations, crowded programme, pressing engagements at the Centre and old age, evinces your keen interest in the affairs of the State which enjoins upon us to express

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our gratitude and makes us not only sanguine but sure of a better and brighter future. We now fervently hope that your honour's arrival and sojourn at Hyderabad will go a long way in solving many a knotty problem facing the State and replacing the present uneasiness with hope and prospects. Hyderabad and Hyderabadis will profit a great deal by your high intent, live determination and magnanimous outlook.

In the view of the Jamiat the problems of Hyderabad form an inseparable part of the questions confronting the country and their solution is of as great an importance as of any other problem facing any other part of the country, and hence the Jamiat desires to draw your honour's attention to the following problems:

The uneasiness caused by the economic depression facing the country, the food crisis and absence of prosperity in general are not . . . beyond your comprehensive vision and even a winking negligence regarding their solution may be grave and almost fatal.

A few of the many serious causes critically deteriorating the economic conditions are detailed below:

(a) Nearly 50,000 uprooted persons are still unsettled and are dragging on their wretched existence in the metropolis, centres of districts and taluqs and the towns bordering Hyderabad State. Homeless and jobless, they are living as parasites on society and thousands of acres of land which were formerly under their plough are turning fallow. While the situation has created crumbling effects on individuals and families, it has never spared the collective weal; and the food situation of the country as a whole has also been badly shattered.

(b) One hundred thousand people have been turned out from different Government services without any preplanning for their alternative employment and thus a very big part of society has been benumbed on having the only source of income denied to it, in spite of the policy of the Central Government going quite contrary to such measures in the case of the departments taken over by the Centre. Unable to come to any decision for their future these retrenched wretches are living a life sans hope and desperate with pecuniary troubles.

(c) Two years back certain accounts were frozen and some people were debarred from selling or transferring their properties, according to the exigencies of the time, but unfortunately the emergency measures, enforced then, are still in force and being

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still repeated, are causing a rupture in the normal trade and turning good business men out of the market by spoiling their credit and prestige.

(d) Restrictions and limitations, fatally injurious to credit and business, have been forced on certain business concerns, their directors and managers. A few of these concerns have been snatched from their owners and managing directors and are being run under Government control by Government servants, who, being in the least interested and much less experienced in that special trade, are bringing the concerns to a sorry pass and nearing their liquidation.

(e) The abnormally large number of detenus is another major factor deteriorating the conditions and jeopardising confidence. Families of detenus are facing untold hardships due to pecuniary troubles and the Muslim minority of the State has been unable to feel secure and allay misapprehensions. Fears and doubts are turning them into square pegs in the present set-up.

No doubt conditions in Hyderabad have to a great extent returned to normal but goondaism is still rampant. Even the metropolis is not free of this poisonous element. Having escaped scot free after their misdeeds in the near past they have been emboldened and their devil-daring is frightening and scaring the minority of the State and their belief is being badly shaken in the goodness and the good intents of the Government.

Foreign officers, leaving aside a few appointed by the Centre in order to guide and control the policy of the Hyderabad Government, are to a large extent responsible for keeping the air continuously unwholesome. Due to their ignorance of local temperament they have never been able to work efficiently. Moreover, being for a temporary period in the State, they have never tried to take any genuine interest in the affairs of the State. Hundreds of thousands are being spent on these special officers and yet the results of this duality are very frustrating. It has created an administrative deadlock on the one hand and debars efficient and useful local officers from serving their country.

The Jamiat has reported the above facts after full and impartial enquiries and feels that the following proposals, if seriously considered and utilised, will help to solve the present difficulties and ease the situation.

(1) The resettlement schemes which have been abandoned in Hyderabad may be restarted and work may seriously be carried on according to preplanned lines and the former mistake of

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throwing away the grants at will may be eschewed this time. A judicious utilisation of resettlement schemes will contribute to food cultivation and prosperity must follow in the wake. Resettlement will also dispel the fear complex and create a new fusion of two communities.

(2) Retrenchment of Government servants should be immediately discontinued and no more of them should be turned out from services under such schemes. Moreover, in order to counter the ever increasing unemployment, the experienced and useful hands can be absorbed much profitably in various departments. Some departments need expansion and the remaining can fit in the expanded parts of such departments. Persons retrenched from Hyderabad State regular and irregular forces can fit in the State police force, replacing thereby the outside police contingents who are much less acquainted with the local environments and colour. Only this scheme, if correctly worked out, will effect a saving of at least two crores in the annual expenditure and will add to the efficiency of the present force. Ex-employees who may be ready to take to cultivation as their profession may be provided with necessary equipment and allotted tracts of cultivable land.

Industrial concerns of the State may also be expanded to improve production and minimise unemployment. New schemes may also be improvised to absorb the rest of the unemployed who may not be fitted in any of the above openings.

(3) Regulations banning the transfers of property, freezing the accounts and orders clamping restrictions on different business concerns may be withdrawn and the concerns may be restored to their rightful owners which will give an impetus to the productive activity of society.

(4) All the political detenus may be released from jails and cases instituted against them in the courts of law may be withdrawn. This revolutionary step is bound to create a very healthy atmosphere with unimaginable effects, improving the prestige of the Government.

(5) Goondaism may be declared as one of the most abominable and serious crimes and should be crushed with severe and exemplary punishment. These measures will create strong confidence in the minds of all the peaceful subjects of the State.

Outside officers may be withdrawn and the vacancies caused by their absence may be filled up with the available talent of the State. People imbued with local affinities and love will be able

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to change the entire air and atmosphere and imbibe life with a new enthusiasm.

The Jamiat has presented the above remedies after a frank and intense study of all the ills confronting the State at present and is sure that if due and sympathetic consideration is paid to them by your honour the State will emerge out of all its difficulties and will advance towards a new and more optimistic future.

Maulana Hamiduddin
President
Jamiat-i-Ulama
Hyderabad (Dn.)

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CHAPTER X

JUNAGADH'S PERFIDY

312

TELEGRAM

Chorvad
12 August 1947

Sardar Patel Sahib
States Deptt.
New Delhi

CHORVAD HINDU PUBLIC UNDER JUNAGADH STATE IN KATHIAWAR HAVE REQUESTED JUNAGADH GOVT AS FOLLOWS (1) HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SAHIB BAHADUR (2) THE DEWAN SAHIB AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL JUNAGADH: THE CHORVAD HINDU PUBLIC HAVE PAINFULLY LEARNT THAT JUNAGADH STATE IS CONSIDERING TO ACCEDE [to] PAKISTAN. WE EARNESTLY REQUEST JUNAGADH GOVT TO DECIDE JOIN WITH UNION OF INDIA ON THE GROUNDS OF SITUATION OF JUNAGADH STATE IN KATHIAWAR MAJORITY HINDU PROVINCE FORMING 85 PERCENT AND NEIGHBOURING HINDU STATES. MOREOVER JUNAGADH STATE IS VITALLY CONNECTED WITH HINDU PUBLIC AS WELL AS HINDU STATES ON ALL SIDES.

CHORVAD HINDU PUBLIC

313

TELEGRAM

27 August 1947

From
Dewan of Junagadh
Junagadh
To Statesind
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 25 AUGUST. JUNAGADH GOVERNMENT REGRET THEY CANNOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT DECISION OF MAJORITY OF STATES AND TALUKAS TO JOIN INDIAN UNION WOULD BE BINDING ON UNITS WHICH HAVE NOT JOINED OR BACKED OUT WHO HAVE BEEN

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GIVEN COMPLETE FREEDOM OF CHOICE ON LAPSE OF PARAMOUNTCY. JUNAGADH HAS NOT ATTEMPTED NOR WILL ATTEMPT TO USE COERCION OR UNDUE PRESSURE ON ANY UNIT AND HOPES AS POINTED OUT IN MY TELEGRAM OF 23 AUGUST STATES DEPARTMENT WOULD ADOPT SIMILAR POLICY WITH THOSE UNITS WHO WISH TO LINK THEIR FUTURE WITH JUNAGADH OR PAKISTAN.

Copy forwarded to the H.M. for information.

314

19 September 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I wrote to you this morning suggesting that you might discuss the Junagadh matter with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. Since then I have seen a copy of the telegram which Mr. Jinnah has sent to you, in which he has referred to large troop concentrations along the borders of Junagadh and has stated that any encroachment on Junagadh's sovereignty or its territory would amount to a hostile act.

2. There is no reference in this telegram either to the representations we have made earlier through the High Commissioner on the subject or to the telegram addressed to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan which Lord Ismay took with him and on which he was asked to have a discussion at Karachi. Lord Ismay said that the telegram had been delivered to Mr. Jinnah who was to pass it on to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. It is quite possible that the Pakistan Government might deny having received that telegram or might plead that it had miscarried. I would suggest, therefore, that the position in regard to this telegram might be cleared by discussion between Lord Ismay and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, unless you prefer to raise it yourself.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Rear Admiral the Viscount
Mountbatten of Burma,
K.G., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.

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315

Government House
New Delhi
19 September 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 19 September about Hyderabad and Junagadh.

2. In regard to Hyderabad, V. P. Menon gave me a copy of the second note dated 14 September, but I have not seen the previous note dated 13 September. As you know, the Hyderabad delegation is due in Delhi tomorrow, Saturday, and I think I am now fully in the picture.

3. In regard to Junagadh, I will certainly discuss the matter with Liaquat Ali Khan.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

316

New Delhi
23 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Junagadh situation is developing rapidly and may lead to all manner of consequences. Essentially, this is a question of the relationship of India and Pakistan and we are already considering the possibility of military action. It is desirable, and indeed necessary, that the External Affairs Ministry should be kept in intimate touch with all developments. Normally, telegrams relating to this business should also go through the Ministry of External Affairs. You have been good enough to keep me fully informed. I think, however, that our Ministry as such should also be kept fully informed. This means that our Secretary-General, Girja Shankar Bajpai, should be kept in touch. I should like him to attend any consultations or conferences on this subject. V. P. Menon may also consult him whenever he likes about any developments.

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I have been thinking that it would be desirable for us to send a message to the British Government about the Junagadh affair. This would be purely for their information. If you agree, could you kindly ask V. P. Menon to draft such a message and send it on to us?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
Dominion of India
New Delhi

317

24 September 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 23 September 1947.

I gather from Menon that our telegrams to the Pakistan Government are being sent through the External Affairs Ministry. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai should, therefore, be quite familiar with the inter-Dominion aspect of the problem. However, I have asked Menon to make it a point to keep Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai in touch with future developments. Menon will also call him to attend any inter-departmental consultations or conferences on this subject.

I am not quite sure whether we need say anything to the British Government at this stage, but I will think it over and let you know. Since this was written we have discussed this matter in the morning meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Minister for External Affairs and
Commonwealth Relations
17 York Road
New Delhi

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318

TELEGRAM

25 September 1947

From
Mangrol
To
Minister
States Department
New Delhi

HAVING SIGNED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION UNDER EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES I RENOUNCED SOON AFTER THAT ON THE SAME DAY. IF MR. MENON HAD BEEN HERE FOR ONE HOUR MORE I WOULD HAVE DONE IT BEFORE HIM. AS HE HAD LEFT IMMEDIATELY FOR BOMBAY I GAVE MY WRITTEN RENOUNCEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL TO THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER MR. BUCH TO BE CONVEYED IMMEDIATELY TO THE STATES DEPARTMENT DELHI ON THE SAME DAY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1947. I STILL STAND ON MY FINAL DECISION OF RENOUNCEMENT AND WITHDRAWAL AND UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS NO NEED WHATSOEVER FOR SENDING ANY POLICE OR MILITARY FOR ANY PURPOSE IN MY TERRITORY AND ANY SUCH ACTION ON THE PART OF THE INDIAN DOMINION WOULD BE REGARDED AS AN ACT OF HIGHHANDEDNESS. REPEATED TO REGIONAL COMMISSIONER, RAJKOT.

Copy forwarded to:

(1) Hon'ble Minister for States
(2) Secretary, Ministry of States
(3) Ministry of External Affairs
(4) Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister for information.

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319

TELEGRAM

Bombay
25 September 1947

Statesind
New Delhi

GUJARAT STATES ORGANISATION HAVE PASSED TODAY FOLLOWING RESOLUTION. BEGINS RESOLVED THAT THE JOINT ORGANISATION OF THE RULERS OF GUJARAT AND CENTRAL INDIA STATES VIEWS WITH GREAT CONCERN THE GRAVITY OF THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE ACCESSION BY JUNAGADH TO THE DOMINION OF PAKISTAN. WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT GEOGRAPHICALLY ECONOMICALLY AND CULTURALLY JUNAGADH HAVING AFFINITY WITH KATHIAWAR AND GUJARAT FOR LONG PAST SHOULD HAVE JOINED THE DOMINION OF INDIA AND THAT THEREFORE THE ACTION TAKEN BY HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SAHIB OF JUNAGADH IN ACCEDING TO THE PAKISTAN DOMINION HAS NOT BEEN A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION NOR IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THAT STATE AS WELL AS THOSE OF KATHIAWAR AND GUJARAT. THE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS ARE EXTREMELY ALARMING AND ARE LIKELY TO HAVE UNDESIRABLE REPERCUSSIONS OF A FARREACHING CHARACTER WHICH WE ARE AFRAID MAY JEOPARDISE THE PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY. IT IS THEREFORE OUR EARNEST REQUEST TO HIS HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SAHIB THAT HE WILL URGENTLY RECONSIDER HIS UNFORTUNATE DECISION AND THEREBY ALLAY ANXIETIES IN THE WIDER INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED. WE FULLY ENDORSE AND SUPPORT THE LAUDABLE ENDEAVOURS OF HIS HIGHNESS THE JAM SAHIB OF NAWANAGAR TOWARDS THIS END AND AUTHORISE OUR CHAIRMAN HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA SAHIB OF LUNAWADA TO URGE STRONGLY ON THE STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA URGENTLY TO TAKE SUCH ACTION AS CIRCUMSTANCES MAY REQUIRE TO AVERT FURTHER DETERIORATION IN THE SITUATION AND THUS REMOVE THE THREAT TO THE PEACE TRANQUILLITY AND PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY AND TO ASSURE THEM OF OUR WHOLEHEARTED COOPERATION ENDS.

VIRBHADRASINGHJI MAHARAJA LUNAWADA
CHAIRMAN
GUJARAT STATES ORGANISATION

387

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320

Government House
New Delhi
29 September 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

I noticed in the Press a day or two ago that Liaquat Ali Khan claimed that "Babariawad consists of a group of jagirdars under the undisputed sovereignty of the ruler of Junagadh," and that "Mangrol has voluntarily placed itself in the position of a vassal of Junagadh and has no separate entity as a State."

I know, of course, that we hold a very different view on both matters, and that as regards Mangrol, Sir Walter Monckton unequivocally upholds our view.

Nevertheless, I wonder if there is any method, such as reference to some impartial tribunal, which could settle this matter once and for all. The reason behind this suggestion is that I feel that if we are going to put troops into either of the disputed areas, we must be sure that in doing so we are acting with unchallengeable correctitude.

I will take this up later today if we can arrange a meeting.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

321

New Delhi
1 October 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your Excellency's letter dated 29 September 1947 regarding Babariawad and Mangrol. Although Liaquat Ali Khan claims that "Mangrol has voluntarily placed itself in the position of a vassal of Junagadh and has no separate entity as a State," the facts are quite the reverse. The Sheikh of Mangrol himself issued a Gazette Notification on 15 September stating unequivocally that he was independent of Junagadh and that his State was quite distinct and separate from Junagadh. He further went on to say that he would announce his policy regarding

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accession shortly. He followed up this notification by sending his Legal Adviser to Delhi to negotiate accession to the Indian Dominion. On advice being telegraphed by him to the Sheikh Sahib at Mangrol the latter went to Rajkot, had further full discussion with Menon and eventually signed the Instrument of Accession. All this would not have happened if it was true that Mangrol had "voluntarily placed himself in the position of a vassal of Junagadh." We have accepted the accession of Mangrol and it is Junagadh and Pakistan who claim that Mangrol had no right to accede apart from Junagadh. Thus, if I may say so, the boot is on the other leg, and it is really for Pakistan to seek arbitration in support of its claim against Mangrol. I do not see how, after having accepted the accession of Mangrol, we can ourselves suggest arbitration, an implication of which would be that we have accepted accession without being quite sure as to the correct status of Mangrol. The same principle applies to Babariawad.

2. If, however, Pakistan wishes and suggests arbitration, we shall be prepared to consider the request, but I am quite clear in my mind that the approach for arbitration must in both cases be made by Pakistan and not by us.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. the Governor-General
Government House
New Delhi

322

New Delhi
25 October 1947

My dear Pandit Shukla,

Thank you for your letter of 19 October 1947 regarding posting of some "observers" in Junagadh. The position in Junagadh is quite different from that obtaining on your borders. There we are dealing through States and the circumstances are not quite similar. I feel that it would be a waste of time and personnel if you sent anybody to Junagadh.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister, CP & Berar
Nagpur

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323

TELEGRAM

8 November 1947

From Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto
Dewan
Junagadh

To Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

VERY GRATEFUL FOR GRANTING INTERVIEW TO OUR REPRESENTATIVE. WE ACCEPT YOUR ADVICE BUT DISTRESSED TO FIND I AM NOT ALLOWED SUFFICIENT TIME TO BRING BACK NAWAB SAHEB FROM KARACHI AND TAKE STEPS FOR PEOPLES GOVERNMENT. BEING PRESSED BY CIRCUMSTANCES WE HAVE ASKED REGIONAL COMMISSIONER RAJKOT TO ASSIST IN PRESERVING LAW AND ORDER AND AVOIDING BLOODSHED AGAINST AGGRESSIVE ELEMENTS FROM OUTSIDE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES INVOLVED. HIS HIGHNESS FROM KARACHI WIRES TO AVOID BLOODSHED AT ANY COST OF HIS BELOVED SUBJECTS AND HAS INVITED ME TO MEET HIM AT ONCE AT KARACHI TO DISCUSS SITUATION. ADDRESSED MAHATMA GANDHI REPEATED SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD NEW DELHI.

324

TELEGRAM

Bombay
9 November 1947

Mahatma Gandhiji
New Delhi

YOUR INSPIRATION AND BLESSINGS HAVE BESTOWED UPON THE PEOPLE OF JUNAGADH STATE BRILLIANT SUCCESS TO THEIR STRUGGLE FOR REVERTING THE STATE FROM PAKISTAN TO INDIAN UNION. WE PRAY FOR YOUR FURTHER BLESSINGS FOR IMMEDIATE ESTABLISHMENT OF

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POPULAR GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE OF JUNAGADH STATE.

CHUNILAL PAREKH
SECRETARY
JUNAGADH RAJYA PRAJA MANDAL

325

TELEGRAM

Lunawada
10 November 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

EXTREMELY PLEASED TO KNOW HAPPY TIDINGS OF OUR SUCCESS IN JUNAGADH AFFAIRS. YOUR ABLE AND WISE GUIDANCE PROMPTNESS OF ACTION AND DIPLOMATIC MANOEUVRES HAVE ACHIEVED MARVELLOUS SUCCESS. HIS HIGHNESS IN BOMBAY. PLEASE ACCEPT THEIR HIGHNESSES MINE YOUR PEOPLE'S HEARTIEST CONGRATULATION ON THIS UNIQUE ACHIEVEMENT. WARMEST REGARDS.

DEWAN LUNAWADA

326

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
11 November 1947

Dewan of Lunawada
Lunawada

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF CONGRATULATIONS WHICH I WARMLY APPRECIATE.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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327

TELEGRAM

Bombay
10 November 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MY WARMEST FELICITATIONS ON LATEST HAPPY DEVELOPMENTS IN JUNAGADH. MAY EVERYTHING END WELL BY GRACE OF GOD AND YOUR NOBLE EFFORTS IS MY EARNEST PRAYER.

MAHARAJA PORBANDAR

328

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
11 November 1947

His Highness Maharaja of Porbandar
Taj
Bombay

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF FELICITATIONS AND GOOD WISHES. CREDIT FOR SUCCESS IS AS MUCH OF FRIENDS LIKE YOU AS OF MINE.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

329

TELEGRAM

Jetpur
10 November 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

PLEASE ACCEPT MY VERY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THE UNIQUE VICTORY OVER JUNAGADH WITHOUT CAUSING LOSS OF LIFE OR PROPERTY. CROWNING SUCCESS IN JUNAGADH HAS AMPLY PROVED

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THAT TRUTH AND JUSTICE MUST PREVAIL. ALL KATHIAWAR PRINCES AND PEOPLE ARE GRATEFUL FOR PRESERVING INTEGRITY AND UNITY OF KATHIAWAR BY YOUR TIMELY ACTION. KINDEST REGARDS.

JETPUR DARBAR

330

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
11 November 1947

Ruler of Jetpur
Jetpur

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM OF CONGRATULATIONS. CREDIT FOR SUCCESS BELONGS AS MUCH TO FRIENDS LIKE YOU.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

331

TELEGRAM

Peshawar
3 December 1947

Foreign
New Delhi

FOR IENGAR PRIME MINISTER SECRETARIAT. I HAVE RECEIVED A REPORT THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF TRIBESMEN ARE GOING TO BE SENT VERY SHORTLY TO KARACHI. FROM THERE THEY WILL GO BY SEA TO JUNAGADH.

KAPUR[1]

332

MESSAGE FROM OC. DET. CAP RAJKOT TO OC DET. CAP DELHI

Undated

MESSAGE BEGINS. REFERENCE MESSAGE. DETACHMENT ARRIVED DEDAN. DETAILED AT PRESENT AS RESERVE. NO TROUBLE SO FAR FROM AGROSS JUNAGADH FRONTIER. MESSAGE ENDS.

[1] B. K. Kapur: then member of Indian Political Service and holding administrative post in NWFP; retired as Secretary, External Affairs Ministry

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Forwarded to Secretary, States Ministry, New Delhi, for information.

Capt. Webster
Commanding Detachment
Central Armed Police

Copy to H.M./Secy. for information

333

TELEGRAM

10 November 1947

Westindia Camp
Junagadh
Statesind
New Delhi

BUCH TO MENON. SITUATION QUIET SO FAR. HAVE ASSUMED CHARGE AND APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR. CAPTAIN HARVEY JONES LED OUR FORCES IN AND HAS BEEN COOPERATING. OTHER MUSLIM OFFICERS ARE SULLEN. INFANTRY CAVALRY AND POLICE ARMS HAVE BEEN SURRENDERED. HAVE MET DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS TODAY. VANTHALI AND VERAVAL AND UNA HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED TODAY. TROOPS HAVE GONE TO KUTIYANA. KESHOD WAS DUE TO BE OCCUPIED AND REPORT IS AWAITED. YESTERDAY BEFORE WE OCCUPIED JUNAGADH SOME MISCHIEFMAKERS BURNT SOME RAILWAY CARRIAGES AND SARADIYA RAILWAY STATION CUTTING SOME TELEGRAPH WIRES. ORDER WILL BE RESTORED TODAY.....

Copy to:
H. M. States/Secretary
Principal Private Secretary to Hon'ble Prime Minister

[The effect of the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and the policy of the Government of India to deal with the situation thus created were set out in a Press communique dated 25 September 1947.—Appendix III]

[A Report by the Secretary, Ministry of States, on Junagadh—Appendix IV]

[A Note prepared by the Ministry of States giving a complete picture of the Junagadh case—Appendix V]

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CHAPTER XI

BIRTH OF RAJASTHAN UNION

334

New Delhi
18 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned from Udaipur this evening at 7-30. The function passed off successfully.

2. On arrival at Udaipur, however, I found that some difficulties had arisen, and in fact the Prime Minister-to-be, Manekyalal Varma, did not want to be sworn in at all at this stage. He and his colleagues felt that unless the full Ministry was previously decided upon, he should not get entangled in this business. They told me that attempts were being made to get the wrong kind of people in the Ministry, notably some jagirdars [landlords], and if this was so it would not be possible for Manekyalal Varma to function as Prime Minister.

3. There was little time to think of the names of the Ministry, and I did not feel myself competent to say much in this matter. I told Manekyalal Varma and his colleagues that our general practice was that the Ministry should be appointed by the Prime Minister, though he should consult others, including of course the Maharana [of Udaipur]. But after full consultation the choice should be his. To raise the question of the personnel of the Ministry at the last moment would upset all the arrangements made. So I advised him to take his oath as Prime Minister having made it perfectly clear privately that he expected to have the Ministry of his choice and that if this was not done he might find it difficult to carry on. I explained this position to Ramamurthi also. I added further that if there was any difficulty later on, Manekyalal Varma and Ramamurthi might come to Delhi to consult the States Ministry. On this understanding Manekyalal Varma agreed and was duly sworn in.

4. During my brief stay in Udaipur I met some leaders of the Rajputana Praja Mandal separately and then later I met two or

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three hundred Praja Mandal workers who had come from various parts of Rajputana. I also met some representatives of jagirdars, Kshatriyas, and a newly formed Kisan Sabha [Peasant Association].

5. Many of the Praja Mandal people expressed a strong desire that Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner should be included in the United States of Rajasthan. The point, however, on which there was the greatest feeling, loudly expressed, was about Sirohi. I gathered that some of the rulers present also shared this feeling. It was said to me repeatedly that Sirohi should join Rajasthan, as it had been connected with it for 300 years or more in many ways and was linguistically and otherwise a part of it. I told them that I was not in a position to say anything as I did not know all the facts. But normally where there was a difference of opinion, the opinion of the people concerned should prevail. Anyway, I suggested there was no need to get excited about this question at this stage. Let other matters be settled and then they could discuss this with the States Ministry.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

335

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 18 April 1948 regarding your visit to Udaipur. I am very glad to know that the function was such a success.

I have today given to Manekyalal a letter addressed to the Maharana of Udaipur asking him to accept his suggestions regarding the formation of an interim Ministry.

As regards the inclusion of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner in the United States of Rajasthan, that would of course be an ideal thing, but unless the people of these States are themselves keenly alive to this, it is difficult to bring this about.

As regards Sirohi, I have already had a discussion more than once with these persons, and it was after consideration of all relevant factors that we decided that Sirohi should go with Gujarat.

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What they want is not Sirohi, but Gokulbhai Bhat. This could be met even without Sirohi coming into Rajasthan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

336

TELEGRAM

Jaipur
10 April 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

GLAD TO HEAR UDAIPUR IS JOINING RAJASTHAN UNION. THIS MAKES SIROHI JOINING RAJASTHAN STILL MORE INEVITABLE. BESIDES TO US SIROHI MEANS GOKULBHAI MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE. WITHOUT GOKULBHAI WE CAN HARDLY EXPECT TO RUN RAJASTHAN. THEREFORE I VERY STRONGLY URGE THAT SIROHI SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO JOIN RAJASTHAN AT LEAST FOR PRESENT IF NO PERMANENT SETTLEMENT POSSIBLE JUST NOW. BUT FOR MY PREOCCUPATIONS HERE I SHOULD HAVE PERSONALLY COME TO MAKE THIS REPRESENTATION TO YOU. I DO HOPE YOU WILL FULFIL OUR HOPES IN THIS MATTER. PRAYING INCESSANTLY FOR YOUR HEALTH.

HIRALAL SHASTRI[1]

337

TELEGRAM

Udaipur
15 May 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

I TELEGRAPHED TO YOU ON 23 APRIL AND AM GRATEFUL FOR YOUR PROMPT AND SYMPATHETIC ACTION IN SENDING MR. MENON TO UDAIPUR. I HAD PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. MENON AND MATTERS WERE GENERALLY SETTLED SATISFACTORILY. MR. MENON PROMISED TO

[1] General Secretary, All India States Peoples' Conference; member, CA; first popular Chief Minister, Jaipur State and then Rajasthan State

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SEND DIRECTIVES IN WRITING WHICH ARE STILL AWAITED. NOW AGAIN AFTER A LAPSE OF FORTNIGHT POSITION REGARDING ADVISER BEING CHANGED BY RAJASTHAN MINISTRY WITHOUT ANY REASON AND IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY COMMUNICATION TO ME FROM THE STATES MINISTRY. AM SENDING MY REPRESENTATIVES TO YOU WITH LETTER. SINCERELY HOPE YOU WILL VERY KINDLY GRANT THEM INTERVIEW AND HAVE MATTERS PUT RIGHT. BEST REGARDS.

MAHARANA OF UDAIPUR

338

The Palace
Udaipur
Mewar
15 May 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I have today sent you the following telegram which I hereby confirm: [see No. 337]

2. When Menon came here on the 29th of last month, I discussed with him inter alia the question of Sir Ramamurthi's appointment as Adviser. It was agreed after discussions that he should be designated as Adviser to the United States of Rajasthan as had already been suggested by Mr. Menon in his telegram dated 24 April 1948. The only remark Mr. Menon made to me was that Sir Ramamurthi was an expensive officer but when I pointed out to him that I did require a senior officer of my implicit confidence to assist me in the discharge of my functions in the new set-up, Mr. Menon readily agreed to Sir Ramamurthi's appointment. It was on the clear understanding that I issued Sir Ramamurthi's appointment order, the draft of which had been shown to Mr. Menon by my secretaries. Now, after a fortnight, the Chief Minister of the United States of Rajasthan has sent a letter to Sir Ramamurthi, copy of which is enclosed for your perusal.

3. Apart from the undesirable tone of the letter, objections have been raised on very minor issues intended to make Sir Ramamurthi's position difficult. I am sure you will appreciate that such a letter should not have been issued without my concurrence.

4. I understand that in the newly created State of Malwa, Mr. Venkatacharya is to be designated as Adviser to the Rajpramukh. I fail to see any reason why there should have been objection to the same designation being given here. In any case there

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was nothing to warrant any change in what had been settled between Mr. Menon and myself.

5. None knows it better than yourself that I decided to merge my State in the United States of Rajasthan out of my own free will and on my own initiative. You are also aware that certain points conceded during the course of discussions between my representatives and the States Ministry in Delhi were not incorporated in the Covenant when it was received here for my signature. Still I signed the Covenant in good faith and in full confidence. The assurance contained in your telegram dated 17 April 1948 gave me further hope of receiving full support from you.

6. I am sure you will agree with me that the way I am being treated now is certainly not a befitting recognition of the goodwill and co-operation shown by me. Going back on promises neither enhances the prestige of the States Ministry nor helps me in the proper discharge of my duties and seriously handicaps my sincere efforts for building up a new State on democratic lines.

7. It is a pity that while much larger issues lie ahead of us, we should get ourselves involved in such petty matters which help nobody. There are certain similar matters, and I must say that it has not been a very good beginning as I had expected from the picture drawn before me after the preliminary discussions in Delhi.

8. I would earnestly request you to intervene and set matters right once for all in a manner befitting the State and myself. What I request you kindly to do for me is to issue orders to the Rajasthan Ministry that the appointment of the Adviser which I made with the oral concurrence of Mr. Menon, should on no account be interfered with.

9. I am sorry to have to bother you at a time when you are convalescing but it is very important that the outstanding differences on vital matters are amicably settled without any undue delay.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
M. B. Bhagwat Singh
Maharana of Udaipur

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

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ENCLOSURE

LETTER DATED 13 MAY 1948 FROM MR. MANEKYALAL VARMA, CHIEF MINISTER, UNITED STATES OF RAJASTHAN, UDAIPUR, TO SIR S. V. RAMAMURTHI, ADVISER TO RAJASTHAN UNION, UDAIPUR

I am writing this letter to you in connection with your appointment as an Adviser. The matter was discussed between us also and at that time I came to know from you that your conditions are that first you shall act as an Adviser to the United States of Rajasthan i.e. to the Rajpramukh as well as the Government and not to Government only. Secondly, you also made it clear that you would not accept a position subordinate to the Cabinet. Thirdly, regarding your salary and other facilities also you pointed out that they must remain as they were when you were the Prime Minister of Udaipur State. You also said that you had made all these conditions clear to Mr. V. P. Menon more than once and he took no objection to them. This was rather revealing to us.

Now so far as the position of the Government is concerned it is like this. We want to have an adviser to advise us in matters of administration. Obviously the person so appointed would be an adviser to the Cabinet only and the appointment would also be made by the Government on terms and conditions to be decided by it. It is impossible in practice and objectionable constitutionally that the adviser should have an approach to the Rajpramukh. The ultimate responsibility of administration is of the Cabinet and it is Cabinet's business to advise the Rajpramukh. If two agencies are to advise the Rajpramukh, there would be a division of responsibility which would put the work of administration on a wrong track. But a more fundamental objection to this arrangement is that it offends against universally accepted cannons of democratic and responsible government which the Rajasthan State Government definitely is.

When we met Mr. Menon last time on 7 May, we made the whole position clear to him and he agreed. In fact this position about the adviser is going to be incorporated in a memorandum that the States Ministry is shortly to send to all the Unions of the States in order to suggest them certain broad matters of principle and policy in accordance with which they have to work.

Regarding terms also we are definite that we must settle the terms afresh. This does not necessarily mean a change in all respects, but as the appointment would be a new appointment, technically the terms would have also to be settled at the time of appointment. You also in your talk with us referred that you must have your present residence in case you

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continue. But I must frankly say that the Government stands in need of the house you are occupying at present and hence your condition regarding residence, however minor it may otherwise appear, would also not be acceptable to the Government.

Therefore, looking to the basic difference of approach that exists between you on the one hand and the Government on the other on this question of having an adviser, I have to inform you that it would not be possible for the Government to get the benefit of your experience and ability. I must state that the Government would have been very glad to have you as their adviser had it been possible without offending democratic constitutional practice but as this is not so we are left with no other alternative except the one stated above. In the end I hope you would appreciate the stand we have taken irrespective of formalities.

339

Mussoorie
21 May 1948

My dear Maharana Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter which was delivered to me by your private secretary. I am sorry that you should have been put to so much trouble and inconvenience.

I shall have a talk about this with Menon when he comes here on the 24th. In the meantime, I am asking Manekyalal to come and see me. I think I shall be able to arrange everything satisfactorily.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. Col. His Highness Maharajadhiraja
Maharana Sir Bhupal Singh Bahadur GCSI, KCIE
Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar)

340

Dehra Dun
30 May 1948

My dear Maharana Sahib,

As intimated to you in my letter, I sent for Shri Manekyalal Varma and have had a full discussion with him on the various points. He has accepted my advice to withdraw his letter, but on the question of the house, I am convinced that his is the right

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position and that Sir S. V. Ramamurthi cannot make an issue of it. I hope Your Highness will persuade him to accept that decision of the Ministry.

2. I fully appreciate Your Highness' confidence in Sir S. V. Ramamurthi's ability and talent, but I am sure Your Highness will appreciate that in the complex administrative machinery of today under democratic regimes, something more than ability or talent is the art of being able to manage with men of different types and of different position. The frequent occurrence of incidents seems to indicate that temperamentally S. V. Ramamurthi has not been able to adapt himself to the new ways. A hint from Your Highness that he should do so may mend matters. Otherwise, it is quite possible that his actions might prejudice the relations of Your Highness with the Ministry and might unnecessarily involve your prestige and position. I can assure Your Highness that it is only as a friend that I am tendering this advice to you.

3. I am convinced that your Ministry will never do anything which would prejudice your pre-eminent position amongst the Rulers of Indian States. At the same time, it is only fair on my part to point out a possible source of conflict, which I would advise Your Highness to be careful about.

4. I hope Your Highness will now forget this incident and treat the matter as closed after you hear from Shri Manekyalal Verma on this subject.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Maharana Sir Bhupal Singh Bahadur
Maharana of Udaipur
Udaipur

341

United States of Rajasthan
Udaipur
23 June 1948

Respected Shri Sardar Patel,

I beg to send herewith a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary to His Highness the Rajpramukh of Udaipur by the

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Chief Secretary of the United States of Rajasthan on the question of special allowances to Rajmatas.

Yours sincerely,
Manekyalal Verma

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
(Original in Hindi)

ENCLOSURE

United States of Rajasthan
Udaipur
23 June 1948

Dear Sir,

I would like to invite your attention to your letter dated 6 June 1948, which you had kindly addressed to the Hon'ble Chief Minister.

It is the contention of the Chief Minister that as the privy purses of the Princes are being fixed by the States Ministry, it will not be proper to subject State treasury to the separate allowances for the Rajmatas. The Government of Rajasthan, however, will agree to any decision that the States Ministry will like to take in this regard. This fact, however, may please be taken note of.

Yours sincerely,
Bhagwat Sinha Mehta
Chief Secretary

Shri Ramgopal Trivedi
Secretary to
His Highness the Rajpramukh
Udaipur
(Original in Hindi)

342

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Maharaja of Bikaner came to see me today with Mehrchand Mahajan,[1] his new adviser. He spoke to me chiefly about the Bhakra Dam project. This was originally intended to supply water to a part of Bikaner State also, but it appears that the East

[1] Judge, Lahore High Court, 1943; Member, RIN Mutiny Commission, 1946; Punjab Boundary Commission, 1947; Judge, East Punjab High Court, 1947; Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947-48; Constitutional Adviser to Maharaja of Bikaner, 1948; Judge, Federal Court; Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India

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Punjab Government now intends to absorb all the water and not to give any to Bikaner. Prima facie this seems to me unreasonable. We must look at it [from] the all-India point of view, and, as far as I can make out, food production should be much greater if some of this water went to the good land in Bikaner State which lacks water. There is no other way of reaching Bikaner.

2. I understand that the Bikaner Government wrote to the States Ministry on this subject some time back giving all the facts. I think they deserve to be helped in this matter. I am writing to the WMP [Works, Mines and Power] Ministry to enquire how matters stand.

3. The Maharaja then spoke to me about certain objections he had to the draft Constitution of the Indian Union. He was worried about sovereignty and the like. You know that he has got a number of bees in his bonnet. I did not discuss this matter with him. I told Mahajan that if he wanted he could meet [Sir] B. N. Rau and explain his viewpoints.

4. The Maharaja also wanted a trunk telephone, an airline and a broadcasting service. I have asked Mahajan to see Rafi Ahmed [Kidwai] about the two former [subjects].

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

343

New Delhi
12 April 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 11 April 1948. I have already written to [N. V.] Gadgil about Bikaner's claims in connection with the Bhakra Dam project and have taken the line which you have suggested.

I am looking into the question of a broadcasting service. His Highness the Maharaja will probably raise it with me himself when he meets me. It will require some discussion between Bikaner authorities and our own officers to settle the question of transmitters and other technical details.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

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344

Bikaner House
Abu
14 May 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have been wanting to write to you in connection with retaining the services of Mr. Justice Mehrchand Mahajan in Bikaner State as Adviser, but have so far hesitated from doing so on account of your indisposition. I am very glad to note from newspaper reports that you are satisfactorily progressing in the excellent climate of Mussoorie and that you are also off and on attending to important business of State. I am therefore troubling you with this letter because the question has become one of urgency and I trust that you will find it possible to deal with the matter without putting undue strain on your health.

Your assistance in this matter becomes essential for Mr. Justice Mahajan is in the service of the Government of East Punjab and hence I had obtained your permission for him to come to Bikaner as Adviser. I am most anxious that he should continue in my service during the early stages of the formation and working of responsible government in the State. His leave expires on 10 June 1948. While he is prepared to continue in Bikaner after that, he is unwilling to resign his post of judge for that purpose. In the circumstances I wish to make a personal request to you to help me in retaining his services up to the end of December 1948.

There are two possible alternatives under which Mr. Justice Mahajan can be retained as Adviser in Bikaner State. The first alternative is to extend his leave, without allowances, up to the end of December 1948. No leave is due to him and this can only be granted as a special case by the Ministry of Home Affairs with the concurrence of the Government of East Punjab. I do not know what the rules on the subject are, but I would request you kindly to arrange leave for him up to the end of December 1948.

The other alternative is that his services may be lent to Bikaner State on deputation up to the end of this year. I shall feel very grateful if you will kindly move the Governor of East Punjab and get his agreement for lending Mr. Justice Mahajan's

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services to Bikaner State, as mentioned above, up to the end of December 1948.

At the moment Mr. Mahajan is in the middle of some very urgent and important work and we could ill afford that to come to a standstill, which would be the case if he were to go back to Simla and rejoin the High Court on 10 June and then return to Bikaner on deputation from there. Quite apart from other important work that has to be dealt with, I also feel that it would be very prejudicial to the interests of Bikaner State if Mr. Mahajan goes back to Simla after staying in Bikaner for a period of only two months. In these special circumstances I sincerely hope that he will be able to continue in my service without a break and that his case will be treated as a special one and he may be taken as being on deputation from the East Punjab Government from 10 June 1948. Whatever allowances or other charges that have to be paid for getting the services of a judge on deputation will of course be paid by the State.

Mr. Justice Mahajan is agreeable to either of the alternatives suggested above and I will now leave it to you to proceed with whichever alternative you may think best.

Some time during this month Mr. Mahajan has to inform the East Punjab Government of his decision as to whether or not he would rejoin the High Court on 10 June, as in case he continues to be in my service the East Punjab Government will have to make other suitable arrangements in his place in their High Court. I shall therefore be grateful for whatever arrangements may be decided upon by you being made as early as possible and the decision communicated to me as soon as convenient and if possible by the end of this month at the latest.

I must apologize for the trouble I am giving you when you are convalescing, but the matter is urgent and I trust you will readily understand my anxiety to retain Mr. Mahajan's services.

Hoping that this finds you fast recovering your normal health and with kindest regards and all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Sadul Singh
[Maharaja of Bikaner]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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345

Mussoorie
18 May 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 14 May 1948 regarding the services of Mr. Justice Mahajan.

The question primarily concerns the East Punjab Government. It is rather awkward for a judge of the High Court to be away from duty so long in the service of another State. It was with some difficulty and a great deal of reluctance that the East Punjab Government agreed to his going to Kashmir on the last occasion. I am doubtful if they would take kindly to this suggestion now. Moreover, he was released for Kashmir for strategic and tactical reasons, and, therefore, the ordinary rules and practice had to be set aside. I am doubtful if, in your case, I could urge the same considerations.

I am sure you will appreciate my difficulties in sponsoring this proposal but of course if Mahajan can persuade the East Punjab Government to agree, I shall have no objection.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri H.H. Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar
Shiromani Maharaja Shri Sir
Sadul Singhji Bahadur, GCSI, GCIE, CVO
Maharaja of Bikaner
Bikaner House
Mt. Abu

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Devi Bhawan
38 Nepean Sea Road
Bombay
19 June 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

In continuation of the purely informal discussions which recently took place in Delhi between His Excellency Lord Mountbatten and Mr. V. P. Menon and the Rulers of the three major States of Rajputana, namely, Their Highnesses of Jaipur and Jodhpur and myself, I enclose herewith a Note regarding Rajput rallies in the States which I trust will be self-explanatory.

2. I need hardly add that I have not written the Note with any desire to raise any controversial issues. On the other hand my one aim is that the problem should be settled by discussion round the table peacefully and in a friendly spirit and thus to prevent any serious trouble from arising. I have therefore made a definite suggestion for a solution of the problem being found by the Government of India convening a round table conference as stated in para 12 of the Note.

3. There were certain points which for obvious reasons I could not put in the Note but which I would like to state frankly in this secret letter, as I feel that the Government of India should be apprised of the real facts.

4. As regards the Rajput rally which took place in Jodhpur as a direct result of and in retaliation to a similar rally on a large scale held by the Jats and kisans which was sponsored by the local Lok Parishad, I am given to understand on good authority that although Mr. Jai Narain Vyas[1] had taken up office as Chief Minister, he was the main guiding spirit behind the Jat-kisan rally. In fact I have first-hand information that when Mr. Jai Narain Vyas was organising this rally he was warned by Thakur Madho Singhji, the Dewan, not to do so as it was likely unnecessarily to create bad blood, but he refused to listen. This is exactly what has happened. After having been directly responsible for the

[1] Secretary, All-India States Peoples' Conference, Prime Minister of Jodhpur, 1947-48 and Chief Minister of Rajasthan, 1930-51

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holding of such Jat-kisan rallies, which, as was feared, led to retaliatory rallies by the Jagirdars and other Rajputs, the Lok Parishad of Jodhpur and others of the All-India States Peoples' Conference are now making a hue and cry complaining against such rallies and even suggesting that the Rajputs should be prevented from carrying arms with them. To make any such attempt to stop the Rajputs from carrying arms will not only be strongly resented but, speaking as a true well-wisher of our mother country as a whole, would be a step which, to say the least, would be most unwise.

5. If the relations between the two classes deteriorate any further, which is bound to happen unless immediate steps are taken to put a stop to the present objectionable and provocative activities of the Praja Mandals in the States, it would be disastrous not only to those States but to the Indian Union as a whole; and in all friendliness I wish to sound a grave note of warning that what may happen in our States is likely to seriously affect even the Rajput and Jat personnel of the Indian fighting services with all its serious and dire consequences.

6. I therefore trust that this important problem, pregnant with such grave possibilities and repercussions, will be looked at by the Government of India in its correct perspective and that necessary steps will be taken by you, His Excellency the Governor-General, Pandit Nehru and Mr. V. P. Menon, to all of whom I am sending copies of the Note, in order that a satisfactory settlement is reached at a very early date.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Sadul Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

NOTE REGARDING RAJPUT RALLIES IN STATES

In the purely informal discussions which recently took place in Delhi between His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, Mr. V. P. Menon and the Rulers of the three major States of Rajputana, namely, Their Highnesses of Jaipur and Jodhpur and myself, the question came up of Rajput rallies being held in some States which, it was stated, were likely to lead to trouble and even clashes and bloodshed. . . .

I was surprised and even perturbed to see that the trend of the discussions revealed a line of thought as if it was the Rajputs alone who had

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been responsible for creating this situation and that the trouble began with these Rajput rallies. . . .

I consider that a Ruler must be above party politics and must mete out even justice to all. . . .

As I pointed out at the discussions, it is only now that the Rajput community of these States is beginning to hold meetings and rallies. This is not in order to display their strength for its sake, but the cardinal fact must be remembered in judging the case that the Rajput rally in Jodhpur State was a direct result of and in retaliation to a similar rally on a large scale held by the Jats and kisans which was sponsored by the local Lok Parishad. . . .

Let us go back to the history previous to the Jat-kisan rally that was held in Jodhpur a few days before the Rajput rally. For the last quarter of a century and more the strongest possible propaganda has been carried on by the All-India States Peoples' Conference organisations to stir up trouble and incite the peaceful Jats and kisans in the States, that is to say the cultivators in Jagir areas, to rise against the Jagirdars, and no-rent campaigns have been openly preached and indulged in. . . .

The womenfolk of the Jagirdars and the Rajput community have been openly insulted and the worst possible abuse hurled at them. Some cases are reported to have occurred even of molestation of the carriage or rath (covered bullock cart) in which the wives and other female relations of the Jagirdars and other Rajputs were travelling, such as touching the purdah and attempting to draw it apart, and making insulting remarks and a number of provocative acts of this nature.

The Praja Mandals and Jats and kisans have also been preparing for some time for the forthcoming elections which will usher in responsible government in our States.

It is not through this kind of propaganda and tactics that the question can be solved as it will only lead to ill-will and bitterness and stir up trouble between the Jats and the Rajputs, both of whom are in a differing manner martial classes, and who have all along lived together in peace, amity and harmony. It is a thousand pities that the seed of discord has been sown and if further embitterment of the relations of these two classes takes place, can anything else be expected but a clash and bloodshed and trouble all over our States which would be disastrous?

I feel that it is a disgrace to our country and ill befits her sons that they should squabble among themselves.

I would, however, like to make a concrete proposal for the solution of the problem, namely, that a conference should be convened urgently by the Government of India in consultation with the Rulers of these Rajputana States as well as any other States that may be affected by this problem.

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Pending these talks the Government of India and the States Ministry should take immediate steps to ask the local Praja Mandals to co-operate in the greater interests of our country and put a stop to and refrain from objectionable and provocative activities [like] violent speeches and objectionable slogans and other propaganda through the Press or otherwise.

I entirely agree with Mr. V. P. Menon that this subject is becoming a serious menace both to our individual States as well as to the Indian Union.

I repeat that unless the real cause of the trouble which has led to such Rajput rallies and retaliations is checked it is tantamount to ignoring the substance and chasing the shadow.

It would be unfair to the Jats and kisans of our States if I did not give expression to the fact that they have been loyal and peaceful subjects and by nature are not given to creating trouble.

Bombay, 19 June 1948 Sadul Singh

347

The Palace
Jodhpur
Rajputana
28 July 1948

Respected Sardar Sahib,

I wish I could come and pay my respects to you, but as Vyasji would explain, I am suffering from heart trouble at present. Nevertheless, through this letter I wish to express my heartfelt joy and happiness on your recovery. I do hope, Sardar Sahib, that you are keeping good health and not working too hard.

There is one little matter about which I wanted to speak to you personally.

If the manner in which I understand some misunderstanding has been created about me with the States Ministry, I beg you to give me a chance to place the facts before you and explain things to you personally. In the meanwhile I shall be most grateful if you will be so good as not to believe any stories that might have been or might be cooked up about me.

With my best respects,

Yours ever loving,
Narain Singh
[Private Secretary to Maharaja of Jodhpur]

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348

New Delhi
2 August 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I was very glad to receive your letter of 28 July. We have been out of touch with each other for a long time. None has regretted it more than myself that during this interval several reports affecting Your Highness have reached me which are not altogether of a complimentary type. I naturally would not, and indeed could not, have taken cognizance of those reports without hearing your point of view and I have, therefore, suspended judgment. I would, therefore, myself welcome a very early opportunity of meeting you and should be glad if you would kindly come here as soon as your health permits. I am very sorry to hear that you have been unwell and hope that you have now recovered.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Raj Rajeshwar
Maharajadhiraja Shri Hanwant Singhji Bahadur
Maharaja of Jodhpur
Jodhpur

349

Umaid Bhawan
Jodhpur
Rajputana
9 August 1948

Dear Sardar Saheb,

His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur of Jodhpur has received your letter of 2 August 1948. In your letter you have given reference of His Highness' letter of 28 July which in fact was written by me and not His Highness.

His Highness is sending a reply to your letter of 2 August.

Hope this finds you in the enjoyment of best health.

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With regards,

Sincerely yours,
Narain Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

350

Umaid Bhawan
Jodhpur
Rajputana
9 August 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of 2 August 1948 for which I convey my thanks to you. The letter of 28 July of which you have given a reference was in fact from my private Secretary, Maharaj Narain Singh, and not from me.

Though it is not surprising, yet I am sorry to learn about the nature of reports you have received about me. It is indeed very kind of you not to have taken cognizance of these reports without hearing from me.

In accordance with your desire I shall avail of the first opportunity to be in Delhi. I not only hope but am also confident that our meeting will result in the clarification of many a misunderstanding prevailing at the moment.

Hope now you are keeping quite fit.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Hanwant Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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351

TELEGRAM

Jodhpur
11 August 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

WILL BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WILL KINDLY PUT ME UP AND A STAFF OFFICER REACHING THERE TUESDAY SEVENTEENTH MORNING. KINDLY CONFIRM. KIND REGARDS.

HANWANTSINGH

352

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
12 August 1948

His Highness Maharaja Hanwantsinghji
Jodhpur

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED ELEVENTH. UNDERSTAND FROM JAINARAYAN VYAS YOUR HIGHNESS COMING HERE ON FOURTEENTH MORNING AND LEAVING SAME EVENING. WOULD BE GLAD PUT YOU UP.

VALLABHBHAI

353

Jodhpur
21 August 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

It was most kind of you to put me up during my recent visit to Delhi, and I write to express my grateful thanks to you for your kind hospitality.

I enjoyed every minute of my stay in your charming house and my only regret is that owing to my brief visit, I could not stay there longer than I did.

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With renewed thanks and best respects,

Yours very sincerely,
Hanwant Singh

354

31 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
7 August 1948

Dear Mr. Shankar,

I came to New Delhi last evening and shall stay here for a week or ten days. H.H. Jodhpur is reaching here on the 10th. Please see that he is tactfully handled.

When I met Sardar before I went back to Jodhpur I told him that H.H. was realising that he would one day be in trouble if he made the Jagirdars all powerful. He is to be dragged out of the rest. After going to Jodhpur I received a very horrible report. It was a statement made in a court in Bhindor in Udaipur State by one Chaturbhuj Mochi that some Thakur was getting steel kukris (knives Gurkhas keep) manufactured in Jodhpur in two different places. The statement said that the kukris were passed in the palace and the order for manufacturing kukris was very big.

I deputed a man of my confidence and found out the workshops.

The matter was brought to the notice of the Dewan. Next day when I was discussing with H.H. the acts of Jodhpur that put the Central Government in suspicion I mentioned the case of the manufacture of kukris as well. H.H. thereupon, admitted before me that it was he who ordered the manufacture of 10,000 kukris and stabbing knives as Col. Shamsingh, Thakur Bakhtawar Singh and Lala Harishchandra wanted the stuff for military, police and Hakumats respectively. These kukris and knives are still lying in Jodhpur Fort etc. Mr. Pranlal Munshi, Refugee Minister, Baroda, who had recently visited Jodhpur and was my guest, was given the samples of the kukris and knives and H.H. told him that he would be pleased to sell Baroda State the kukris at the rate of Rs. 10 each and knives at the rate of Rs. 6 each. The kukri can cut steel.

Please bring this to the notice of Sardar Sahib.

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Personally I am convinced that this young man got these 10,000 weapons manufactured for Jagirdars and Rajputs but later on better counsel prevailed. Perhaps he does not know that in the military kukris and knives, which are not officially considered as component parts of the equipment, cannot be kept by troops. This fact should be brought home to him when he meets the Sardar and the kukris and knives should be got out of his hands. They may be purchased by the Government of India at cost price and H.H. may be tactfully warned not to indulge in such manufacture. If you think proper Pranlal Munshi [may] be asked to send the samples to you for the inspection of Sardar.

This young Ruler is very intelligent at mechanism, but succumbs to evil influences. He has inherited the good quality of generosity from his father; but it is generally misplaced. Yesterday an hour before I flew to Delhi, I got the copy of an order from the Chief Secretary saying that a bungalow worth at least Rs. 4 lakhs has been granted to L. Harish Chandra. This gentleman is the minister who accompanied me. I have lodged a strong protest against this grant, bypassing the administration. I have asked for the withdrawal of the order.

I have given these facts which I hope would serve as background when Sardar talks to H.H. on the 10th or any following day.

I am preparing a note on the financial position of the State and how these gifts have affected the State treasury. I hope to send it on to you by the 9th.

Kindly keep this note to you and Sardar Sahib only.

Kindly acknowledge this on the phone.

Yours sincerely,
Jainarain Vyas

355

New Delhi
3 September 1948

My dear Sir V. T. Krishnamachari,

Menon has shown to me your letter to him regarding Jodhpur. I am very glad to note that through your efforts it has been possible to reach an amicable solution of that difficult problem and I should like to say how grateful we are to you for having spared your time and brought matters to a successful result.

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari
Dewan, Jaipur State
Jaipur

356

Camp Pilani
12 August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated 7 August 1948 regarding Bikaner elections. So far as I am aware, I have received no communication from the Bikaner Praja Parishad asking for permission to participate in the forthcoming election to the legislature of the State. But I am making enquiries from the office of the AICC. If any application comes to me, there will be no avoidable delay so far as I am concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

357

Dehra Dun
21 June 1948

My dear Dr. Pattabhi,

Thank you for your letter of 17 June 1948. I am asking Menon to see if he can place Mr. M. P. Bhargava[1] anywhere.

I hear from Gadgil that you are going to Ajmer-Merwara on 26 June. I thought I would let you know the present delicate situation in Rajasthan, so that you can adjust your speech accordingly. Rajasthan is at present somewhat in a state of ferment. The ruling class, the Rajputs and the Muslims are considerably agitated. Only the other day, there was a procession in Jaipur which openly indulged in anti-Congress and anti-Indian slogans. Jodhpur is no better, and according to Manekyalal

[1] Head of AICC Secretariat; later Member of Parliament

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Varma, similar sentiments persist in Rajasthan Union as well. Ajmer-Merwara also is at present somewhat troubled. The local Congress organisation is a house divided against itself. There is no outstanding personality who can control the organisation and unite the factious elements. Ajmer-Merwara has long been the nerve-centre of Rajputana. It comprises the various elements which go to make the body-politic of Rajputana. Any word of action there affects the entire region.

I would, therefore, suggest that in dealing with the various issues your emphasis should be on a national rather than sectional or regional approach. It would be best to avoid upsetting the feudatory element. That element can be tackled by us as soon as possible when the proper time comes and things are ripe. At present, we have to see that the less trouble there is in this strategically important region, the better, and if we can have smooth administration and fairly stable politics, it would be better. The Praja Mandal workers should, therefore, be advised to use the present opportunities which have fallen into their hands with a sense of responsibility and discretion. Their aim should be not to alienate, but to befriend others. There is no room for any superior airs or for any manifestation of the position of that prestige and power which they have acquired. They should follow Gandhiji's teachings and should be humble in greatness and conciliatory in power. Picking up a needless quarrel with the rulers or wantonly heaping indignities and insults on them will avail them nothing. Instead, they should make all the concession possible to the prestige and position of the rulers which they should safeguard as their own.

As regards Ajmer-Merwara, I would suggest that you avoid getting into controversial grounds over local constitutional problems. In so far as the future constitutional problem is concerned, the matter is already before the Assembly. We cannot consider Ajmer-Merwara in isolation. It is not a viable unit for that purpose, and in any case too small to form a stable and satisfactory unit of democratic government on the same lines as the provinces. The local Congress leaders, as for example, Pandit Mukut Behari Lal Bhargava, seem to think that ministerial responsibility is a panacea. They little realise that ministerial responsibility is meaningless if they have not the control of the purse-strings or if the unit is not sizeable. We have already installed the system of Advisory Councils, and until the future of Ajmer-Merwara is decided by the Constituent Assembly, which should

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not be very long, I am afraid that is the only system which can be enforced. We can of course liberalise the provisions of the scheme of the Advisory Council to ensure that popular voice is felt by the administration.

These are the problems which seem to me to require very careful handling and it is for this reason that I thought I might write to you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
29, Chamiers Road
Adyar, Madras

358

Udaipur
5 October 1948

Respected Sardar Sahib,

I, in consultation with and in concurrence of my colleagues of the Cabinet, am sending herewith the following four names of persons to represent the Rajasthan Union in the Constituent Assembly:

Manekyalal Varma
Gokullal Asawa
Balwant Singh Mehta
Dalel Singh

This list has also the approval of the provincial Parliamentary Committee of which Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt is the convener.

Yours,
Manekyalal Varma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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359

TELEGRAM

I

Bombay
1 November 1948

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendraprasad
New Delhi

I HAVE RECEIVED FOLLOWING NAMES FOR APPROVAL FOR NOMINATION TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FROM RAJASTHAN UNION. MANEKYALAL VARMA PRIME MINISTER; GOKULLAL ASAWA OF SHAHPURA MINISTER; BALWANTSINGH MEHTA OF UDAIPUR AND KUNWAR DALEL SINGHJI OF KOTAH. IN VIEW OF SHORT TIME AVAILABLE SUGGEST WE ACCORD OUR APPROVAL IMMEDIATELY. PLEASE TELEGRAPH REPLY SO THAT I MAY PUT THESE NAMES TO RAJPRAMUKH FOR NOMINATION.

VALLABHBHAI

TELEGRAM

II

New Delhi
1 November 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

THANKS TELEGRAM. I APPROVE NAMES FROM RAJASTHAN. PLEASE TAKE FURTHER ACTION.

RAJENDRAPRASAD

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360

TELEGRAM

Bombay
2 November 1948

(1) H.H. Rajpramukh of Rajasthan Union
Udaipur

(2) Secretary
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

ADDRESSED TO HIS HIGHNESS RAJPRAMUKH OF RAJASTHAN UNION KOTAH REPEATED TO YOU.

CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY BOARD HAS APPROVED NOMINATION OF MANEKYALAL VARMA YOUR PRIME MINISTER GOKULLAL ASAWA OF SHAHPURA YOUR MINISTER BALWANTSINGH MEHTA OF UDAIPUR AND KUNWAR DALEL SINGHJI OF KOTAH AS REPRESENTATIVES OF RAJASTHAN UNION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. I RECOMMEND TO YOUR HIGHNESS THAT THESE PERSONS MAY BE NOMINATED BY YOU TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN TIME SO AS TO ENABLE THEM TO TAKE THEIR SEATS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN THE NEXT SESSION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH STARTS ON 4 NOVEMBER. MUCH REGRET DELAY IN THIS REFERENCE WHICH WAS DUE TO MY PREOCCUPATIONS ON TOUR. I AM ASKING CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO INTIMATE TO YOUR HIGHNESS PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATION AND FORMALITIES TO BE OBSERVED.

VALLABHBHAI

361

New Delhi
30 November 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith for your information an extract of a report which I have received from the Regional Commissioner in Rajputana.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR RAJPUTANA STATES FOR PERIOD ENDED 15 NOVEMBER 1948

1. General

There is not much to report. Political circles are eagerly awaiting developments connected with the formation of the Greater Rajasthan Union and it is popularly believed that a decision will be taken by the time the Congress session is held at Jaipur.

2. Political

Congress activity is concentrated on the ensuing Congress session at Jaipur. There is considerable hustling among some Congress workers to get themselves appointed in Government service and the disgruntled among them promptly become critics of the Rajasthan Union Government. It is hoped that this is an ephemeral phase.

Socialists have been very active during the period under report. They are making full use of the 'Greater Rajasthan' slogan to suit their party objective. It is clear that the objective is to claim credit for the establishment of Greater Rajasthan and then use it for electioneering purposes.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain visited Udaipur on 9 November, stayed there for two days and addressed fairly large meetings. Among those who received him at the railway station were Mr. Mehta, ambassador-designate to Holland, and Shri Sukhadia, Industries Minister of the Union Government. Mr. Mehta was the president of one of the public meetings addressed by Shri Jaiprakash Narain. There is considerable public comment that an ambassador-designate should have presided at the meeting at which the Socialist leader vehemently criticised the Indian Union Government and its leaders. Mr. Mehta is reported to have stated that Shri Jaiprakash Narain is the proper leader for the present time and that the socialist ideology is most suited to India.

3. Communists have also been active during this fortnight. Their meetings were of the usual kind—indiscriminate criticism of the Union Government which is said to have allied itself with capitalists.

4. Law and Order. I have examined the crime figures of the States comprised in the Rajasthan Union for the last three years. The number of reported cases has increased considerably in the States of Mewar and Kotah as the following figures show:

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	Mewar State No. of cases reported.
1946	853
1947	928
1948	2,026

Even making allowance for better reporting of cases, the position is unsatisfactory. There were 42 dacoities, 88 robbery cases and 1,111 burglaries as against the corresponding figures of 24, 61 and 414 during the previous year. The Kotah figures are also unsatisfactory.

	Kotah No. of cases reported.
1946	658
1947	708
1948	939

5. Students. At Dungarpur, the high school students went on strike as a protest against the alleged high-handed policy of the Muslim headmaster. The girls school students went on a sympathetic strike. The students of the Udaipur High School resorted to a strike from 3 to 5 November, formed themselves into processions creating disorderly scenes in public roads and eventually invaded the Secretariat premises shouting slogans and hurling abuses against the Union Ministry. The Communists were behind the strike which was organised because the period between Dussehra and Diwali was not declared as holidays. Left-wing parties are intensifying their propaganda among students.

6. Services. There is great discontent among the subordinate and ministerial staff. Political parties are making full use of this discontent. Congress workers seem apathetic and do little to popularise the work of their Ministry or do propaganda on their behalf, with the result that socialists and communists have a free field to themselves to mobilise discontent and create trouble. There is also dissatisfaction among the higher ranks of the services due to the compulsory retirement of senior and experienced officers on the plausible plea of 'surplus'. I have still received no report from the Union Government showing the progress so far made in integrating the services.

7. Economic. There has been no rain during this fortnight in the whole of this region except for light showers in scattered places in Matsya Union. Kharif crops are reported to have completely failed in Bikaner except in the canal areas. In Jodhpur famine conditions are reported from 13 out of 22 districts of the State. In Jaipur though the position is slightly better, it is not satisfactory. Jaisalmer which is normally a deficit area is receiving supplies from the Centre to tide over the present crisis. Seven hundred tons of

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wheat have recently been sent. Wheat is selling at Rs. 32 and rice Rs. 76 a maund at Bikaner, and in other areas also, prices are showing a tendency to appreciate. The cost of living is going up and the middle and salaried classes continue to be hard hit.

8. Labour. The Mewar State Railwaymen's Union are getting aggressive. Socialists continue to be active among railway workers. Congressmen seem to take little or no interest in railway labour.

9. Miscellaneous. A conference of rulers of the State comprised in the Rajasthan Union was held at Udaipur on 8 November when their claims to private property were discussed in the light of comments of the Rajasthan Government on such claims. Objections raised by the Government have been reduced to a minimum.

Sirohi State affairs continue to be unsatisfactory Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt has recently been appointed Chief Minister and one of his first acts appears to be the removal of senior and experienced officers from the State service. There is considerable public discontent over the present state of affairs and the sooner the State is merged with one of the neighbouring units, or preferably taken over by the Centre the better would it be for its peace and prosperity.

V. K. B. Pillai
Regional Commissioner for
Rajputana

Abu
22 November 1948

To
N. M. Buch, Esq.
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States

362

Rajasthan Movement Committee
Camp New Delhi
2 December 1948

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
States Minister
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

Herewith I am sending the statement of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia,[1] the chairman of the Rajasthan Movement Committee, and the resolution the committee adopted in its meeting held on 1 December 1948 in Delhi.

[1] Elected to AICC, 1936; led 1942 underground movement; initiated Goa and Nepal struggles, 1946; Gen. Secy., PSP, 1954; founded Socialist party of India, 1956; member Lok Sabha, 1963–68

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Hope this will receive your immediate attention.

Yours faithfully,
Harish Chandra Sharma
for Rajasthan Movement Committee

Sjt. Harish Chandra Shastri
Khatiwada
Jaipur City

ENCLOSURE

STATEMENT BY DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Since a year and more, the people of Rajputana have been agitating for a united Rajasthan. During my tour of this province several months ago, I was required by a conference of all-Rajputana workers to form a committee to conduct this campaign systematically. I deferred, for public announcements by men in authority and private advice indicated that the province would soon be formed and that any systematic campaign was unnecessary, if not harmful. But events have turned out otherwise and reaction is consolidating itself.

The people of Rajputana, than whom none can claim a braver or more chivalrous memory, continue to be split up into the two unions of Matsya and Udaipur, the three States of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner, [and] the centrally administered area of Jaisalmer and Sirohi is being taken away from them. Administration of these areas, which has for centuries been a wild growth of arbitrary laws and practices, is further deteriorating. Instead of a passion for the single citizenship of India and for a healthy and prosperous Rajasthan, local patriotism, working at cross-purposes, intrigues and an atmosphere of sordid gain and frustration, prevail. I can never forget the sense of tragedy that came over me when I visited Fatehpur, a city so typical of the whole of Rajasthan. It looked like a city of ancient memory dug out after long burial, with its grand but shattered mansions, and on its unpaved streets walked a people with the mark of death on their faces and the feeble excitement of prices in far-away Bombay and New York on their lips.

Into this moribund culture, a new element has been introduced. The numberless rajas and jagirdars and officers of old have been joined to several ministries called popular but functioning without popularly elected legislatures. A working compact between the two, willed or otherwise, is growing. Reason is worse, for it has cast aside the earlier hesitancies and has acquired a new arrogance. But the people have also felt new stirrings for the future and their noble memories excite them. They must get their province and all that it denotes for them.

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The idea of Rajasthan must not be confused with dissimilar demands of linguistic provinces and revisions in other parts of the country. Rajasthan is a natural and democratic necessity, the dictate of history and the contours of the land, which makes no revisionist demands from sister provinces, and works out the purely internal destiny of putting broken fragments together.

Great possibilities are lying buried. It will be recalled that the last British Governor-General had looked forward to Rajasthan as a green valley, the granary and dairy of India. I am in a position to reveal the story behind this speech. Prof. Kailas Kaul of the Kanpur Agricultural College made some geobotanical investigations of Jodhpur State more than a year ago. He discovered that the river Luni disappears under the sands and runs for miles and miles until it flows into the sea of Kutch. Under a plan of plant nurseries and tree planting, these waters and the enormous desert around them could be made to bear food and fruit. But that plan has been shelved. The existence and intrigues of many ministries and administrations, coupled with the interests of rajas and jagirdars who might lay claim to this desert once it is green, are denying India its food and Rajasthan its happiness. Similarly, the vast industrial and mineral possibilities of Rajasthan are unused, or squandered under a system of special monopolies granted to privileged persons.

Of equal consequences with the immediate formation of this new province is the form in which it is constituted. A decree from the India Government and no one knows how long it might still be delayed, which changes the externals but keeps the existing spirit intact, will mean no progress. Only when Rajasthan, with its one and a half crore inhabitants, including its farmers and artisans and warriors and labourers and its businessmen and scholars, is seized with the will for a democratic province as an integral unit of a democratic India can the ancient glory be revived in a yet more dazzling way. This a popular movement alone can do, which achieves free elections on the basis of adult franchise at an early date. The rest of India can afford to wait for some months for elections on adult franchise, for it has some kind of popularly elected legislatures, and Rajasthan is also a frontier province.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE RAJASTHAN MOVEMENT COMMITTEE

The Rajasthan Movement Committee has decided that the boundary of Rajasthan should be fixed and the shape of the new province should be simultaneously determined. No good can be expected only by an apparent unification of different States. On the other hand there is danger of things going worse in some aspects. The Rajasthan Committee gives equal importance

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to the question of form and shape of unification as to the question that the different States should be united into a province.

The Rajasthan province can be formed only by uniting all the present States into one single unit. There is no justification for keeping Sirohi, Ajmer and Jaisalmer outside because on the border of Jaisalmer the Hind Government shall have equal authority to look after defence as it has in other border lands. Then the democratic government is always more helpful in matters of defence. On the basis of economy, administration, history etc., Bharatpur and Dholpur should also be a part of Rajasthan. In no case should there be any other decision about these two States without a plebiscite. The present boundaries of the Rajputana States should also be the boundaries of Rajasthan.

The experience in Vindhya and Madhya Bharat provinces has shown that internal differences and narrow outlook increase due to differences in Government services, laws and the internal shape of the Cabinet Ministers. Therefore it is essential that everywhere in Rajasthan the status, pay and authority of the Government servants should be same. To perform this task and to divide the province into proper districts a commission should be immediately appointed. A public service commission should also be set up. The laws in the whole province should be the same, specially the people everywhere should have civil liberties. The elected assembly of the province should make tenancy laws and till then "land belongs to him who tills it" should be the principle acted upon and new settlements and evictions should be stopped. There should be no customs duty on goods imported or exported into or from the province. All the railways in the different States should be amalgamated into a provincial railway which should be administered by the province. Salt and the allied industry should be under the province and the revenues derived from these and the railway should remain in the province. The structure of provincial taxes and revenues should be similar to that in other parts of India and the administration of agriculture, education, hospitals etc., and the wages and the rules of the pay commission should also be similar. There should be one High Court in the province and the question of location of this and the capital of the province should be decided by the elected assembly of the province. Till then Ajmer should be the provisional capital.

The different ministers of the States Unions do not work for the whole Union but work in the spirit of local patriotism and this leads to injustice and maladministration. We must be cautious against this danger which is possible only when the elections are held on adult suffrage within six months of the formation of the province. This is the first and most essential step to cleanse the centuries-old dirt. The elections on adult suffrage basis can wait in other provinces for some time but in Rajasthan there is no elected assembly like in other provinces. The condition of having a Cabinet of

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Ministers without any sort of legislatures is very deplorable. With the formation of the province the Cabinet formed will neither be one elected by the people nor will it have the support of the majority of an elected legislature and therefore where it is essential that the election should be held at the earliest possible it is also essential that the conduct of election, its rules and management should not be in the hands of such 'unrepresentative of the people' ministers. In every case, when the formation of the province is announced the election on the basis of adult suffrage within six months should also be announced simultaneously otherwise the lifeless body of the province will still more deteriorate.

The Rajasthan Movement Committee is of the opinion that the constitution of Rajasthan should be similar to those of other provinces and all its executive heads should be the elected representatives of the people. None of the ex-Princes should get more than one lakh yearly pension. To inquire into the personal property of these Princes a committee of High Court judges should be set up. They should be given full right of citizenship of contesting in election only when they give up their pensions. Similarly the Jagirdari system should also be abolished.

With the formation of the province there should be a scheme of industrialisation on a provincial basis and this scheme should be pushed up by attracting individual investment under State management. The system of monopolies should be abolished.

The density of population in Rajasthan is only 100 persons per square mile when that in the rest of India is 200 and that in UP 500. These figures indicate that in comparison to other provinces there is ample scope of development in Rajasthan. But this is possible only when in the heart of every Rajasthani, whether he is a kisan or mazdoor, businessman or small trader, scholar or brave soldier, there is a burning desire for the citizenship of India together with an earnest desire of making Rajasthan a democratic, prosperous, happy and dignified province.

SUMMARY OF THE TALKS REGARDING FORMATION OF GREATER RAJASTHAN BY MR. V. P. MENON

Before I met the Rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner, Sir V. T. [Krishnamachari], [C. S.] Venkatachar and myself had an informal discussion. Sir V. T. raised the point whether it would be in the interests of India to have one Union of the Rajputana States. His argument was that in the present situation in the East Punjab vis-a-vis the Sikhs it was not advisable to create a similar problem and have a Rajput hegemony or alternatively a Jat hegemony in the area bordering on the East Punjab. While he had no objection to the principle of integration, he suggested that instead of

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one we should have three units, namely, the present Rajasthan Union, Jaipur, Alwar and Karauli forming another and a third, the Western Rajputana States consisting of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer. So far as Bharatpur and Dholpur were concerned, since they are predominantly a Jat area, they had to go to United Provinces.

Both Venkatachar and myself did not see much force in Sir V. T.'s argument. Even if there are three separate administrative units, it will not be politically possible to split up the Rajput community and hold them up in three sections. The trend of political events will prevent any such course. There will be the overall Congress organisation in Rajputana which will keep the Congress elements together. Similarly, the Rajputs will also develop an all Rajputana consciousness. The attachment of the Rajput jagirdars has been traditionally to the rulers of the different States. The system of responsible government brings about a definite cleavage in their traditional relationship and the authority of the ruler will no longer be there to hold the Rajput elements together. It therefore follows that conditions will be created by the trend of political development to bring about integration of the Rajputs even if they are split up into three separate administrative units.

Sir V. T. ultimately came to the view that one Union would be desirable provided a strong administrative machinery was set up to hold together the various parts of Rajputana, including the western area which from the defence and the point of view of law and order is a vital section of the Union.

The most important point on which we desire H.M.'s decision is the administrative set-up till the elections to the Legislative Assembly take place. It is the unanimous view of all of us that responsible government in its true sense cannot be set up immediately after integration. In the first place, the Union, if it is formed, will, in area, be larger than any province in India today and in population the fourth biggest province. The elementary administrative system is lacking in all these States. Further, we have got a most unnatural and the longest frontier with Pakistan. The suggestion we favour for the interim administrative set-up is similar to that now prevailing in Jaipur, namely, there should be a President of Council who should have overall responsibility for the administration assisted by two experienced officials and a small number of Congress, Praja Mandal and Jagirdar representatives.

Secondly, the Socialists have already a programme of integration and have raised the cry of a United Rajasthan. If we now abandon this idea of a United Rajasthan, we will be placed in a disadvantageous position vis-a-vis the Socialists and we will be compelled later on to do it on account of pressure coming from that quarter.

In view of the importance of the frontier, we also suggest that in the Covenant a provision should be included that in the interests of law and

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order and defence the Central Government should have superintendence and control in these matters in regard to the entire frontier area which lies from the border of Kutch to the East Punjab.

A Special problem of this area is the jagirdari system. A composite government during the interim period will be essential in order to have a stable administration during this period and to secure the co-operation of this element which co-operation would be ultimately to the good and stability of the Union. The jagirdars are prepared to dissociate themselves completely and separate out from the rulers. In order to give them assistance to organise themselves and to play their part and to create confidence in them for a short period an assurance may be given to them that there will be no expropriation of the jagirdari system during the next three years, during which period they are expected to organise themselves. If they do not, then it is their own look-out.

Lastly, the Rulers in this area are frankly suspicious of any guarantees which we give them. They assert that since the States Ministry have gone back on all the promises made by them, they want to know what guarantees we could give them to see that the Covenant is respected. I told them that this question would be examined and that we would be prepared to give them whatever protection is practicable. This has to be examined, but I only mention this for H.M.'s information.

363

New Delhi
4 February 1949

My dear Buch,

Two copies of the Note on the administrative arrangements for Rajasthan are enclosed.

2. The unanimous view was in favour of the Council proposed in para 11(d) of the Note. If, eventually, the proposed composition is found to be unacceptable and the States Ministry are obliged to agree to a Council of Administration composed of only political leaders drawn from Rajasthan, or if the responsibility of administration is transferred to a Council of Ministers, assisted by two or three Advisers, it would be necessary to consider the question of administrative co-ordination at the provincial level. A chief secretary alone will not be able to impart necessary cohesion to the administrative machinery. Some other check will have to be devised against excessive departmentalisation. This is all the more necessary in an area where competing demands will be many and available resources to satisfy them scanty. Besides, in a Council consisting wholly of people drawn from Rajasthan,

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some of the important nation-building departments will inevitably be entrusted to leaders of the second rank. If, therefore, attention is to be paid to departmental projects, it will be equally necessary to provide expert guidance and direction to departments other than those mentioned at yesterday's meeting. I would therefore suggest that a team of three experienced officials should be made available to the Council of Ministers so that the Ministers may have the benefit of their advice and experience. Each Adviser may be attached to two or three departments and Secretaries may be required to submit papers to their Ministers through the Adviser concerned. The Advisers should constitute a board for scrutinising cases going up to the Council and giving joint advice. If some such machinery is not devised, it is likely that the existence of separate Advisers for a few important departments and no Advisers at all for other departments will make it difficult for the administrative problems of the area to be viewed and tackled comprehensively.

3. There is one more point and that is about the Constituent Assembly. So far the Covenants have been framed on the assumption that the Princes were agreeing to transfer power to their people and a constitution for their area should therefore be drawn up by a local Assembly. This was presumably intended to satisfy the princely conception of their individual sovereignties. Now the position is different and, so far as the Princes are concerned, they will not have the least objection to the transfer of their sovereign rights to the people of India. Neither can the local leaders raise any valid objection against the conception of the indivisible sovereignty of the Indian people. Should this conception not now be given effect to by providing that the constitutions in the States Unions will be framed by the same body and almost in the same manner as that for provinces? Since the new Unions are represented in the Constituent Assembly, no difficulty is likely to arise in giving effect to this suggestion. On the other hand, if the work of constitution-making is entrusted to the Indian Constituent Assembly, local leaders will have more time to devote to administrative problems and we may have a good constitution framed in a comparatively short time.

Yours sincerely,
K. B. Lall

N. M. Buch, Esq.
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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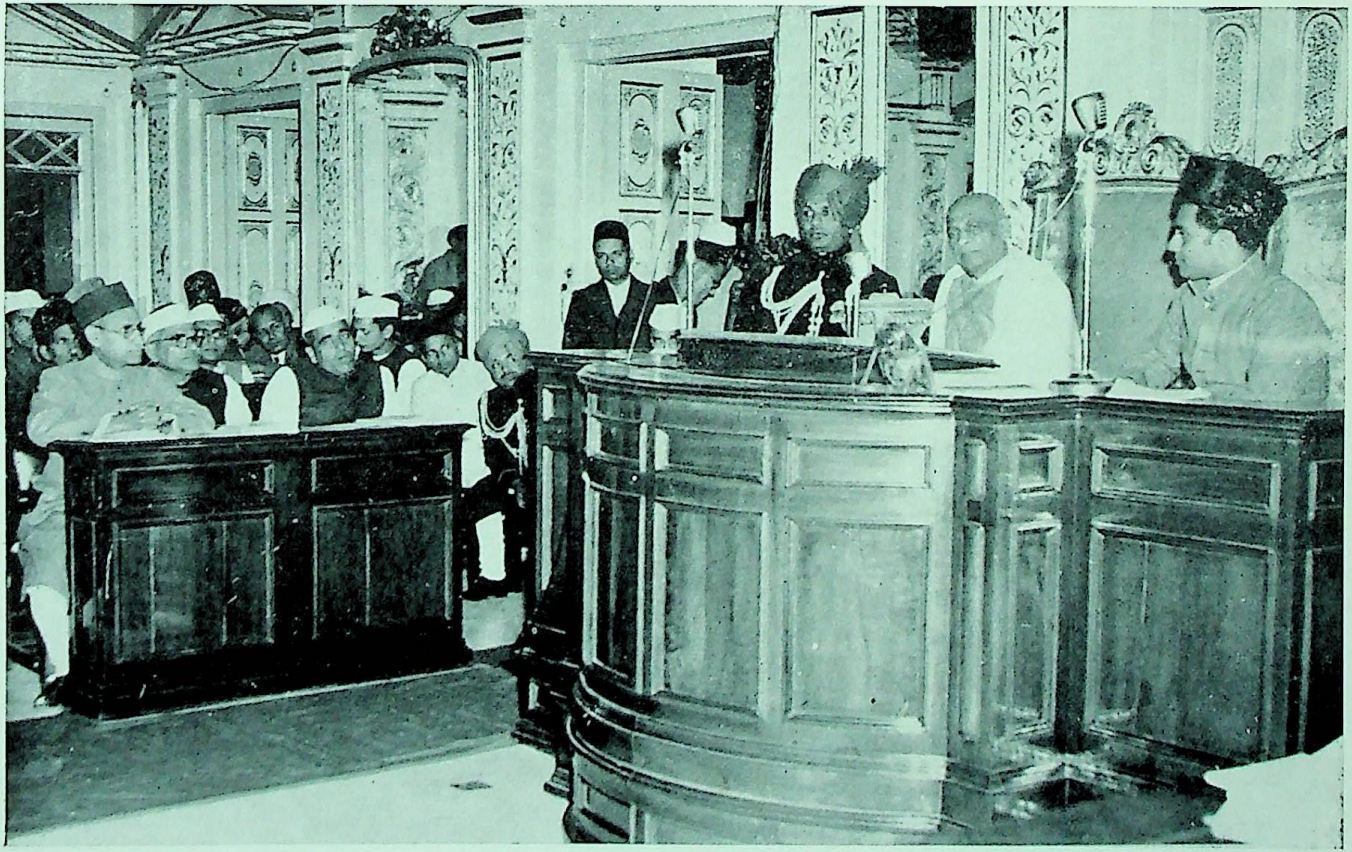
NOTE ON RAJASTHAN

The Princes of Greater Rajasthan have shown realism and practical wisdom by agreeing in principle to dissolve the identity of their individual States so that the process of consolidation may proceed unhampered. The problem of geographical integration will have been successfully solved as soon as the bigger States of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Bikaner merge their territories with those of the existing Union of Rajasthan and Matsya or such portions thereof as agree to become part and parcel of Greater Rajasthan. The question of administrative consolidation, political integration, and democratisation is now to be considered.

2. In the administrative field, Rajasthan presents a great deal of variety. The existing systems of administration differ from State to State. In some of the smaller States, there is little departmentalisation and great concentration of authority in a few hands. In others, even the separation of judiciary and executive powers has been achieved to some extent. In almost all the States, owing to the smallness of the size and the compact nature of territory, the existence of despotic government has made for easy co-ordination and quick solution of such problems as attracted the ruler's attention and interest. In a normal provincial set-up, the district is regarded as a convenient unit of administration and a focal point for co-ordination, but in Rajasthan, an analogous district organisation does not exist or exists only in name and the position of the district officer as responsible for administrative co-ordination in his area is scarcely recognised anywhere. The new units of administration that have been organised in the newly set up Unions have still to acquire the requisite cohesion and the necessary local tradition is still to be built up.

3. In some of the larger States, the superstructure has been modernised to some extent and some of the senior officials can claim to possess, in some measure, the experience of the working of a Council, administering the various departments through a secretariat. Even in these States, the existing organisation is in a comparatively ill-developed state and can hardly be compared with the machine that was available to popular Ministries when they assumed power in the provinces. Essentially, the traditional form of rule, with its peculiarities in the Rajputana States, has survived in a strong form to the present day. The main picture of Rajasthan is still that of a society, largely archaic in character, preserved almost intact under the rule of the Rajput Princes. Over very large tracts, the land is still held under the jagirdari system, with its variants, and, until recently, a host of administrative functions were performed by the jagirdars. Even now, the modern system of revenue administration, which includes a proper settlement record of rights, and a trained revenue staff, extends only to a small proportion of the total area of land, a large part of which remains under feudal conditions. The administrative structure of Greater Rajasthan will therefore have to be built up not only at the top but also at the bottom.

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ADDRESSING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE MALWA UNION ASSEMBLY IN DECEMBER 1948

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THE RAJMATA OF GWALIOR IN HER FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE ADDRESSING A WOMEN'S MEETING, WITH SARDAR PATEL AND THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR PRESENT.

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4. The existing administrative personnel is not likely to be equal, in the immediate future, to the responsibilities that the new set-up is likely to impose on the public services. The predominance of one class in almost all grades and departments, and particularly in the army and the police, still persists. The principle of selection through competitive examinations by a public service commission has been recognised only in a limited way and in two or three States. The rules relating to recruitment, promotions, confidential reports and training, where they exist, leave much to be desired. There are undoubtedly quite a good few officers with considerable ability but traditions of common service or habit of working in a disciplined manner are totally lacking. In the present state of training, organisation and discipline, it will hardly be reasonable to expect the existing personnel to shoulder unaided the responsibilities of a provincial administration. Before they can be expected to shoulder such responsibilities, it will be necessary to scrutinise the claims and merits of existing civil servants, to constitute them into regular cadres, to prepare gradation lists and to instil habits of discipline, service and obedience.

5. One more important feature of the existing administrations is the wide variety of systems of financial control. The powers of the auditor-general and the functions of the accountant-general vary from area to area. In some States, a system of pre-audit obtains; in others, spending departments are entrusted with huge departmental advances, which are not satisfactorily accounted for or audited. Even in the new Union of Rajasthan, advances to the tune of Rs. 1½ crore still remain to be accounted for. Similar remarks apply to budgetary control. Finance departments, where they exist, are weak and lack traditions of effective control over public expenditure. An integrated system of financial control, coupled with an efficient audit, is one of the essential adjuncts of democratic government; it will take a little time to build this up.

6. If administratively existing conditions are not such as to make the immediate introduction of a system of administration on the provincial level a practical proposition, the position in the field of political institutions is no better. There are no elected legislatures in being anywhere except in Jaipur, where a legislature on a restricted franchise has existed for the last few years. Even the number of panchayats, municipal committees, and district councils is extremely small. There is of course no provincial Press and such of the local papers as are current have an extremely low standard of journalism. Political parties are of recent origin and are known to have struck deep roots only in little enclaves round about a few big towns. Even such parties as exist do not possess a well-knit organisation capable of enforcing discipline on their members or taking a broad view of administrative requirements and policies. Sectarian considerations continue to weigh heavily and local loyalties are likely to prove a great stumbling block. In the present conditions, a fully responsible and democratic government is clearly out of the question. It may however be hoped

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that, under the stimulus of the establishment of the new state, the education of the electorate, the integration of the parties, and the influence of the Press will make such rapid progress that within a short period it will be possible for parliamentary institutions and responsible government to be introduced.

7. While the administrative organisation and political institutions are to be found in such an ill-developed state, the problems likely to confront the new Union are such as to test the mettle of long-established administrations and experienced leaders of the people. The proposed Union will have an area greater than that of Bombay and Madras, but it will be sparsely populated, its total population being only half that of Bombay after the integration of Baroda and Kolhapur with the province. Most of the area is under berani cultivation, subject to recurring crop failure. If the new Union is to enjoy the luxury of a balanced budget in the near future, immediate attention will have to be paid to schemes of irrigation development and exploitation of mineral resources. There is a great multiplicity of systems of land tenures; and in vast tracts, the position of tenants is only a little better than those of serfs. The accretions of ages will have to be swept away in a short period and yet land and its possession play so vital a part in the social and mental make-up of the people that if the proposed changes are not thoughtfully planned and carefully executed, disorder and violence may result. A strong and competent administration alone will be able to tackle the most difficult problems of administrative consolidation, democratisation and overdue reforms.

8. Local conditions apart, a strong and efficient administration in Greater Rajasthan is a matter of vital interest to the Dominion. The western boundary of the new Union marches with Pakistan from the Rann of Cutch to Bhatinda. The safety of the Delhi area and of the Western Gangetic Plain is bound up with the strength and stability of Western Rajputana; this is a matter of simple geophysics of the partitioned India. Having regard to the uncertain nature of India's relations with Pakistan, we cannot afford to take any risks in this strategically vital area.

9. What arrangements should then be made to ensure that the new Union makes up quickly the lee-way of ages, and becomes, within a short period, a full-fledged constituent unit of the Indian Union? How should the area be governed in the meanwhile and how should the vital interests of the country in this area be safeguarded? Clearly, such administrative organs and political institutions as are to be found in the area will be unable to shoulder this great responsibility. The inspiration and urge for the expeditious completion of the processes of integration and democratisation come mainly from the people of India, and the Central Government, as the instrument of the will of the people of India, cannot escape the obligation to ensure that these processes are completed with the utmost possible speed and efficiency. The Central Government are responsible to the elected representatives of the people for the

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discharge of this vital obligation. The interests of the whole country are so intimately bound up with the consolidation of the territories at present under the jurisdiction of the Indian States that any other conception of responsibility will prove disastrous. If a breakdown occurs anywhere in the process of consolidation, the country as a whole will be weakened. Even if a little delay occurs in the setting up of the new Union or in its consolidation, the progress of the country towards a uniform system of administration would be hampered.

10. The conception of central responsibility in regard to consolidation of the Indian States is also in keeping with the administrative and political requirements of the situation. If this responsibility is transferred to or vested in the people of the area concerned, they will have no instrument, administrative or political, to fulfil their obligations. The administrative organs and personnel available in the area of the proposed Union have already been examined and the conclusion has been reached that they will be unable to shoulder the burden. On the political side, there are locally no democratic institutions to which the persons entrusted with the task of consolidation could be held to be accountable. The present arrangements in some of the Unions, under which almost complete sovereign powers have been vested in the Raj Pramukh and a handful of Ministers, is undemocratic in the extreme, bad in theory, and unworkable in practice. Under these arrangements, the people have no constitutional remedy against maladministration or arbitrariness and no constitutional platform for voicing their grievances or requirements. The democratic trend of Indian politics requires that those who are charged with the difficult task of administration in the interim period should also, by some device, be made responsible to the elected representatives of the people. The only democratic institution in which the people of the area proposed to be consolidated are represented is the Constituent Assembly of India. It is therefore considered that those who administer this area should, through the Central Government, be made accountable for their actions to the Central Legislature. In the existing circumstances, this is the only possible democratic solution. Until parliamentary institutions are set up, the responsibility to the people must continue to be discharged through the Central Legislature.

11. Political and administrative considerations alike suggest the need for assumption of responsibility by the Centre. It is accordingly considered that in the Covenant to be entered into by the Princes, a provision should be made to the effect that "all rights, authority and jurisdiction, belonging to the Ruler which appertain, or are incidental, to the Government of the covenanting State, shall vest in the United State of Rajasthan and shall, until the inauguration of the new constitution, be exercisable by the Government of India, acting through the Raj Pramukh and a Council of Administration." Such a provision will enable the Central Government to direct the processes of integration and consolidation and in the interim period to secure good government of the territories concerned.

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12. The type of executive and legislative authority to be set up in the Rajasthan Union has been considered in the light of the conditions prevailing in the area. In this connection, some of the suggestions which have been examined are:

(a) A Council of Ministers with a President from outside appointed by the Central Government with certain powers of veto;

(b) A Council of Ministers, with a Supervising Council in addition, the latter consisting of the Raj Pramukh, the Premier of the Union and a representative of the States Ministry having overriding authority over matters relating to integration and law and order;

(c) A Council of Ministers with Advisers appointed by the Central Government and attached to specific departments whose duty it would be to advise the Minister of the department in question before a decision is taken by Government.

(d) A Council of Administration consisting of

(i) a President of the Council who may be either the leader of the Congress party in Rajasthan or a Congressman of standing and eminence drawn from outside Rajasthan;

(ii) three nominees of the States Ministry, who will preferably be experienced officials;

(iii) three members drawn from the Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee;

(iv) one member drawn from the jagirdars. The Secretary to the Council shall also be Secretary-General to the Secretariat.

A President with a vote as contemplated in the first alternative is not a very satisfactory arrangement. While the tendency on the part of Ministers would be to see that the veto is not exercised by the President, those who are dissatisfied with the Ministers will always invoke the aid of the President for the exercise of the veto. This will create unhealthy conditions for the exercise of the executive authority of the Union. Moreover, it would be an anomalous position to have an outsider President whose sole function would appear to be of exercising his veto.

13. The second of the above alternatives is equally open to objection in that there is nothing like integration being carried out in a water-tight compartment while the Ministry carries on the day-to-day administration. Integration is part and parcel of the administration of the Union. Friction is also likely to develop between the official representative of the States Ministry in the Integration Council and the popular Premier, and the Integration Council may also find itself involved in constant deadlocks with the Ministry. A super-imposed authority over the chief executive organ of the Government is not likely to make for smoothness or efficiency.

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14. The third suggestion suffers from the defect that whereas the Advisers advise, there is no means of implementing their advice if the Ministry were to take a different view. Nor is it possible to devise means to ensure that the Advisers' advice is sought even in matters in which they feel that the Advisers' advice will inevitably conflict with their interest or inclination. If the conflict of view between the Advisers and the Ministry were to be referred to the States Ministry on each occasion, there would be an endless stream of references to the Centre and it will not be possible to carry on day-to-day administration in a satisfactory manner. Moreover, if the Advisers do not find a suitable place inside the Governmental mechanism, it will not be easy for them to offer sound advice in isolation, and, in any case, their advice will not carry the necessary weight with the Ministers.

15. The last of the above suggestions seems to be the only practical way of combining administrative experience with popular representation. The popular representative and the nominees of the States Ministry will, in this arrangement, be expected to work as a team, determined to complete in the shortest possible time the common task of creating a new Unit of the Indian Union, and, in the meanwhile

(a) to give to the people of the area the benefits of good administration and urgent reforms; and

(b) to safeguard the vital interests of the country in this strategic area.

This Council will be responsive to the wishes and urges of the people of the area and will be responsible for all its actions to the Central Government who, in turn, will be accountable to the Central Legislature. The proposed arrangement will not only enable local leaders to work jointly and harmoniously with the representatives of the Central Government; it will also provide for interaction of administrative considerations on political urges and may thus make for peaceful and orderly progress. Moreover, it is believed that in the political conditions at present obtaining in the Rajasthan area, a composite Council of the sort suggested is likely to inspire more confidence in the stability of the new State and stronger faith in its future than a Council drawn wholly from amongst local men and belonging to one particular political persuasion.

16. The Council proposed in the preceding paragraph will of course be unable to discharge all the functions and exercise all the powers which normally pertain to a provincial Government. The area to be controlled by it will be vast and the means of communications meagre. The administrative instrument for picking out problems, considering solutions and implementing decisions will inevitably take time to be brought into being. Besides, the nature and character of problems will, at any rate for some time to come, vary enormously from area to area. A great measure of decentralisation will consequently be unavoidable. It is considered that the best arrangement would be to divide

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the new Union into three zones: zonal headquarters (1) for the Western Rajputana Zone comprise the covenanting States of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer being fixed at Jodhpur, (2) for the zone comprising the territories now integrated in the existing Rajasthan Union at Udaipur, and for (3) the zone comprising the covenanting States of Jaipur and such parts of the Matsya Union as agree to join Greater Rajasthan at Jaipur. Each zone should be placed in charge of a zonal commissioner who should be an experienced official lent by the States Ministry. There should be a specific devolution of such of the powers of the provincial Government to zonal commissioners as cannot be conveniently exercised from a remote Centre in existing conditions. The zonal commissioners should also be the co-ordinating authorities for all the departments in their area. If co-ordination is not achieved at the zonal level, excessive departmentalism may develop and the Union Centre, with its imperfect knowledge of local conditions and its remoteness, may be helpless in resolving departmental disputes or ensuring inter-departmental co-operation.

17. Apart from the setting up of a small provincial secretariat to start with, the task of administrative consolidation mainly consists of

(a) firstly, organisation of departments, grouping of functions thereunder and defining the powers and duties of provincial heads;

(b) secondly, constituting cadres of provincial civil services and making selections therefor; and

(c) thirdly, re-organising the administration in each covenanting Unit to ensure conformity with the general pattern of grouping of functions, and classification of services, etc.

(a) should be the responsibility of the proposed Council. As for (b), it will of course be the Council's duty to formulate cadres of provincial civil services and to frame rules for appointment thereto and selection therefor. But the actual work of making selections and drawing up of gradation and cadre lists should, it is considered, be entrusted to an authority independent of the Council but working in consultation with the President of the Council (or the Chief Minister) and the Secretary-General (or Chief Secretary). Selection should be made on the basis of the rules in this behalf and a great deal of weight should be given to the merits of each individual officer. If the Council or individual Ministers are encouraged to take interest in individual cases, extraneous considerations will inevitably be given undue weight, discipline will suffer and the Ministers will have little time to devote to policy-making. The efficiency and good reputation of the administrative machine that it is proposed to evolve for the Union out of the existing raw material will depend so much on

(a) the impartiality and skill of the authority empowered to constitute the new provincial services and draw up gradation lists; and

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(b) the confidence its method of work inspires and the satisfaction it gives; that every effort should be made to ensure that the authority discharges its responsibility without fear or favour.

If this objective is to be gained, it is essential to make a specific provision to the effect that this authority works in the same manner and is guided by almost the same considerations and principles, as an independent public service commission.

18. There are two other essential features of good government, for which it will be necessary to set up independent administrative organs from the very outset. The first of these is an independent judiciary. The Chief Justice for the Union should be selected by the Central Government in consultation with the Raj Pramukh and the President of the proposed Council (or the Chief Minister). The Chief Justice should be vested with full powers of discipline and control over judicial officers and his advice should normally be accepted in matters of transfers, appointments and promotions. The second of these is an independent Auditor General. Without an efficient and independent audit organisation, it will not be easy to enforce financial control, prevent extravagance and detect unauthorised and wasteful expenditure.

19. The Raj Pramukh may need the assistance of an experienced official to advise him in the discharge of his function as the Central Government's Agent. It will be the functions of this official to advise the Raj Pramukh on matters specifically reserved for him, as for instance military affairs, and to keep the Central Government informed of the progress of the work of consolidation and democratisation in the area. The functions of the Regional Commissioner may also perhaps be entrusted to this official.

20. To sum up, it is proposed that the following arrangements should be made for the governance of the new Union of Rajasthan till such time as the new constitution comes into being:

(i) The Covenant should provide that "all rights, authority and jurisdiction that vest in the United State of Rajasthan shall be exercisable by the Government of India, acting through the Raj Pramukh and a Council of Administration;

(ii) The Central Government should draw up an Instrument of Instructions, prescribing the authorities by which legislative, executive and judicial powers are to be exercised on their behalf. The instrument should, among other things, contain provisions relating to

(a) the composition and functions of the Council, its rules of business, and schedule of powers;

(b) appointments and functions of advisers and zonal commissioners;

(c) setting up of an independent judiciary;

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(d) setting up of an independent machinery for drawing up gradation lists, constituting of cadres of provincial civil services and making selections for other superior posts;

(e) setting up of an independent audit organisation;

(f) the administration of reserved subjects, as for example military affairs; and

(g) superintendence, direction, and control by the Central Government.

CONCLUSIONS REACHED AT THE MEETING HELD BETWEEN THE ADVISER, STATES MINISTRY, AND THE PREMIERS OF JAIPUR AND JODHPUR AND SHRI GOKULBHAI BHATT ON 3 FEBRUARY 1949

1. In regard to the administrative set-up for the new Union, all the three popular representatives are against a composite Cabinet consisting of both non-officials and officials as Ministers. It is their unanimous view that the best scheme, which would have a chance of success, would be that Advisers should be interposed between the Ministers and the Secretaries in important departments. In case of difference of opinion between an Adviser and a Minister, the matter should be referred to the Premier; in the event of the difference remaining unresolved the Premier should make a reference to the States Ministry and the decision of the Government of India should be final.

2. The popular representatives agree that there should be two or three Advisers. These Advisers should be attached to the Ministries of (a) Integration (b) Finance (c) Revenue and (d) Law and Order. It may be possible to combine these departments and to allot them to two Advisers.

3. The Premier should himself hold the portfolio of Integration. Though the number of Ministers could not now be decided, it is appreciated that the number should not exceed nine.

4. On the question of the representation of jagirdars, the popular leaders are of the view that having regard to the desirability of the Cabinet pursuing a homogeneous policy, it is inadvisable to include in the Cabinet a jagirdar representing directly the jagirdars or answerable to any of the jagirdars' organisation. However, the desirability of including in the Cabinet non-Congress members representing other interests including those of jagirdars is appreciated.

5. The popular leaders recognise the de facto position that till a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly of the Union becomes operative, the ultimate responsibility for peace and good government in the Union rests with the Government of India; they therefore agree to a provision being made in the new Covenant as well as in other Covenants to the effect that during the

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interim period the Government of the Union will function subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Government of India. Thereafter, the position of the Unions will be similar to that of the provinces.

6. As regards the inclusion of Matsya Union, it is suggested that the question should be further discussed with the leaders of the various States. It is, however, hoped that a decision will be arrived at before the meeting of the Matsya Rulers on the 13th.

7. The leaders are of the view that His Highness of Jaipur should be made the Raj Pramukh for life-time and that His Highness of Udaipur, who should continue to receive his present allowances, should be given a distinctive position without prejudicing the general administrative set-up of the Union.

8. As regards the privy purse of the Rulers, since the three major States of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner, are more or less on par with Indore, their privy purse should be fixed at 17½ lakhs per annum on the analogy of the ruler of Indore, who draws a privy purse of Rs. 15 lakhs per year plus an allowance of Rs. 2½ lakhs as Up Raj Pramukh. So far as Jaipur is concerned, an allowance of Rs. 5½ lakhs may be given to him as Raj Pramukh thus bringing the total of his allowances to Rs. 23 lakhs. The Rulers' privy purse will cover the allowances of the Rulers, consorts and their children but will not include the allowances at present received by the Rajmatas and other members of the Rulers' families.

9. The privy purse as suggested in the preceding paragraph will hold good only during the life time of the present Rulers. The privy purse of their successors will be fixed at Rs. 10 lakhs per annum.

10. It is agreed that the question of the capital of the Union will be decided by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in consultation with popular leaders.

Approved and acccepted by:

1. G. D. Bhatt
2. Hiralal Shastri
3. Jainarain Vyas
4. Manikyalal Varma*

(*I was not present at yesterday's meeting. But I agree to all decisions taken yesterday.)

Note: The question whether the Constituent Assembly should function as an interim Legislature was also considered. In view of the contemplated provision in the Covenant that till the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly becomes operative the Union Government is to function subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Central Government it was considered inadvisable to convert the Constituent Assembly into an interim Legislature because during this period the responsibility of the Union Government will be to the Government of India.

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THE COVENANT

ENTERED into by the Rulers of Banswara, Bikaner, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jhalawar, Jodhpur, Kishengarh, Kotah, Mewar, Partapgarh, Shahpura and Tonk for the reconstitution of

The United State of Rajasthan

Whereas by a Covenant entered into by the Rulers of Banswara, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Kishengarh, Kotah, Mewar, Partapgarh, Shahpura and Tonk it has been agreed that the territories of the said ten States should be integrated into one State by the name of the United State of Rajasthan;

AND WHEREAS it has been agreed between the Rulers of the said ten States and the Rulers of Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur that the said United State of Rajasthan should be reconstituted by the integration of the territories of all the fourteen States;

The Rulers aforesaid do hereby, in supersession of the said Covenant and with the concurrence and guarantee of the Government of India, enter into this Covenant:

Article I

In this Covenant:

(a) "covenanting State" means any of the fourteen States of Banswara, Bikaner, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jhalawar, Jodhpur, Kishengarh, Kotah, Mewar, Partapgarh, Shahpura and Tonk;

(b) "former Rajasthan State" means the United State referred to in the first paragraph of the preamble to this Covenant;

(c) "new covenanting State" means any of the four States of Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur; and

(d) unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, references to the Ruler of a State include any person or persons for the time being exercising the powers of the Ruler, whether by reason of his minority or for any other reason.

Article II

(1) The covenanting States agree—

(a) to unite and integrate their territories in one State, with a common executive legislature and judiciary, by the name of "THE UNITED STATE OF RAJASTHAN", hereinafter referred to as the United State; and

(b) to include in the United State so established any other State, the Ruler of which enters into an agreement with the Raj Pramukh and with the approval of the Government of India to the integration of that State with the United State of Rajasthan.

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(2) The terms of any such agreement of integration as is referred to in clause (b) of paragraph (1) of this article shall be binding on the United State and shall be deemed to be part of this Covenant.

ARTICLE III

(1) There shall be a Council of Rulers consisting of the Rulers of all the covenanting States;

provided that no Ruler who is less than 21 years of age shall be a member of the Council.

(2) The Council of Rulers shall elect at a meeting one member of the Council to be the President, another two to be Senior Vice-Presidents and two others to be Junior Vice-Presidents of the Council.

(3) For the purposes of the elections referred to in the preceding paragraph, every member shall have such number of votes as is equal to the number of lakhs in the population of his State as ascertained at the last preceding census (any fraction more than half a lakh being reckoned as one lakh and any other fraction being ignored), provided that every member shall have at least one vote.

(4) A ruler elected as the President or as a Vice-President of the Council shall be entitled to hold office as such President or Vice-President, as the case may be, for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon the duties of that office.

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in the preceding paragraphs of this Article, the present Rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kotah, Bundi and Dungarpur shall respectively be the first President, Senior Vice-Presidents and Junior Vice-Presidents of the Council of Rulers, and shall enter upon the duties of their respective offices on the thirtieth day of March 1949. The said President shall be entitled to hold office during his life-time and the said Vice-Presidents for a term of five years from the said date.

(6) Notwithstanding anything contained in the preceding paragraphs of this Article, when in pursuance of any such agreement of integration, as is referred to in Clause (b) of paragraph (1) of Article II, any other State is integrated with the United State, the Raj Pramukh may, in consultation with the Government of India, appoint the Ruler of such State as the third Junior Vice-President of the Council of Rulers who shall hold office for a term of five years.

(7) Whenever a vacancy occurs or is about to occur in any of the offices referred to in paragraph (2) the Council of Rulers shall elect at a meeting a member to fill that vacancy, and any member so elected shall hold office for a term of five years from the date on which he enters upon the duties thereof.

(8) The President of the Council of Rulers shall be the Raj Pramukh of the United State.

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ARTICLE IV

(1) In order that he may be enabled to discharge conveniently and with dignity the duties of his office, the Raj Pramukh shall be paid from the revenues of the United State such consolidated annual allowance as the Government of India may prescribe.

(2) There shall be paid from time to time to the Vice-Presidents such allowances as the Raj Pramukh may consider appropriate to cover expenses in travelling in the discharge of such official duties as may be assigned to them.

(3) If the Raj Pramukh is, by reason of absence or illness or for any other reason, unable to perform the duties of his office, those duties shall, until he has resumed them, be performed by one of the Senior Vice-Presidents of the Council of Rulers who may be nominated by the Government of India in consultation with the Raj Pramukh. During such period the Senior Vice-President so nominated shall be entitled to the same consolidated allowance as the Raj Pramukh.

ARTICLE V

(1) There shall be a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh in the exercise of his functions except those under paragraphs (2) and (3) of Article VII.

The Ministers shall be chosen by, and shall hold office during the pleasure of, the Raj Pramukh.

ARTICLE VI

(1) The Raj Pramukh of the former Rajasthan State shall make over the administration of that State on the seventh day of April 1949 to the Raj Pramukh of the United State under this Covenant.

(2) The Ruler of each new covenanting State shall not later than the seventh day of April 1949 make over the administration of his State to the Raj Pramukh; and thereupon

(a) all rights, authority and jurisdiction belonging to the Ruler which appertain or are incidental to the Government of the covenanting State shall vest in the United State and shall thereafter be exerciseable only as provided by this Covenant or by the Constitution to be framed thereunder;

(b) all duties and obligations of the Ruler pertaining or incidental to the Government of the covenanting State shall devolve on the United State and shall be discharged by it; and

(c) all the assets and liabilities of the covenanting State shall be the assets and liabilities of the United State.

(3) When in pursuance of any such agreement of integration as is referred to in clause (b) of paragraph (1) of Article II the administration of any other

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State is handed over to the Raj Pramukh, the provisions of clauses (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph (2) of this Article shall apply in relation to such State as they apply in relation to a covenanting State.

ARTICLE VII

(1) The military forces, if any, of the former Rajasthan State and of each new covenanting State shall, as from the date on which the administration of such State is made over to the Raj Pramukh, become the military forces of the United State.

(2) Subject to any directions or instructions that may from time to time be given by the Government of India in this behalf, the authority to raise, maintain and administer the military forces of the United State shall vest exclusively in the Raj Pramukh.

(3) Unless other provision is made by an Act of the Legislature of the United State, the right to resume jagirs or to recognise succession, according to law and custom, to the rights and titles of the jagirdars shall vest exclusively in the Raj Pramukh.

(4) Nothing in the preceding paragraph of this Article shall be deemed to prevent the Raj Pramukh from consulting the Council of Ministers in regard to any of the matters mentioned therein.

ARTICLE VIII

The Raj Pramukh shall, as soon as practicable, and in any event not later than the fifteenth day of April 1949, execute on behalf of the United State an Instrument of Accession in accordance with the provisions of section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and in place of the Instrument of Accession of the former Rajasthan State and the Instrument of Accession of the new covenanting States; and he shall by such Instrument accept as matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for the United State all the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the former Rajasthan State.

ARTICLE IX

Subject to the provisions of this Covenant and of the Constitution to be framed thereunder, the executive authority of the United State shall be exercised by the Raj Pramukh either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but nothing in this Article shall prevent any competent legislature of the United State from conferring functions upon subordinate authorities or be deemed to transfer to the Raj Pramukh any functions conferred by any existing law on any court, judge, officer or local authority in the former Rajasthan State or in a new covenanting State.

ARTICLE X

(1) There shall be formed, as soon as practicable, a Constituent Assembly in such manner as the Raj Pramukh may, in consultation with the Government of India in the States Ministry, prescribe.

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(2) It shall be the duty of the said Assembly to frame a constitution for the United State within the framework of this Covenant and the Constitution of India, and providing for a government responsible to the legislature.

(3) Until a constitution so framed comes into operation after receiving the assent of the Raj Pramukh, the legislative authority of the United State shall vest in the Raj Pramukh, who may make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of the State or any part thereof, and any ordinance so made shall have the like force of law as an Act passed by the Legislature of the United State.

ARTICLE XI

(1) The Ruler of each covenanting State shall be entitled to receive annually from the revenues of the United State for his privy purse the amounts specified against that covenanting State in Schedule I;

provided that the sum specified in the Schedule in respect of the Rulers of Jaipur, Bikaner and Jodhpur States shall be payable only to the present Rulers of that said States and not to their successors, each of whom shall be entitled to receive annually a sum of Rs. . . . as his privy purse.

(2) The said amount is intended to cover all the expenses of the Ruler and his family including expenses on residences, marriages and other ceremonies, and shall neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever.

(3) The Raj Pramukh shall cause the said amount to be paid to the Ruler in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance.

(4) The said amount shall be free of all taxes, whether imposed by the Government of the United State or by the Government of India.

ARTICLE XII

(1) The Ruler of each covenanting State shall be entitled to the full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties (as distinct from State properties), belonging to him on the date of his making over the administration of that State to the Raj Pramukh of the former Rajasthan State or as the case may be, to the Raj Pramukh of the United State under this Covenant.

(2) If any dispute arises as to whether any item of property is the private property of the Ruler of a covenanting State other than a new covenanting State or is State property, it shall be referred to such person as the Government of India may nominate in consultation with the Raj Pramukh, and the decision of that person shall be final and binding on all parties concerned;

provided that no such dispute shall be so referable after the first day of May 1949.

(3) The private properties of the Ruler of each new covenanting State shall be as agreed to between the Government of India in the States Ministry and the Ruler concerned, and the settlement of properties thus made shall be final.

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ARTICLE XIII

The ruler of each covenanting State, as also the members of his family, shall be entitled to all the personal privileges, dignities and titles enjoyed by them, whether within or outside the territories of the State, immediately before 15 August 1947

ARTICLE XIV

(1) The succession, according to law and custom, to the gaddi of each covenanting State, and to the personal rights, privileges, dignities and titles of the Ruler thereof, is hereby guaranteed.

(2) Every question of disputed succession in regard to a covenanting State shall be decided by the Council of Rulers after referring it to the High Court of the United State and in accordance with the opinion given by that High Court.

ARTICLE XV

No enquiry shall be made nor any action taken by or under the authority of the United State or the Government of India, and no proceedings shall lie in any court, against the Ruler of any covenanting State, whether in a personal capacity or otherwise, in respect of anything done or omitted to be done by him or under his authority during the period of his administration of that covenanting State.

ARTICLE XVI

(1) The United State hereby guarantees either the continuance in service of the permanent members of the public services of the former Rajasthan State and of each of the new convenanting States on conditions which will not be less advantageous than those on which they were serving on 1 November 1948 or the payment of reasonable compensation or retirement on proportionate pension.

(2) The United State further guarantees the continuance of pensions and leave salaries sanctioned by competent authorities in any of the new covenanting States to members of the public services of that State who have retired or proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement, and the compassionate allowances granted to dependents of deceased members of those services before the date on which the administration of the State is made over to the Raj Pramukh.

(3) The United State hereby reaffirms the guarantees given by the former Rajasthan State in paragraphs (1) and (2) of Article XVI of the Covenant establishing that State.

ARTICLE XVII

Except with the previous sanction of the Raj Pramukh, no proceedings, civil or criminal, shall be instituted against any person in respect of any act

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done or purporting to be done in the execution of his duty as a servant of any covenanting State before the date on which the administration thereof is made over to the Raj Pramukh.

ARTICLE XVIII

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to prevent the Government of the United State from taking over the administration of the whole or any part of any area included within a province of India on such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon by the Government of the United State and the Government of India.

ARTICLE XIX

Notwithstanding anything contained in this Covenant, until a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly comes into operation after receiving the assent of the Raj Pramukh, the Raj Pramukh and the Council of Ministers chosen by him under Article V of this Covenant, shall in the exercise of their functions under the provisions of this Covenant be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions if any, as may from time to time be given by, the Government of India.

ARTICLE XX

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Covenant there shall also be during the life time of the present Ruler of Mewar a Maharaj . . . of the United State who shall preside over such meetings of the Council convened by the Raj Pramukh as he may attend. The present Ruler of Mewar shall be the Maharaj . . . during his life time.

(2) In order that he may be enabled to discharge conveniently and with dignity the duties of his office, the Maharaj . . . shall be paid from the revenues of the United State such consolidated annual allowance as the Government of India may prescribe.

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CHAPTER XII

BARODA ACCEDES

364

TELEGRAM

Baroda
7 April 1948

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel
States Dept.
New Delhi

SOME DISGRUNTLED PERSONS ARE INCITED BY MAGANBHAI PATEL OF RAJASTHAN PRAJA PARISHAD TO CAUSE TROUBLE TO OUR LANDED RIGHTS AND WANT TO FORCE US GIVE UP LANDS [under] PRESSURE OF HUNGERSTRIKE IN SPITE OF YOUR HONBLE SELF'S PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE CONTRARY. PLEASE DIRECT HIM TO STOP LAWLESS MOVEMENT. APPLICATION FOLLOWS.

CHHATRASINGHJI THAKORE
BHILODI
REWA KANTHA BARODA

365

TELEGRAM

Bombay
26 April 1941

Sardar Patel
Dehra Dun

GAIKWAD [Baroda] SIGNED YESTERDAY. DRAFT SETTLED WITH MENON. JIVRAJ STILL UNACCEPTABLE. MUNSHI MEDIATING AND MAY BRING HIM TO YOU.

KANJIBHAI

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Gopipura
Surat
30 April 1948

Dear Mr. Menon,

I am writing this to you in connection with Baroda and Gujarat States. So far as Baroda is concerned I am keeping you informed of what takes place. After the Maharaja left for England we sent a telegram to him, a copy of which is sent herewith. To this his personal secretary replied that the Maharaja is coming to Bombay on 3rd evening and that the Prajamandal should wait till then. I have wired to you today to this effect. It will now be seen what happens after he returns. I have wired to Sardar and sought instructions.

Now about Gujarat States. It seems the Government of Bombay have not till now received any instructions from the States Ministry about the States of Gujarat that are to merge very shortly. I think these instructions should be given immediately because the day of merger is drawing near. They are to merge with Bombay province, and as far as I understand they are not to be administered as parts of the Indian Dominion by the Bombay Government, on their behalf, but treated as regular parts of Bombay province and administered accordingly. Unless this is done it will not be possible for the Bombay Government to form compact districts of the areas to be merged; and if this is to be done the Government of Bombay should have instructions by now so that they may be ready with their scheme by the time merger takes place.

Perhaps you will think why I am writing like this. I do so because various people from States come to me and I find that they are greatly agitated as to how they are to be amalgamated. They also want to know how till the new elections are held during the interim period they are to be associated with the administration and as to which of the laws of the Bombay Government will apply to them and from when. Please enlighten me on these points. I have told them that during the interim period advisory committees will be formed.

450

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I should write that we will have to be particular about seeing that the people do not get disappointed by the merger, but feel immediately the benefits of merger and that they are not left in the lurch.

There are two other points which I want to bring to your notice in this connection. Most of the Rulers are squandering money and properties. That will be seen afterwards. But I am informed that they are selling away grains also. If this is a fact it should be looked upon very seriously. The responsibility of feeding the people will be ours and if the stock of grains is exhausted people would starve and it will be said that the people are starving on account of the merger. So this must be inquired into and if the information is correct something must be done to prevent it.

Another thing. Most of the people of these areas are very backward. Till now they are highly exploited. The agrarian discontent is very great. On account of all this, in some parts a state of semi-lawlessness prevails. Under these circumstances I am of opinion that the non-jurisdictional areas must immediately be taken possession of. If the Bombay Government takes charge of them, so far so good. If not, the Regional Commissioner should administer them till the Bombay Government is ready to take charge.

Kindly consider all this and reply.

Hope this will find you in very good health.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Kanjibhai
[Kanaiyalal N. Desai]

V. P. Menon, Esq.
Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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Dakshina Sadan
Bolarum
Hyderabad (Dn.)
30 April 1948

My dear Sardar,

I am sending you herewith copy of a cable which I received from the Gaikwad and a copy of the reply which I sent him. You must have received the copy of the draft resolution which I signalled to the Sub-Areas Commander. I hope to receive a reply today.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

ENCLOSURE

CABLE FROM THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA

London
27 April 1948

K. M. Munshi
Agent to the Governor-General
Bolarum

UNDER MEDICAL ADVICE I HAVE BROUGHT MY WIFE TO ENGLAND. ARRIVING INDIA ABOUT 4 MAY. HOPING TO SEE YOU ON ARRIVAL.

MAHARAJA OF BARODA

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REPLY TO THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA

Bolarum
29 April 1948

His Highness Maharaja of Baroda
Care Thomascook
London England

YOUR CABLE. YOUR SUDDEN DEPARTURE HAS CAUSED GRAVE COMPLICATIONS. HOW I WISH YOUR HIGHNESS WERE A LITTLE MORE CIRCUMSPECT IN THIS CRISIS. WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY HAVE GOT MEETING OF PRAJAMANDAL POSTPONED FOR THIRD. RESOLUTION TO BE PASSED CALLED FOR YOUR HIGHNESS'S ABDICATION. WOULD PRESS UPON YOU ADVISABILITY OF RETURNING OR ACCEPTING JIVRAJ BY CABLE. GIVE MY BEST REGARDS MAHARANISAHIB. LOVE TO PRINCE.

MUNSHI

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE BARODA RAJ PRAJAMANDAL

3 May 1948

The Working Committee of the Baroda Raj Prajamandal is glad to note that His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Gaekwad of Baroda has confirmed the agreement arrived at between His Highness and Darbar Sahib Gopaldas Desai in the presence of Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry, Government of India, on 19 March 1948. This Committee hopes that His Highness will as early as possible inaugurate full responsible government in terms of the agreement so confirmed.

This Committee however regrets that His Highness has so far not accepted Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta as Prime Minister and Dewan, though the Prajamandal has so selected him. This Committee has carefully noted the different objections, constitutional as well as personal, advanced by His Highness to the appointment of Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta as Prime Minister. This Committee is however unable to accept the validity of these objections. But without going into their merits this Committee considers, now that responsible government is conceded, that it is the right inherent in a responsible government that the person chosen by the majority party should be called upon by the constitutional head of the Government to form the Ministry. In pursuance of that constitutional right the Prajamandal had already selected Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta.

This Committee is therefore constrained to place it on record that the action of His Highness in not summoning Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta to form the Ministry in spite of a considerable lapse of time is contrary to constitutional practice and usage and appeals to him to conform to such practice and usage before 7 May 1948.

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This Committee resolves that in the event of the failure of His Highness to summon Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta to form the Ministry by that date the Prajamandal will have to consider the whole position again and decide upon its final course of action vis-a-vis the Ruler.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE DHARA SABHA OF BARODA STATE ON 9 AUGUST 1948

Resolution I

We, the members of the Dhara Sabha, have heard with deep disappointment and regret the account given by the Dewan of the misuse and misappropriation of public funds amounting to over three crores and a quarter of rupees within a period of six weeks (viz., 19 April 1948 to 29 May 1948) by His Highness the Maharaja and of the breach of faith with the people which he has committed in refusing to implement in letter and spirit the agreement entered into by him with the representatives of the Prajamandal on 25 April 1948 in spite of repeated requests. His frequent and prolonged absences from the State, resulting in the complete neglect of his duties as a Ruler, and the conduct and activities of His Highness ever since his so-called second marriage have filled his people with serious misgivings about his fitness to rule, but they have been tolerating it in the hope that once responsible government is introduced it would be possible to bring about an improvement in both private and public conduct of His Highness. It is now clear that so long as His Highness is on the gaddi the interests of his minor sons and of the people are not safe in his keeping. We, the members of the Dhara Sabha as the custodian of these interests consider that immediate action is necessary if these interests are to be properly safeguarded and if heavy financial losses to the State and danger to peace and tranquillity are to be prevented. We, therefore, endorse the action taken by the Dewan in apprising the Government of India of the seriousness of the situation, affirm that His Highness has forfeited the confidence of the people, call upon him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son and request the Government of India to set up a Council of Regency to perform the duties and functions of the Ruler during the minority of the new Ruler and take such other action as may be necessary to safeguard the interests of the State.

Resolution II

The members of the Dhara Sabha having heard the Dewan's account of the misuse and misappropriation of public funds to the extent of rupees three crores and a quarter within a short period of six weeks from 19 April 1948 to 29 May 1948 and other movable and immovable property misused by His Highness the Maharaja, resolve that a request be made to the Government

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of India to appoint a suitable committee to inquire into the circumstances in which such misuse and misappropriation occurred, to allocate responsibility and to suggest action that may be taken against persons found responsible. This meeting also requests His Highness the Maharaja to return immediately with interest all amounts irregularly appropriated to his own use or improperly withdrawn from the State Treasury.

368

Baroda House
New Delhi
25 August 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Let me thank you for the patience and courtesy with which you have listened to me. I have also had the pleasure of a full and frank discussion with Mr. V. P. Menon and on his suggestion I have signed the enclosed Proclamation.

There are one or two matters which I wish to submit for your consideration.

(1) It relates to my prerogatives as a constitutional Ruler. I would like to point out that as a constitutional Ruler I will be enabled to summon the Legislature, to prorogue the Legislature, to appoint the Ministers etc. Further as my position as Commander-in-Chief of Baroda State Forces will remain as at present, in other words while I am prepared to act on advice on this as in other matters, I hope the Ministry will submit to me the promotions and appointments of the Baroda State Forces.

(2) There is no provision in the letter or in the Proclamation safeguarding the succession to the throne or safeguarding the privileges of the Ruler or the Ruling Family.

(3) As for the privy purse, once it is fixed by you the question how it should be utilised should be left to my discretion. You were anxious that the position of the Maharani and the children should be safeguarded. I can assure you I will not do anything to jeopardize their interests.

Mr. Menon mentioned to me that you desire that the money taken recently from the State should be handed back to the State as soon as possible. When I go to Baroda I shall look into my accounts and shall hand over as much as I can immediately and the rest in instalments.

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I understand Mr. Menon is writing to me separately about jewellery.

As for the financial matters raised by the Dewan (including the question of my privy purse and my investments and property), I am agreeable to these matters being scrutinised by such finance officer as you may appoint and shall accept and carry out any directions that you may make after considering the report of such officer.

I need hardly assure you of my determination to co-operate in every way with the Government of India and to foster the interest and well-being not only of my State but of the whole of India. Nothing is farther from my mind than to act otherwise as a constitutional Ruler or to obstruct in any way the establishment of full responsible government in my State. I trust I will always continue to enjoy your blessings and guidance in fulfilling this resolve.

Yours sincerely,
H. H. Maharaja of Baroda

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

369

25 August 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 25 August 1948 and the Proclamation enclosed therewith. I am very glad to note the contents of both and I have no doubt that the Proclamation will be warmly welcomed by Your Highness' subjects.

The specific matters to which Your Highness refers in para 2 of your letter should not in my view present any serious difficulty in practice. I do not think Your Highness' position and status as a constitutional Ruler will in any way be prejudiced and you will continue, with the aid and advice of your Ministry, to perform the functions to which you refer.

It is true that no provision has been made in the letter or the Proclamation for safeguarding the succession to the throne. But that is so because there is no intention to interfere with the succession according to law or with the due privileges of the ruler and his family.

I agree that once the privy purse is fixed it should be left to the discretion of the ruler how to use it; I have no doubt how-

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ever that the discretion will be judiciously exercised. I note with satisfaction Your Highness' assurance that the position of Her Highness and the children will be fully safeguarded.

I am also gratified by your assurance in para 3 of your letter.

I am prepared to undertake the task which Your Highness has assigned to me in para 5 of your letter and will communicate to you my decision as early as possible.

It gives me great pleasure to see that the outstanding points have been so satisfactorily settled, thanks to Your Highness' very helpful attitude. I on my part heartily reciprocate your offer of co-operation.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.H. The Maharaja
Shri Pratapsingh Gaekwar
Maharaja of Baroda
Baroda House
New Delhi

370

TELEGRAM

Baroda
31 August 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT PROCLAIMED. HEARTFUL CONGRATULATIONS AND HIGHEST REGARDS FOR YOUR EFFORTS ALL DUE TO YOU.

PRANLAL MUNSHI

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371

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
3 September 1948

His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar
Baroda

ON OCCASION OF TOMORROW'S DURBAR AT WHICH YOUR HIGHNESS WOULD BE SWEARING IN THE NEW MINISTERS I SEND FOLLOWING MESSAGE WHICH I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOUR HIGHNESS WOULD HAVE READ AT THE DURBAR. MESSAGE BEGINS:

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAR AND TO THE PEOPLE OF BARODA I SEND ON THIS AUSPICIOUS OCCASION OF THE INTRODUCTION OF FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT MY BEST WISHES FOR BARODA'S HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY. THE FAR-REACHING CHANGES WHICH HIS HIGHNESS' LATEST PROCLAMATION HAS INTRODUCED IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL SETUP IN BARODA CONSTITUTE THE FURTHEST ADVANCE WHICH ANY STATE IN INDIA HAS MADE ON THE ROAD TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. THIS PEACEFUL CONSUMMATION OF POPULAR ASPIRATION IS AT ONCE A TRIBUTE TO THE LIBERAL TRADITIONS OF THE STATE AND TO THE SOLIDARITY AND SACRIFICES OF ITS PEOPLE. IN THE PAST BARODA HAS OFTEN LED THE WAY FOR OTHER STATES; HISTORY HAS THUS REPEATED ITSELF TODAY AND I PRAY THAT IT MAY CONTINUE TO DO SO IN FUTURE.

THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH NOW DEVOLVE ON THE PEOPLE CALL FOR A NEW OUTLOOK AND A FRESH APPROACH TO THEIR PROBLEMS. BEING MASTERS OF THEIR OWN HOUSE, THE PEOPLE MUST AWAKEN THEMSELVES TO SELF-PURIFICATION AND HEART-SEARCHINGS. SHEDDING EVERYTHING THAT BESMIRCHES PUBLIC LIFE, THEY MUST BE GUIDED BY A FEARLESS REGARD FOR PUBLIC DUTY, INTEGRITY AND HONESTY OF PURPOSE AND A COMPLETE DEVOTION TO PUBLIC SERVICE. FOR THE MISTAKES OR SHORTCOMINGS OF ADMINISTRATION IN FUTURE THEY WILL HAVE NONE BUT THEMSELVES TO BLAME. LET NO RANCOUR OR BITTERNESS OVER RECENT HAPPENINGS RULE THEIR MIND; INSTEAD, LET THEM SETTLE DOWN TO THEIR TASK WITH FAITH, COURAGE AND A DETERMINATION TO SUCCEED. LET IT NOT BE SAID OF THEM THAT THEY WERE GIVEN RESPONSIBILITIES BUT FRITTERED AWAY OPPORTUNITIES.

458

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I AM SURE EVERYONE WILL REALISE THE IMPORTANCE OF DOING HIS DUTY BY HIS COUNTRY IN THE CRITICAL TIMES THROUGH WHICH IT IS PASSING. THERE IS NO ROOM, AT THE PRESENT MOMENT, FOR COMPLACENCY OR DIVISION IN YOUR RANKS. CONTINUOUS URGE TO IMPROVE UPON PREVIOUS PERFORMANCES AND MORE AND MORE UNIFICATION AND CONSOLIDATION ARE THE NEED OF THE HOUR. IT HAS BEEN COMPARATIVELY EASY FOR US TO WIN FREEDOM; IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO PROVE OURSELVES WORTHY OF IT. FREEDOM WOULD BE MEANINGLESS IF IT DID NOT RESULT IN THE GENERAL AMELIORATION OF POVERTY AND DISEASE, IN THE UPLIFT OF OUR CHARACTER, IN INCREASED SENSE OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY AND IN THE HIGHER STANDARDS OF OUR PUBLIC CONDUCT. JIVRAJ MEHTA AND HIS NEW TEAM OF MINISTERS, THEREFORE, UNDERTAKE A TASK WHICH WOULD DEMAND FROM THEM THE BEST IN THEM. THEY SHALL REQUIRE THE UNSTINTED SUPPORT OF BOTH THE PEOPLE AND THE SERVICES. WHETHER THEY SHALL HAVE DESERVED IT WOULD BE FOR THEM TO SHOW BY THEIR DEEDS AND ACTION. I HOPE THAT BOTH THE PEOPLE AND THE SERVICES WILL EXTEND TO THEM THEIR LOYALTY AND FULLEST COOPERATION. TO GOVERNMENT SERVANTS PARTICULARLY, I WOULD APPEAL THAT IN THE PRESENT PERIOD OF CRISIS THEY SHOULD DEVOTE THEMSELVES TO THE TASK OF GOVERNMENT WITH UNDIVIDED ATTENTION, COMPLETE INTEGRITY OF PURPOSE AND FULL SENSE OF PUBLIC DUTY. NO GOVERNMENT CAN AFFORD TO KEEP ITS SERVICES DISCONTENTED AND I AM SURE THEIR NEW GOVERNMENT WILL STAND BY THEM AND LOOK AFTER THEM SO LONG AS THEY DISCHARGE THEIR DUTIES WITH A SENSE OF DISCIPLINE AND RESPONSIBILITY.

TODAY A NEW CHAPTER IS OPENING IN THE HISTORY OF BARODA. IT IS NOW FOR THE PEOPLE OF BARODA TO MAKE OR MAR THEIR FUTURE. THEIR FRIENDS AND WELL-WISHERS BOTH FAR AND NEAR WILL WISH THEM WELL. WITH SO MUCH FUND OF GOODWILL, SUPPORTED BY THEIR OWN INTRINSIC EFFORTS, SUCCESS SHOULD BE ASSURED (MESSAGE ENDS) KINDEST REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

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372

TELEGRAM

Baroda
5 September 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF BARODA ARE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR INSPIRING MESSAGE ON OCCASION OF THE NEW MINISTRY TAKING UP REINS OF FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. I AM PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL FOR YOUR BLESSINGS.

JIVRAJ MEHTA

373

TELEGRAM

Baroda
5 September 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

BARODA PRAJAMANDAL DHARASABHA AS WELL AS MILLIONS UNDER DEEPEST OBLIGATION TO YOU FOR EVER AND EVER PROCLAMATION DARBAR. ALL PASSED PEACEFULLY HAPPILY. MAY THE ALMIGHTY GRANT YOU LONG LIFE HEALTH POWER TO MAKE INDIA WORLD POWER MESSENGER OF PEACE AND HARMONY.

SUTARIA

374

TELEGRAM

Baroda
4 September 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR KIND AND ENCOURAGING MESSAGE WHICH WAS READ IN THE DARBAR.

MAHARAJA GAEKWAR

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375

TELEGRAM

Baroda
5 September 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR WIRE OF THE SECOND. IN THE ABSENCE OF DEFINITE BLESSINGS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE FOR ME IS TO COME AND SEE YOU PERSONALLY SO THAT ALL OUTSTANDING MATTERS MAY BE SETTLED ONCE FOR ALL AMICABLY. KINDLY THEREFORE LET ME KNOW WHEN I CAN SEE YOU IN NEW DELHI.

MAHARAJA GAEKWAR

376

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
7 September 1948

His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar
Baroda

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR TELEGRAM OF 5 SEPTEMBER. WOULD BE GLAD SEE YOU NEXT WEEK.

VALLABHBHAI

377

Motibag Palace
Baroda
5 September 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

You must have received my two telegrams of yesterday. I take this opportunity of thanking you again for your kind message.

The Press reports of my speech are not sufficient to give a correct idea of the speech as a whole. I am therefore forwarding herewith a copy of my speech.

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I am also writing to Mr. Menon today.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
P. S. Gaekwar

ENCLOSURE

SPEECH OF THE MAHARAJA OF BARODA ON THE INAUGURATION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN THE STATE, DATED 4 SEPTEMBER 1948

This is a unique occasion and I will be failing in my duty if I were not to express my sense of gratitude to our great leader and statesman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It was he whose honesty of purpose and far-sightedness induced me to be the first Ruling Prince to sign the Instrument of Accession. I am glad to find that it paved a way for a happy solution of a very difficult problem of Indian States and thereby strengthened our independence immensely. When we think of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel we cannot miss Mr. Menon who has been a tower of strength to Sardar Patel. He has contributed to the success of the States Ministry considerably by his winning manners, steadfastness and practical statesmanship. Henceforth the burden of shaping your future will lie on you. You must, therefore, realize that you will have to discharge your responsibilities sincerely, honestly and selflessly. We are fortunate in having in our Dewan, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who is well known for his administrative capacity, intelligence and honesty of purpose. It is also gratifying to note that he will be helped by a team of efficient public workers many of whom have discharged their responsibilities to the satisfaction of all concerned. We should therefore make it a point to take advantage of their abilities by constructive co-operation.

We are launching upon a new era, at a time when our motherland is passing through an unparalleled crisis. It would be criminal to waste our energies in developing internecine quarrels. This is the time which demands supreme sacrifices. I was guided by these thoughts when I decided to hand over the reigns of my Government to your popular leaders. I desire that you should be guided by the same considerations. I know that for generations my people have taken pride in being loyal to the Royal family and have never flinched an inch in sacrificing everything for preserving the prestige and the fair name of the Gaekwad family. I take this opportunity of thanking them all and request them to share these feelings between the Royal family and the constitution that will be framed by the Constituent Assembly of Baroda State. Our country has yet to achieve its proud place in the comity of nations. Therefore when you exercise your franchise you must not be guided by selfish or communal considerations. You must learn to assign proper values. It is the ability, honesty and administrative experience

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of your leader that alone must weigh with you when you cast your vote. There have been no communal or inter-provincial differences in our State and I ask you to maintain the same high standard of public life in future. It shall be my aim to remain above party politics. Speaking for myself I am convinced that this is not the time for formation of parties. If unfortunately, however, parties are formed, I hope that they will be based on principles and will make it a point to offer constructive criticism.

There are some who have still their doubts about the amount of immense goodwill that has been created during the last negotiations.

Let me assure you that the negotiations were carried on in a very friendly atmosphere and the final settlement has been satisfactory to all. I have now received permission from Sardar Patel to release the correspondence between him and myself to the Press and you will get an opportunity to read it. I am sure you will be satisfied that the settlement has been perfectly satisfactory to all concerned and that it has created an amount of goodwill between all concerned.

Members of the Royal family, Sardars, Jagirdars, members of the Civil Service and loyal members of the armed force of Baroda! Let me assure you that your attachment to the Royal family and your loyalty have been our most cherished treasure. My family shall always remember you with gratitude. I am sure you will discharge your duties with the same attachment and loyalty to the constitution that will be framed and to the Royal family.

I take this opportunity of assuring my people and the States Ministry that the Gaekwars shall always be in the forefront in our country's struggle and shall always be ready and willing to sacrifice their all for defending our independence.

May our struggles be crowned with success. Let us share the burden of our troubles and tribulations cheerfully so that India may emerge triumphantly from its present difficulties. May God guide my Government in the difficult task ahead.

378

New Delhi
29 November 1948

My dear Buch,

H.M. has seen the report on the accounts of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda. H.M. feels that both on the question of adjusting these accounts and of making good the amounts on which the State revenues have been deprived by the irregular transactions and on the question of the failure of the Maharaja or his personal staff to co-operate with the Enquiry Officer,

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further discussions with the Ruler are necessary. He would, therefore, like the Ruler to be asked to come to Delhi as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

N. M. Buch, Esq.
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

379

TELEGRAM

Poona
4 January 1948

Mahatma Gandhi
Birla House
New Delhi

RULERS OF EIGHT DECCAN STATES RESOLVED ON 21ST THE FOLLOWING: IF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE AND THE CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY DESIRED THAT INSTEAD OF PROCEEDING WITH THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION STEPS MIGHT BE TAKEN TO MERGE THE STATE WITH BOMBAY PROVINCE THE RAJMANDAL WOULD NOT STAND IN THEIR WAY. PRAJAPARISHADS OF OTHER STATES MAY VOTE FOR MERGER IN BOMBAY PROVINCE. GRAMPANCHAYATS AND TALUKA SAMITIS ONLY ACCREDITED AGENCIES OF PUBLIC OPINION IN AUNDH STATE. THEY EMPHATICALLY EXPRESS DESIRE TO CONTINUE PANCHAYAT SYSTEM UNDER EXISTING CONSTITUTION AS AGAINST MERGER WITH BOMBAY PROVINCE. CONSISTENTLY WITH PAST POLICY I AM ANXIOUS TO ABIDE BY MY PEOPLE'S WILL THUS ASCERTAINED OR IF NECESSARY MAY BE FURTHER ASCERTAINED BY ANY INDEPENDENT AGENCY YOU OR SARDAR SAHIB MAY SUGGEST. WILL OF AUNDH PEOPLE SUPREME SOVEREIGN AND FINAL FOR ME. I SEEK YOUR GUIDANCE FOR FUTURE ACTION.

RAJA OF AUNDH

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380

Pratinidhi Wada
264 Narayan Peth
Poona
4 January 1948

Dear Mahatmaji,

I have already addressed to you a wire in connection with the recent happenings in some of the Deccan States, and their reaction on the political future of Aundh State. I write this to amplify some of the points mentioned in that wire.

It was under your inspiring guidance that a constitution embodying the principle of decentralised democracy, and founded on the basis of the village panchayat system was promulgated in Aundh State since the beginning of 1939. That constitution is in operation in the State during the last nine or ten years. But an emergency has now arisen which requires me to seek once more the same inspiring guidance from you at a moment which threattens to be critical in the history of Aundh State.

In order to explain this emergency it would be necessary to give in brief its background. When the plan of merging their individual states in order to bring into existence one United Deccan State was under the consideration of the rulers of seven Deccan States, including Aundh, several gram panchayats and taluka samitis in the latter state, feeling apprehensive that it would jeopardise the distinctive features of their constitution, had passed and forwarded to me a resolution expressing their opposition to this merger into the United Deccan State. But at that time we had high hopes of convincing the Constituent Assembly that was to frame the constitution of the United States about the efficiency of decentralised democracy based on the village panchayat system, and of inducing it to make it the basis of the United State also. Therefore, ignoring these resolutions, and in consultation only with the leading members in the State Legislature I took the decision to sign the Government establishing the United Deccan State along with other brother rulers; and the Legislature also elected its rep-presentatives for serving on the Constituent Assembly. But the rapid and unexpected developments on the 20th and 21st last have ended our sweet dream and created an entirely new situation

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in which the idea of merger into the adjoining province has now occupied the forefront.

The net result of these intervening developments has been that although the United Deccan State has come into existence on paper, i.e. in legal terminology has got a de-jure existence, it has never been brought into a de-facto existence, and the pre-existing independent administrative systems are running as before up to this day. Keen differences of opinion have consequently arisen out of this nebulous state of things as to whether the individual existence of the participating states has really been terminated or still continues intact.

The constitutional and political situation in Aundh State is entirely different from that obtaining in the remaining participating states. Owing to the operation of decentralised democracy based on village panchayats founded during the last nine or ten years there are no organisations like the Praja Parishad or the like in existence who can pose to voice the authoritative opinion of the subjects. That opinion is being expressed by the village panchayats and taluka samitis alone, which are elected on adult franchise. These bodies alone can, therefore, legally and constitutionally voice public opinion in the state either in favour or against the prevailing idea of a merger.

Since the decision of the rulers to leave the choice to the people between proceeding with the constitution making and merger, and not to come in their way if the choice was for the latter alternative was made public on 21st last many gram panchayats and taluka samities in Aundh State have started to voluntarily formulate their authoritative opinion and forward it to me in the form of resolutions, backed up by the signatures of their constituents. The resolutions received by me so far distinctly show that the authoritative opinion of the people of the state is emphatically and unequivocally in favour of the continuance of the present decentralised administration and panchayat system under independent aegis and against merger into the neighbouring province. All the resolutions have voiced a well-grounded apprehension that in the merger the existing decentralised administration based on panchayat foundations shall have no chance. They, therefore, unequivocally assert that whatever might be the decision of the people of other participating States it would in no way be binding upon them or affect their right to decide their political future independently and untrammelled by the so-called constitutional position arising out of the formation of the United Deccan States on paper.

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As you are already aware, it has been my settled policy to abide by my people's will which is supreme, sovereign and final for me. In taking future decisions also, I am keen on pursuing the same policy. I have cheerfully accepted in the past the natural results of this policy, and am determined to do so in future also. But the formation of the United Deccan States on paper in which I have participated, and the constitutional position arising therefrom, threaten to create a conflict between the wishes of the people of Aundh State and the majority decision of the people of the United States in case the latter is made binding on the accredited agencies of the Aundh State people. In this likely conflict and resultant crises I seek your immediate guidance in deciding the future course of action for me and for the people of Aundh State individually.

I am convinced from the contents of the resolution received by me so far that the authoritative opinion of the people in Aundh State is emphatically in favour of the retention of the present independent constitutional machinery and against the merger of the State into the neighbouring province. But if any one doubts this position I am ready, if necessary, to get the people's will determined by any other approved method which you or the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai may suggest. But as this will is likely to be different from that of the people in other participating states and against merger, it is necessary for you to advise us whether Aundh State is or is not entitled to abide by it, and to independently decide to continue the present constitution for itself as an independent unit. I beseech you to give us guidance in this respect.

It is needless to assure you that even if Aundh State decides to continue its independent existence every effort will be made to co-operate with the provincial and Union Governments in matters of common concern for the benefit of all, and to maintain uniformity in the administration as far as possible.

Expecting to be favoured with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
Raja of Aundh

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Taj Mahal Hotel
Bombay
12 January 1948

Dear Sardar Sahib,

The Rajamandal of the United Deccan States desire me to bring to your notice the following points regarding the proposed merger of the said State with Bombay province. It is hoped that this will facilitate the talks which you will have with the rulers when they meet you shortly in Bombay.

You know that the present move for merger was made when all the arrangements for the union of these Deccan States were perfected. Hence the only point which the Rajamandal want to make is that the covenant which governs the terms of the union should also govern mutatis mutandis the terms of the proposed merger. For this purpose it is suggested that the agreement regarding the merger which will be drawn up for the acceptance of the Rajamandal should embody the following provisions of the covenant in a suitable way. These provisions are: Article V Schedule II; Article VII clauses 12, 13 and 14; Article XII Schedule III and Schedule IV; Article XV clauses 3, 8 and 9; and Article XXI clauses 1, 2, 3 and 6.

It may kindly be recalled that the privy purse question has fortunately been settled by an award given by no less persons than the Hon'ble Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shri Shankarrao Deo and the suggestion about this arbitration came from the people's representatives and was agreed to by the rulers in order that this embarrassing question might be placed beyond the sphere of controversy. The covenant as a whole too was drawn up by that eminent constitutional adviser, Mr. K. M. Munshi, and its terms were closely examined by Shri Shankarrao Deo, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. R. R. Diwakar and Mr. S. Nijalingappa and also by popular ministers and representatives of the participating states. This is the reason why the Rajamandal believe that this document alone can form the basis of the proposed merger plan. It is all cut and dry and leaves very little scope for discussion and, perhaps none at all, for any changes. It is hoped that this position will be acceptable to you.

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A copy of the covenant as also a facsimile of the award are enclosed for ready reference.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Pant Sachiv
Upa-Rajapramukh
United Deccan States

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister for States
New Delhi

A NOTE ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE DECCAN STATES SUBMITTED TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

The Deccan States group includes 17 states and one Jagir as detailed here (1) Aundh (2) Akalkot (3) Bhor (4) Janjira (5) Jamkhandi (6) Kolhapur (7) Kurandwad Jr. (8) Kurandwad Sr. (9) Mudhol (10) Ramdurg (11) Sangli (12) Sawantwadi (13) Svanoor (14) Phaltan (15) Miraj Jr. (16) Miraj Sr. (17) Jath (18) Wadi Estate consisting of only two villages in the Athani Taluka of Belgaum district.

Of these 18 states eight states (1) Sangli (2) Miraj Jr. (3) Miraj Sr. (4) Bhor (5) Phaltan (6) Ramdurg (7) Aundh (8) Kurandwad Sr. have formed the United Deccan States. The Rulers of these states passed a Resolution on 21 December 1947 declaring their favourable attitude towards merging the states in the Bombay Presidency. Most of the Praja Parishads in these states have passed resolutions merging their states. The newly established Constituent Assembly of this United Deccan States has been summoned for the same purpose on 26 January 1948. Concensus of public opinion of these eight states favours merger and the rulers also have agreed to do so. So it can be taken for granted that these eight states will be in a position to merge in the Bombay Presidency by the end of this month.

Akalkot and Jamkhandi are as good as merged. A special reference here should be made about Akalkot, out of compulsion the Raja of Akalkot has agreed to merge. The administration of that state was corrupt and harmful to the people. And it is better that law and order in that state has been taken over immediately by the Indian Union.

Mudhol, Sawantwadi, Janjira, Kurandwad Jr. and Wadi Jagir have to be tackled as yet. Mudhol State Praja Parishad has passed a resolution merging their state in the province of Bombay. It will have to be seen what attitude the ruler of the state takes.

Janjira State Praja Parishad has started a struggle. The Nawab of Janjira has been acting very tactfully to nullify the struggle. But Janjira Praja

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Parishad is strong enough to meet the reactionary attitude of the Nawab. It will have recourse to non-co-operation with the administration of the state and as such the struggle of Janjira will soon come to a successful end.

Sawantwadi Praja Parishad is preparing for giving a stiff fight for the attainment of its goal. It is reliably understood that the Raja of Sawantwadi is on the verge of declaring the merger of his State.

There is some such constitutional deadlock in the State of Kurandwad Jr. Both the Rulers of the States who alternately come together have decided and also applied to the Regional Commissioner for merging their states. The Legislative Assembly in that state also has passed a resolution for merging. But one Minister, V. S. Patel, has refused to vacate his office and has some correspondence with the States Department. The action committee of the Deccan States Regional Council has deputed Shri R. T. Bagad, member of the action committee, to this state to see both rulers and workers in the state and do the needful.

Jath stands on a different footing altogether. The Ruler is a very shrewd fellow and has got a unique organising capacity. He is a good conversationist and speaks socialism and acts quite the contrary by setting up communal organisations and indirectly resorting to terrorism. The States Department has already been acquainted with the sorry tale in Jath by a deputation [which] waited upon Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Praja Parishad workers have organised themselves and they intend to start a struggle for merging.

The question of Wadi Jagir is very peculiar. It has only two villages, area 12 square miles, population 1,500, revenue about 15,000. The question will be solved in no time as the villagers favour merging.

From the above short sketch . . . it can very easily be seen that the concensus of opinion of the people in these Deccan States and most of the rajas is for the merging of the State and proper suitable and immediate action on the part of the Indian Union will clear this issue of the merging of these Deccan States. The interim period between the declaration of merger by the rulers and actual taking over the charge of administration by the Indian Union is of great importance.

In this period the rajas of different states and also the interested parties and the henchmen of the rajas will take the chance of exploiting the state in so many ways. There is a likelihood of taking vengeance on the workers of Praja Parishad by whose efforts the state rulers were compelled to take the decision of merging. So this interim period should be minimised as far as possible. Now the question of merging is not difficult. But the actual taking over the charge of the various states is of much importance.

Ratanappa Kumbhar
President, Deccan States
Regional Council

Kolhapur
16 January 1948

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Ramdurg (Dn.)
6 March 1948

Dear Mr. Shankar,

I was very happy to make your acquaintance in Bombay at the CCI [Cricket Club of India] when you accompanied the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel during his last visit to Bombay.

I am sorry to have to trouble you in a personal matter of this kind. But I am unavoidably compelled to do so. I enclose a copy of my letter dated 21 February 1948 addressed to the Hon'ble Sardar V. Patel regarding my privy purse question for your personal information. I sent a copy of this letter to Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of States, the same day. I also enclose for your information two statements, one about suspension of land revenue granted by the Darbar for the past six years, and the other about our profits in food transactions, which money has since been credited into the State Treasury.

I hope justice will be done to Ramdurg's privy purse case by the Government of India, and I trust you may be able to do something to help me in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
R. V. Bhave
[Raja of Ramdurg]

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to the
Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

Ramdurg House
Shivaji Nagar
Poona
21 February 1948

Dear Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

As you know, the revenues of the Deccan States were checked recently by Mr. Lal, who had been specially appointed for the purpose by the Government of India. During the checking of the revenue of my State (Ramdurg), he has excluded an item of Rs. 90,254 which was credited in the accounts on account of the profits of the Food Department. The accounts of the Food Deptt. were made up from time to time and held as suspense by the Food Deptt., and the amount was actually credited into the treasury before the United Deccan State was inaugurated, after they were audited by chartered accountants from Bombay, though already realised in previous years. I suggest that this is perfectly legitimate, and so the amount should be included in the revenue of the State for the purpose of calculating the privy purse. I am not aware of the exact reasons why this amount was excluded by Mr. Lal. I should try to meet these briefly. The first possible reason is that the amount was credited into the State treasury after Mr. T. N. S. Ratnum's scrutiny was completed, but this could not possibly be helped as the idea was to wait until the loss and profit position was ascertained on the eve of the closure of the Food Department. It could not be known definitely whether the State was making or losing money on the Food Deptt, until the accounts were finally made up as stated above. The amount of profits actually realised was not excessive when the total volume of transactions is considered. This amount is not also large in comparison to the total revenue of the State. None of these arguments can, therefore, justify the exclusion of this item. The only other reason which can possibly be advanced is that this item of revenue is not of a recurring nature and is a chance receipt. But I suggest that non-recurring items are not liable to exclusion from calculations according to the procedure laid down for calculation of the privy purse. This procedure is most fair, and has not been apparently accepted by Mr. Lal, only with regard to our Food [Department] accounts. Further, every State and every province does receive revenue of a non-recurring nature every year. The individual items may not be likely to recur again, but non-recurring receipts as a whole are a recurring feature of every budget, and it will be right to exclude them from the calculation of the privy purse. I would,

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therefore, urge that there is no ground for excluding this item from the revenue of the State for the calculation of my privy purse.

When the question of peak year was discussed in the conference, assurance was given that land revenue suspensions, if any, of that year would be given credit to and included in the receipts of that year. Ramdurg State had suspended Rs. 73,190 as land revenue during the year 1945-46, which has been accepted as the peak year by the majority and which was to be the basis for calculating the privy purse. Taking into consideration the suspended land revenue, the receipts of that year, i.e. 1945-46, come to Rs. 3,03,740 and, if the profits of the Food Dept. of that year, which are Rs. 48,193, are added to it, the total receipts of that year will be Rs. 3,51,933 and the privy purse amount calculated on this sum will be Rs. 40,193. Even if the Food Department profits are excluded, still my privy purse should be Rs. 35,374. But now, on average revenue, I shall get only Rs. 32,486.

The privy purse of other states will be fixed on the revenue of the year 1945-46, but in the case of Ramdurg, the land revenue suspension figure of that year was subsequently considered to be inadmissible for being given credit for, though in the open conference, Mr. Desai saw the propriety of its inclusion when it was urged. The only course offered to me, which gave me this second best alternative, was the three years' average. Even in this I am adversely affected for this reason that land revenue had to be re-suspended in the year 1946-47 also; therefore, the average also is not a correct average, and is detrimental to me.

It will thus be seen that the fundamental injustice caused to me by not reckoning the amount of the average land revenue suspensions in calculating the aggregate revenue of the State has resulted in lowering the figure of my privy purse even on the basis of average for the three years. As land revenue forms the sheet-anchor of our finance, permit me to urge that the inclusion of re-suspended arrears in the total revenues of the State and in determining the amount of the privy purse will be a bare act of justice. In gauging the effect of a measure, it is of paramount importance that its effects on the cases comprising the lower panels demand or cry out for sympathetic consideration.

Strict adherence to rigid uniformity is sometimes bound to result in great hardship to small states with small income, and I beg to suggest that each case has to be judged on its merits.

Kathiawar states got the same scale of privy purse which was recommended by Dr. Rajendra Prasad's award for the Deccan states. There has already been a discrimination as compared with the Kathiawar states in the privy purse of the merging states of the Deccan, but some via media ought to be found for particularly hard cases like that of Ramdurg. I would further urge that my privy purse, as calculated by Mr. Lal, comes to Rs.

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32,486 only, based on the average of the last three years, whereas for the past years, I have been actually drawing Rs. 45,000 per annum. I submit that a fall of 27 per cent from a purse of Rs. 45,000 is tremendous and will be a source of great hardship to me. Even when the salaries of Government servants are revised, every care is taken to see that the reduction in a Government servant's income is not so heavy that it would cause him real hardship. The same argument applies to my case. I have still to educate my children and to marry them. I have reached an age when it will be impossible for me to enter into any other business for supplementing my income. I, therefore, suggest that even if the item of food receipts is liable to be excluded on a strict interpretation of the procedure, the rules should be interpreted liberally in order to allow a small increase in my privy purse.

I would urge that if for any reason the Government of India are not inclined to include the above item in the calculation of the privy purse, the privy purse may be fixed independently at the round figure of Rs. 40,000 in order to reduce the hardship which will otherwise be caused to me by a heavy fall of nearly 27 per cent in my privy purse.

Finally, if for any reason either of these two things are not acceptable to the Government of India, I submit that my privy purse should be based on the figures of the year 1944-45, which is the peak year of Ramdurg during these three years, and the privy purse should be based on the net revenue of that year which is Rs. 3,23,951 and, in this case, the privy purse amount will be Rs. 37,395.

The matter affects my family's permanent interest, and I shall be profoundly grateful to you if [you] will give my case your sympathetic and favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,
R. V. Bhave
Raja of Ramdurg

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

383

11 January 1948

Dear Mr. Shankar,

I am sorry I was not able to talk to you personally as you seemed to be very busy. My mission was to tell you that His Highness the Rajasaheb of Mudhol (Deccan States) desires to meet Sardar Patel on his forthcoming visit to Bombay, and to talk to

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him in connection with the merger of his State in Bombay province. Mr. C. C. Desai[1] of the States Ministry, whom I had interviewed in this behalf, has promised to communicate His Highness' wishes to Sardar Patel. I would also request you kindly to make a note of it and remind Sardarji about it.

I would again see you in Bombay for arranging the time and place of the interview.

Kindly excuse troubles.

Yours sincerely,
Abasaheb Desai
Dewan of Mudhol State

Mr. V. Shankar
[Private] Secretary to
The Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Delhi

384

TELEGRAM

17 January 1948

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
68 Marine Drive
Bombay

I MET TODAY AT CONFERENCE RULERS OF SALUTE STATES OF KATHIAWAR. WE DISCUSSED THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE KATHIAWAR STATE AND RULERS PRESENT ACCEPTED THE PROPOSITION. WE DISCUSSED DETAILS OF THE COVENANT IN THE AFTERNOON. DISCUSSION WAS NOT COMPLETE AND WE ADJOURNED TILL 20TH. BIGGEST HURDLE IS THE PRIVY PURSE WHICH I SHALL DISCUSS WITH YOU ON TELEPHONE. WANKANER WAS REPRESENTED BY THE HEIR APPARENT WHO ALSO AGREED BUT WOULD COMMUNICATE FORMAL DECISION AFTER CONSULTING HIS FATHER WHO IS ILL AT BOMBAY. LIMBDI IS UNDER MINORITY ADMINISTRATION AND THE MEMBER OF THE REGENCY BOARD ATTENDED.

MENON CARE WEST INDIA

[1] ICS; Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, 1948-50; Secretary, Ministry of Works, Production and Supply, 1951; Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply and Production, 1952; High Commissioner to Ceylon, 1953-54; to Pakistan, 1955-58; member, Lok Sabha since 1967 until death in September 1972

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385

Government House
New Delhi
6 February 1948

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Since my return from tour I have read a copy of the States Ministry's note on the unification of Kathiawar, together with a copy of the Covenant signed by the Rulers. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to you once again my heartiest congratulations on this magnificent piece of work. If I may say so, the work of the States Ministry during the last six months towards the mediatisation of States has been outstanding, and I am sure that both India and the Rulers concerned will, in the years to come, look back with gratitude on all that you and your Ministry have accomplished.

I should like also to congratulate you on the action which is being taken about news-reels and feature films; I have noted in the advertisement columns of the papers that applications have been invited for a number of appointments for the making of such films.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

386

New Delhi
8 February 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of 6 February 1948.

I need hardly say how much I appreciate your kind appreciation of whatever the States Ministry has been able to accomplish during the last few months. Your appreciation and support have been a great encouragement to all of us.

Thanks also for the nice things you have said about our decision regarding news-reels and feature films. It has been a

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great regret to me that these beneficial activities were discontinued owing to the short-sighted view which was taken in the Assembly two years ago. I wanted to revive these much earlier, but Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan imposed his financial veto for reasons which are obvious. It was, therefore, a source of great gratification to me when I could persuade Shanmukham Chetty[1] to agree to the revival of the Information Films of India. The Kashmir Story, which I hope you have already seen, was the first effort of this revived scheme, though special efforts have been made to produce it and the IFI organisation as such was not employed. We hope shortly to produce one or two more films by similar means. By that time I hope the IFI would start functioning, and before you leave India, we hope to make a present of one or two films.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Rear Admiral the Earl
Mountbatten of Burma
K.G., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

387

TELEGRAM

2 December 1948

From
Westindia Rajkot
To
Statesind New Delhi

BUCH TO MENON. FOLLOWING TELEGRAM DATED 30 NOVEMBER FROM KARACHI FROM SIR CYRIL HAVCOCK LATELY RESIDENT IN KATHIAWAR ADDRESSED TO JAMSAHEB JAMNAGAR. BEGINS. ARRIVING AIR SATURDAY 6 DECEMBER. HOPE HAVE PLEASURE OF MEETING YOUR HIGHNESS. ENDS. HAVCOCK HAS BEEN IN COMMUNICATION WITH MANY STATES IN KATHIAWAR INCLUDING JUNAGADH ON THE PLEA OF BEING A TRADE AGENT SELLING BICYCLES. HIS VISIT TO KATHIAWAR FROM KARACHI AT THIS TIME SEEMS SINGULARLY [untimed] FOR INFORMATION.

[1]President, Central Legislative Assembly, 1933-35; first Finance Minister of free India

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388

Fatehbag Palace
Lunavada
22 March 1948

My dear Hon'ble Sardar Patel,

You must have learnt by this time through Rao Bahadur Menon and the Press that the Gujarat States led by me have signed the Instrument of Merger with the province of Bombay and thus we have sacrificed what our forefathers earned by shedding their blood. We have done so to achieve the best interests of our country as a whole and only the results will justify the step that we have taken to meet your wishes and demands. Rao Bahadur Menon appealed to me in your name that Sardar Sahib wants merger of the Gujarat States. To my mind there were alternatives but in order to discourage all centrifugal tendencies I have, though with a heavy heart, persuaded my brother Princes to sign the Instrument of Merger and I trust you will appreciate what we have done.

As regards myself I have always placed myself at the disposal of the Government of India and yourself and I have done whatever I could in the affairs of Junagadh. I have shown my willingness to do anything that you want me to do even in the affairs of Kashmir. I assure you with all the emphasis at my command that I will be the patriot first and everything after that.

You know very well that those who are in power and who have to wield authority cannot please all and I would request you kindly to see that the Princes are not unnecessarily criticised after their sacrifice in the national Press. This is a time when our wounds should be healed and no insult should be added to the injury. You as a wise and astute politician can very well understand what I have stated and I am sure you would issue necessary instructions to your colleagues and the Congress workers to see that we may not be put to unnecessary trouble in times to come.

I am sorry to trouble you with this letter especially when you are unwell. I could understand from Rao Bahadur Menon that you are progressing slowly but steadily and I pray to God for your speedy recovery and long life, so that your guidance can

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be available to the country which is passing through very very difficult times.

I intend to come to Delhi some time in the month of April. Before doing so I would sound your wishes as to your convenience or otherwise.

Trusting this will find you in the enjoyment of excellent health, and with warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Virbhadra Sinh
[Raja of Lunavada]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

389

New Delhi
26 March 1948

My dear Raja Sahib,

I am writing to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of 22 March 1948 addressed to the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Sardar Patel has seen your letter, but under medical advice he is unable to attend to it just now. In the meantime, he has asked me to say how glad he was to hear from Mr. Menon how much assistance you have given him in bringing about the merger of Gujarat States with Bombay. He feels sure that not only the people of the State, but also people outside will fully recognise this noble part.

He hopes he would be fit enough to see you towards the latter part of April when you come to Delhi.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Lieut. Maharana
Shri Virbhadrasinhji Ranjitsinhji
Raja of Lunavada
Fatehbag Palace
Lunavada

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390

Huzur Office
Lunavada State
Lunavada
12 September 1948

My dear Hon'ble Sardar Patel,

I am grateful to [you for] your kind letter dated 23 August which I received here on the 5th instant.

It was your firm determination, your tact, resourcefulness and wonderful ability that steared the ship of administration of a continent like India amidst troubled waters. The country passed through great upheavals, political, economic and social. Every country that achieves independence has to pass through certain ordeals in the beginning and India has to go through difficult times for a certain number of years. We have to bring cosmos from chaos, construction from destruction.

I am always ready to render any assistance to you and the Dominion Government in any crisis. I have acted so far accordingly and I assure you that I will not be found wanting in my duty to the country. I know your hands are full with Hyderabad and Kashmir affairs and as such I did not receive any appointment to see you in Delhi during the second week of this month. You can give me any convenient time that suits you.

Trusting this will find you in the best of health and spirit and with warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Virbhadra Sinh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

391

New Delhi
15 September 1948

My dear Maharana Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 12 September 1948. At present we have got our hands full, but I hope to be free towards the end of this month when you could come to Delhi and see me.

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lieut. Maharana
Shri Virbhadrasinhji Ranjitsinhji
Raja of Lunavada
Fatehbag Palace
Lunavada

392

TELEGRAM

Lunavada
23 March 1948

Sardarsahib Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RESOLVED TO CONVEY COMPLIMENTS TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FOR SUCCESSFUL HANDLING GUJARAT STATES QUESTION AND MERGING LUNAVADA WITH BOMBAY PROVINCE. REQUEST IMPLEMENTATION OF MERGING PROCESS WITH DUE REGARD TO UNIQUE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF ITS STATE AND PECULIAR LOCAL CONDITIONS IN CONSULTATION WITH LOCAL INTEREST CONCERNED. RESOLUTION FOLLOWS.

VISHNUPRASAD PANDYA, PRESIDENT,
AKHIL LUNAVADA PRAJA MANDAL

393

Ajitnivas Palace
Dhrangadhra
18 October 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

As you may well imagine I am a great deal exercised over the recent developments in Jodhpur consequent on my brother-in-law's second marriage. My sister is also naturally much worried on this score and she has taken advantage of her visit here to consult me about it.

I think you are probably aware of the attitude that I have all along taken in regard to Jodhpur affairs and its relationship with the Indian Union. As is but natural I have His Highness' true interests always at heart. Knowing His Highness as well as

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I do I feel that imprudently as he has acted in the past, he has done so more on the unfortunate advice of those around him than of his own volition.

I do hope therefore that the Government of India's present anxiety about Jodhpur will not result in any drastic intervention and that if some such steps are ever contemplated by the Government may I hope and request that it will not be thought improper to take me into confidence about it? I hope that you will be good enough to show me this consideration not only because of my relations with the Jodhpur family but in view of my relations with your goodself, which I value very greatly.

With kind regards and sentiments of the highest esteem,

Yours sincerely,
Mayurdhwaj Sinh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Ministry of States
New Delhi

394

23 October 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for Your Highness' personal and confidential letter of 18 October 1948. I have also seen Your Highness' letter to Sardar. Like you both of us were much upset about His Highness' second marriage. I know how much grief this step has brought about on the family, especially on Her Highness. I know His Highness very well. He is headstrong but at heart he is a good man. He is always surrounded by people who are, to say the least, immature. They may have been partly responsible for this. In any case Your Highness can rest assured that no "drastic intervention" is contemplated at present. Our present anxiety is to clean up the administration and bring it back to normality. I shall write to you further, if necessary.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
V. P. Menon

His Highness Maharaja Shri
Mayurdhwajsinhji, KCIE
Raj Pramukh
Ajitniwas Palace
Dhrangadhra

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395

TELEGRAM

TELEGRAM DATED 1 JANUARY 1948 FROM THE MAHARAJA SAHIB OF BHAVNAGAR TO SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL, NEW DELHI

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF OUR DHARASABHA IS CALLED ON 15 JANUARY. SO I REPEAT AGAIN MY PERSONAL INVITATION IN DELHI TO VISIT BHAVNAGAR THIS HISTORIC OCCASION.

396

TELEGRAM

14 January 1948

From
Foreign
New Delhi
To
His Highness Maharaja of Bhavnagar
Bhavnagar

FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. I AM DELIGHTED TO LEARN THAT YOU HAVE AGREED TO GIVE FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT TO YOUR PEOPLE. I CONGRATULATE YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE ON THIS. I HOPE THAT THIS STEP WILL SOON BE EXTENDED TO THE WHOLE OF KATHIAWAR AS AN INTEGRATED UNIT AND I AM SURE THAT THAT WILL BRING HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY TO THE PEOPLE IN THE PENINSULA.

397

TELEGRAM

31 December 1947

From The Maharaja Sahib of Morvi
To Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister

GLAD TO INFORM YOU THAT TODAY AT A PUBLIC DARBAR I HAVE ANNOUNCED GIVING MY PEOPLE CONSTITUTION THE ULTIMATE AIM OF WHICH IS FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. FOR FRAMING THIS CONSTITUTION A COMMITTEE WITH MAJORITY OF ELECTED MEMBERS WILL BE APPOINTED SHORTLY. IN THE MEANTIME TWO ELECTED MEMBERS OF MY RAJSABHA WILL BE APPOINTED TO MY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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398

The Palace
Jamnagar
Kathiawar
21 January 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sending this letter with the Sirohi deputation who have been worrying us frequently.

I hope you will give them a hearing and do the needful. If you would like to hear our views, would gladly give them to you in person.

Hoping to seeing you soon and with regrets at disturbing you at this juncture.

With very best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Digvijaysinghji

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

399

New Delhi
28 January 1948

My dear Bhai Saheb,

Thank you for your letter dated 21 January 1948.

I have also had a talk with Gokulbhai.[1] Before I consider this matter further, I should like to have your views when you come here next.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. Col. His Highness Maharaja
Jam Shri Sir Digvijaysinghji
Ranjitsinhji Jadeja, GCIE, KCSI, ADC
Jam Saheb of Nawanagar
The Palace
Jamnagar (Kathiawar)

[1] Gokulbhai Daulatram Bhatt: ex-MP and ex-President Rajputana Provincial Congress Committee; Political Adviser and Chief Minister, Sirohi State, 1948-49; member, Working Committee, Indian National Congress and A.I.C.C.

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PS.

From Menon's talk with me I could see that you felt greatly hurt. I will do nothing that will hurt you. Why should this happen at all when we have built such brotherly relations? We can clear up the matter when you would come here next.

400

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
15 February 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have wished to meet you at leisure and sent my invitation when you were at Bombay last time. Since then our country has been rocked with the tragedy of revered Bapu. I have felt the grief too keenly for words, and apart from one month's mourning in the State I have remitted a small portion of the revenue, with the wish that the people may avail of this saving as a nucleus for a fund for a memorial to Mahatmaji as their committee may prefer.

I have requested my close friend, His Highness the Raja Sahib of Mandi, to tell you all about myself and my reforms in the State where I have announced full democratic Government with popular ministers directly elected by the people by ballot on adult franchise basis which is to ensure the full responsibility of ministers to the whole people. This election will be complete by March-end and constitution-making will commence then with a mandate to finish work with great speed. My idea is to make my State and people a complete composite unit of autonomy and economy within the Union and model it as far as may be feasible on the broad lines of Mahatmaji's ideal of self-sufficiency and co-ordinate authority.

I trust you will kindly spare some personal attention for my work for the State and visit us some time at your earliest leisure.

I need hardly assure you that I shall cheerfully do my duty for our country and our Union, in which I am confident my people will co-operate, for such enlightened and broad policies as you may in your wisdom advise for the co-ordination of all the Gujarat States independently as a group or with Baroda.

I trust my prayer for rose flowers for revered Bapuji's Sejja which I requested by telegram was granted.

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With great esteem,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

401

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
19 March 1948

Dear Mr. Menon,

I hope the Regional Commissioner informed you about my reply to his telegram to meet you in conference at Bombay on 17 March. In accordance with my reply I sent my Chief Minister, Mr. S. K. Bhatt, and my Minister-in-waiting, Nawabzada Salim Khan, to attend your conference and aid you in discussions, as I have been laid up in bed with bronchitis.

Both my Ministers, who have attended the meeting and heard you, have acquainted me with the policy you elucidated and enunciated for the Gujarat States.

I had myself in a personal letter to Hon'ble Sardar Patel expressed my cordial concord with any high policy that the States Ministry may consider expedient and imperative in the higher interests of our Indian Union and our motherland.

I have asked my Ministers to convey to you my willingness to be in accord with the policy and sentiments of fairplay and honourable agreements with rulers you kindly expressed at this conference of 17 March.

I have particularly to request you to consider certain special matters in relation to the arrangements about myself, my family and my dynasty complimentary to the usual security about personal and dynastic rights, status, privileges etc.

These matters relate to the peculiar situation of Sachin and my personal welfare in view of the honourable traditions of rulership and just and efficient administration that I have throughout maintained.

I offer these observations so that you will kindly bring these to the attention of Hon'ble Sardar Patel on your return trusting with good faith in Sardar Patel's goodwill and gracious thought and care for me and my dynasty.

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My Chief Minister will disclose details of the privy purse from budget details which I hope will be considered in determining my allowance etc.

I anticipate the finalisation of the new set-up as you have visualised by June and for administrative transference and I shall thank you to transmit to me the necessary papers for my formal signature and assent at your early convenience.

Let me convey through you to Sardar Patel and the Cabinet my assurance, continued co-operation and fidelity to our Indian Union.

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

V. P. Menon, Esq.
Secretary, States Ministry
Bombay

402

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
23 May 1948

Dear and esteemed Sardar Patel,

I feel it my duty to bring to your personal notice some private point about myself and the future of my dynasty and family.

It is a very delicate point and I do not know how to put it. I shall try to be concise, and I trust I have put it rightly to you as my protector and patron.

I have been on the gadi for 18 years and it has not been possible for me to make any savings; nor have I accumulated any fortune by any trading during the war, as has happened in many cases, nor in any business.

During the war crisis I prevented profiteering and administered supplies to the contentment of my people; and the policy of integration with which I cheerfully placed myself in accord as I conveyed to you since 17 February in my letter to you sent with His Highness of Mandi, will leave me without any private funds.

It is in this respect that I wish to pray that you may consider the expediency of making an honourable and adequate provision for myself and my family which would prove a perpetual security

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to our dignity and honour as such a settlement is expected to last for all time.

With highest esteem and regard,

Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

403

TELEGRAM

Dumas
24 May 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Mussoorie

REFERENCE HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RAJPIPLA'S TELEGRAM TO YOU DATED TWENTYFIRST AFTER MEETING AT BOMBAY WHICH I COULD NOT ATTEND. IN CONFORMITY WITH MERGER AGREEMENT SIGNED BY ME AM FULLY PREPARED HAND OVER ADMINISTRATION IN FULL COOPERATION YOURS AND INDIAN UNION HIGH POLICY NOW AND IN FUTURE. AM SENDING MY BROTHER NAWABZADA SALIMKHAN FOR URGENT PERSONAL PRIVATE WORK. ASHAMED TROUBLE YOU IN YOUR PRESENT CONDITION HEALTH BUT SHALL BE DEEPLY GRATEFUL YOUR GRACIOUSLY GRANTING HIM FEW MINUTES' AUDIENCE. WOULD HAVE COME PERSONALLY BUT FOR MY CONTINUED ILL HEALTH. WARMEST REGARDS.

NAWAB SACHIN

404

TELEGRAM

Dumas
1 June 1948

Honourable Sardar Patel
Circuit House
Dehradun

REFERENCE TELEGRAM FROM MAHARAJA RAJPIPLA AND CERTAIN OTHER GUJARAT RULERS TO RAO BAHADUR MENON I HAVE WIRED TO MAHARAJA RAJPIPLA AS FOLLOWS. MESSAGE BEGINS. REFERENCE JOBANPUTRA'S TELEPHONIC MESSAGE. IN REPLY TO THEIR TELEGRAM

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DATED TWENTYNINTH I HAVE ALREADY INFORMED STATES MINISTRY THAT I WILL HAND OVER ON 10 JUNE AND EXTEND EVERY FACILITY TO BOMBAY GOVERNMENT FOR SMOOTH CHANGEOVER. I AM THEREFORE UNABLE NOW TO ADOPT ANY OTHER COURSE. IN VIEW OF MERGER ALSO IT WOULD BE OF LITTLE PURPOSE FOR ME TO JOIN GUJARAT STATES ORGANISATION YOUR HIGHNESSES HAVE SET UP. I AM SURE YOUR HIGHNESSES WILL APPRECIATE MY POSITION AND GRACIOUSLY FORGIVE ME. LOVE RESPECTS. MESSAGE ENDS. I HAVE SENT COPY OF THIS TELEGRAM TO STATES MINISTRY. AM TELEGRAPHING COPY FOR YOUR KIND PERUSAL. AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR INTERVIEW SO KINDLY GRANTED TO MY BROTHER. WARMEST REGARDS.

NAWAB SACHIN

405

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
27 June 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

As I am ill and I am unable to undertake a long journey I am sending by brother Nawabzada Salim Khan as my personal messenger to place before you copies of two letters dated 21 and 27 June 1948 which I addressed to Rao Bahadur Menon with regard to fixation of the amount of my privy purse and to acquaint you in what miserable economic plight I am going to be placed by the amount now proposed as my privy purse.

I have always looked upon you as my patron and well-wisher and have always readily and cheerfully accepted your advice and instructions. You know the general standard of living in Gujarat is much higher than that in Kathiawar and Deccan. I, therefore, feel sure that you will not fail to befriend us in the present miserable plight to which we are likely to be reduced if the present proposal is confirmed without adequate and reasonable revision at your hands. Please, therefore, do the needful and place me under your everlasting obligation.

With kindest regards and highest esteem,

Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE I

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
21 June 1948

My dear Rao Bahadur Menon,

I am, indeed, disappointed that I am unable to come to Bombay as apart from business I was looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you and making your acquaintance. Since the last two years I have been ailing and I am almost an invalid. I am again suffering from arthritis. I seek your kind indulgence to a sick man. I am sending Dewan Bahadur C. M. Gandhi and my brother Nawabzada Sidi Muhammad Salim Khan to submit certain special points which deserve to be taken into consideration in fixing the amount of the privy purse in my case. I will be deeply grateful if you would most kindly spare some time to give them a special hearing in the matter.

The case of Sachin is on an absolutely different footing from the Kathiawar States and other Gujarat States and deserves to be considered on its own merits.

I have no investments either in cash or landed estate and have not been able to augment the income during the last three years because of the fixed Ryotwari cash revenue system in the State; and the State had no income from forests or other commercial sources of revenue.

Dumas has a particularly advantageous position as a maritime port. It is a convenient centre for trade with Kathiawar ports and will serve as a lucrative centre for trade with Gujarat and Central India. If I had been able to put my scheme through, the revenues of the State during the last three years would have greatly increased. I, therefore, submit that the potentialities of increased revenue on that score should be taken into consideration when the privy purse is to be fixed for all times to come.

With my small State I have maintained a standard of administration at heavy cost; and I have also had to maintain a standard of living as a ruler of a first class State was expected to live and maintain his dignity in society. That is why I have not saved anything to fall back upon.

I, therefore, submit that I have a special case to urge before you and in my absence from Bombay on 25 June I shall be deeply grateful if you will very kindly give my representatives full opportunities to place it before you.

I hope and trust that you will see your way to fix the amount of my privy purse as you deem proper bearing in mind only one consideration,

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namely, that I may be able to live in future in such a manner that I can adequately maintain the social status of my family which has been so kindly guaranteed by the Government of India.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon, CIE
Secretary, Ministry of States
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE II

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
27 June 1948

My dear Rao Bahadur Menon,

In the annexure to my letter addressed to you on 21 June 1948 I have tried to succinctly marshal the facts which should be taken into consideration for fixing an adequate and satisfactory amount for my privy purse.

I am, however, sorry to observe that in the busy time that you had on 25 June in Bombay you have not been able to give that sympathetic attention which the annexure deserved. I am told the amount proposed for my privy purse is only Rs. 72,000. It is according to the new Deccan States formula which was never put before and has not been accepted by the Gujarat States.

In your opening address to the conference you had very rightly assured the rulers that in fixing the amount of the privy purse of the rulers of small States you will see that the amount was adequate.

I admit Sachin is a small State but its rulers have been sovereigns of a first class full-power State and have maintained traditional standards of decent living and good administration which have left nothing either by way of cash or investments or other income-yielding estates.

Under the circumstances it is impossible to live and maintain the standard of living which the rulers of Sachin State have been accustomed to. The amount proposed is wholly inadequate and impossible to maintain even a common decent standard of living.

I am, therefore, troubling you with this letter which I send with my brother Nawabzada Salim Khan and I hope and trust that you will give him a kind and patient hearing.

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It is impossible to maintain that standard of decent living, dignity, social relations, etc., which the Dominion Government has promised to the rulers of the Indian States within the amount proposed for the obvious reason that the purchasing power of the rupee is only 30%. The least amount that will be required to meet all the expenses that my privy purse is expected to cover will not be less than Rs. 1,75,000.

I can hardly believe that the Dominion Government can expect us to disband all of a sudden our household, domestic and personal staff most of whom are loyally serving our family from generation to generation and entirely depending upon us.

After all the privy purse is to be paid as a charge out of the income of the State and if an adequately large sum is allotted for the maintenance of the ruler the future administration of the State is not going to be less efficient because there is the assured potentiality of large revenue being obtained in future from the establishment and development of the port of Dumas as also in other ways.

The amount of the privy purse is intended to cover all the expenses of the ruler including expenses on account of his personal staff, maintaining of his residences, marriages and other ceremonies and social obligations.

May I bring to your notice that in addition to the items of expenses mentioned in the para just above the ruler will cease to have free medical aid and services of the PWD and ceremonial departments and of other State servants which he used to get from his State?

Again you will also take into your consideration that rulers of much smaller States in Kathiawar and elsewhere have been given much larger amounts only on account of the accident of the increase in their revenues due to increased prices of food grains.

Lastly the rulers have in compliance with the wishes of the Dominion Government voluntarily parted with their sovereignty, power, privileges and control over State revenues in the larger interests of the country without any reluctance or endeavour to put it off, implicitly trusting in the assurances given from time to time that the Dominion Government will do everything that was necessary to safeguard the same. Now, therefore, they feel they have a right to expect that their privy purse will not be fixed in such niggardly manner as to drive them to the position of indigent pensioners.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon, CIE
Secretary, States Ministry
Government of India
New Delhi

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Qasre Sultan
Dumas
22 October 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am writing this letter as two or three questions have arisen in connection with the merger agreement of my State requiring solution at an early date at your august hands.

(1) Privy Purse

In connection with this, I have submitted letters to you and to Mr. V. P. Menon, copies of which I enclose for convenience of reference.

On 19 March 1948, to co-operate wholeheartedly in the general policy of the Indian Dominion, I agreed to transfer the management of my State to the Indian Dominion and I was kindly assured that my privileges and dignity as a ruler would be maintained as before. The terms offered to me along with other Gujarat States' rulers were that the amount of the privy purse would be fixed at 15% of the gross revenues of a State. I was subsequently asked to submit accounts of my revenue receipts for two years and was given the option of selecting the year in which the receipts were higher. By that time, the Kathiawar arrangements had been completed and the rulers there were given liberal amounts as privy purses without any scrutiny of accounts and almost according to their own wishes. In Gujarat, however, we were afterwards informed that the amounts of the privy purses would be calculated on the formulas applied in the case of the Deccan States. When I supplied the accounts of two years, the revenues of my State were taken at Rs. 7 lakhs, instead of Rs. 12 lakhs, as they stood in the annual State accounts for 1946-47.

In Sachin an original survey settlement of land was concluded in 1883 A.D. It was revised in 1920 with the help of an expert settlement officer from the cadre of the Government of Bombay. The revenue system in the State is based on the royatwari system and the cultivators enjoy occupancy rights similar to those in the territories of the Dominion. Records of rights in the villages of the State are maintained on the basis of forms

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prescribed in Hope's Manual of Revenue Accounts with changes to suit local requirements of the State. On the financial side, there is a systematic budget of receipts and expenditure and what are known as revenue receipts in Bombay province are equally such receipts in Sachin. Those who scrutinised the accounts appear to have made a distinction and taken certain revenues as capital and certain others as income. For instance, items like proceeds from sales of lands to occupants were deducted. These form annual recurring revenue items in the State as in the Dominion. The budgets were by no means made for the integration. The distinctions made, therefore, have been unfair.

I am just now informed that on the basis of the revenue calculated at Rs. 7 lakhs, instead of Rs. 12 lakhs, a privy purse of Rs. 72,000 p.a. is proposed to be fixed for me for being entered in the merger agreement.

Luckily for me you are acquainted intimately with the status and importance of individual Kathiawar and Gujarat States. You know, for instance, the difference between a Treaty State, a full-powered State and a State with limited jurisdiction even for purposes of integration. You will, therefore, readily see the glaring inconsistencies which have occurred so far as my State is concerned. In Kathiawar, for example, the privy purses of some of the less important States are as given below:

KATHIAWAR (SALUTE STATES)

Rajkot	2,85,000
Limbdi	1,95,000
Wankaner	1,80,000
Palitana	1,80,000
Wadhwan	1,42,000
Dhrol	1,10,000

KATHIAWAR (NON-SALUTE STATES)

Jasdan	1,50,000
Amarnagar (Thana-Devli)	1,00,000
Jetpur	1,00,000
Bilkha	1,00,000
Lakhatar	91,000
Vala	88,750
Vadia	78,250
Lathi	77,500

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In Gujarat also the following figures are noteworthy, compared with the figure proposed for Sachin:

Bansda	1,60,000
Dharampur	1,40,000
Lunavada	1,38,000
Jawahar	1,25,000
Santrampur	1,20,000

Similarly in Madhya Bharat:

Dewas (Jr.)	1,80,000
Narsinhgarh	1,65,000
Barwani	1,45,000
Dewas (Sr.)	1,45,000
Jhabua	1,27,000
Sailana	1,10,000

In the circumstances, I find myself in a most humiliating and helpless position, and as always I look up to and trust in you for extricating me from it. It is not that in an extensive transaction like this a State like mine cannot be treated in an equitable way without exciting any legitimate jealousy.

I have already submitted to you details of my unfortunate circumstances and I hate to keep on worrying you but only overwhelming odds compel me to do so. During my reign of 18 years, I have kept up a standard of administration which could be compared favourably with any of the richer States in Gujarat. I have not been able to lay by any private savings: nor have I inherited or later owned any properties in India or outside which could give me a private income. The Civil List amount separately provided in my budgets has been my sole means of subsistence. Even in the State, I do not own any properties which yield any income. During the most critical years of the war, I have striven my utmost to afford to my people every satisfaction and comfort in regard to food, cloth and other commodities, and I very strictly and sternly disallowed any black-marketing or profiteering. This is an open fact and can be verified at any time. I have loyally co-operated in the higher policy of the Government of India and have spontaneously surrendered my inheritance cheerfully in the larger interests of the Motherland. I have reduced my standard of living to the barest minimum. In regard to my relatives, old servants and dependents, I have not made allowances or granted annuities or pensions in an irresponsible manner or through any sense of generosity at the expense of the

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people. I wish to make no invidious remarks, but if what has been done in many other adjoining States is critically examined, I am sure that none of my grants will be found unjust.

Revenue settlement in the State on the royatwari system and as it existed in the Bombay Presidency was introduced since the year 1883 A.D. None of my ancestors owned or appropriated landed properties, unlike many other States, where the rulers are owners of big and lucrative Khasgi lands. During the 18 years of my reign I have always been in the State and have not squandered money in extensive European trips or on other eccentric luxuries. As a matter of fact, I have never been abroad in my life.

The incomes of practically all the other Gujarat States have been inflated enormously during the last seven or eight years because the rulers of these States had the good fortune to possess valuable forests and other resources and received large receipts from the sale of timber etc. Sachin also had valuable resources and I had submitted representations to Government about the rights of Sachin State over its ports. I mention this fact because if these inherent rights had been restored to Sachin State, the revenue of the State would have probably been the highest among the Gujarat States at the time of the merger agreement and consequently my privy purse would have been reckoned accordingly.

As I have stated above, even non-salute States which did not even exercise full jurisdiction in Kathiawar like Jasdan (1,50,000), Bilkha (1,00,000), Jetpur (1,00,000), etc. have been fortunate in being granted privy purses amounting to Rs. 1,00,000 and above.

I have integrated my State, loyally abiding by the wishes of the Government of India. I have no wish to live in any regal or ostentatious condition. But I should have sufficient means at least to make ends meet. Proximity of Surat and all round high prices of living and wages make this impossible. I appeal to your humanity, equity and justice that I may at least be allowed a sum equal to that granted to Chiefs like Jasdan and much inferior princes like Limbdi, Wankaner, Wadhwan etc., so that I may be enabled to live decently with the 'izzat' [self-respect] which Government have so graciously desired to guarantee.

(2) Family Allowances etc.

I also wish to bring to your notice that though now five months have elapsed from the date of integration of the State the

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members of my family have not received their Jiwais. None of them own or have inherited any income-producing properties. They have no other means of livelihood other than the Jiwais they receive from the State. If these Jiwais are stopped, these people of good family will be left at the gates of indigence. Amongst them there are several aged purdahnashin (purdah-wearing) widows who are drawing small pittances and their privations may be better imagined than described.

(3) Annuities etc.

Similarly, annuities given by me to my servants for long and faithful services to the State are not being paid. All this is surprising as article (5) of the Collateral letter agreed to be issued to me runs as follows:

> "(5) Pensions, gratuities, annuities, allowances by the States to the members of their public services who have retired or have proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement before 1 April 1948 as also the enjoyment of the ownership of Khasgi villages, lands, jagirs,* grants, etc., existing on 1 April 1948 are hereby guaranteed."

I again hesitate to say it, but my utter helplessness leaves me no choice. I believe I was the first prince in the Gujarat States who offered to sacrifice my all and to abide loyally by Government's wishes for merger or otherwise, when many others were doing their best to procrastinate or obstruct the high policy of State. I may also state that I completely dissociated myself with the activities of other Gujarat rulers ever since last October and had proclaimed complete self-government before the merger was contemplated.

All through this period of change for myself and my family, I have placed my fullest trust in you; and although my continued illness has rendered me an invalid and prevented me from the privilege and honour of meeting you personally, I have rested content that you will not let me go by the board.

I have been reduced to penury and find myself in very grave financial difficulties. I have nobody to appeal to but you. I would have come personally to beg of your kind and sympathetic consideration but my misfortune is increased by my continuous illness which has almost crippled me and made me bedridden now since the last four months. I, therefore, beseech you to take my unenviable case into consideration, and pass very early

* There is only one jagir village to my two Begums jointly for their alimony.

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and favourable orders for which I repeat that I shall be everlastingly grateful.

With highest esteem and regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Haider Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

407

Qasre Sultan
Dumas
31 December 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

In your speech at the Jaipur Congress session, you referred to my having refused to allow the All-India Congress Committee to hold a session at Dumas in 1931. I beg to be permitted to place the facts before you. This unhappy episode has been one of the saddest in my life and throughout these 17 years I have felt it very deeply and have never been able to cease thinking about it.

I succeeded my father in 1930 when I was 20 years of age and was invested with ruling powers on 5 February 1931.

As was the general practice of the British Political Department in those days my investiture with full ruling powers was made subject to two main conditions:

(i) that for a period of two years my Dewan should be appointed with the approval of Government; and

(ii) that in all important matters of State policy I should abide by the 'advice' of the Political Agent.

I received the Kharita formally investing me with full ruling powers on 5 February 1931. At the end of that month, I proceeded to Delhi for the meetings of the Chamber of Princes. I returned from Delhi about the middle of March and immediately afterwards had to go to Bombay on domestic business. On my return from Bombay to Dumas, about the end of March or beginning of April, I learnt from private sources that the Congress proposed holding the meeting of the Working Committee in Dumas in the summer. This news was a matter of elation and happiness to me. Both Mahatmaji and the late Dr. Ansari happened

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to be personal friends of my maternal grandfather and knew my poor dear mother, of never fading memory, as a child. On this account, I personally considered it to be a privilege to entertain them both in my State on the very threshold of my reign. A privilege all the more valued as you know that in those days it was no easy matter for a Ruling Prince to meet any political leaders even though it may be on grounds of sentimental friendship or family associations.

I was, however, unhappily frustrated in my hopes by the attitude of my Dewan who pressingly submitted to me that no meeting of the Congress Working Committee could be allowed within the territories of the State. As stated, the Dewan had been appointed with the approval of Government and was for all purposes the Government's man. He was a Government servant also whose services had been loaned to me for a period of two years. I did my best to remonstrate with the gentleman by pointing out that apart from the sentimental attraction to me personally of the visit of Mahatmaji and Dr. Ansari there was no justification to ban the meeting of the Working Committee, as the Congress had not been declared an illegal organisation and had not been banned in any sense anywhere in British India either by the Paramount Power or by the then Bombay Government.

My arguments, however, were of no avail then and the Dewan pointed out to me that I was bound to consult and take his advice as well as the advice of the Political Agent in such matters of policy. As no other course was left open to me, and I was merely astride a horse whose bridle was in the hands of others, I had to sign the order placed before me banning the meeting of the Working Committee to my great chagrin.

I was not my own master in this matter; and later in two other instances also I was humiliated by the then Bombay Government. After a year or so, I was considered a nationalist and anti-British for showing interest in Swadeshi and giving to roads in Dumas Indian names. Similarly, at the time of the Haripura Congress, because I permitted a private electrical firm to carry cables through my territory I was warned.

I beg to be forgiven for the length of this letter. I have no wish to whitewash myself but the urge to place these true and simple facts before you, now when the time has come when I can do so, is strong; and I feel a heavy load of sadness which has lain on my heart all these years removed to some extent.

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I have been very seriously ill but by the grace of God and your ashirvad [blessings] I am a little better and look forward to paying my respects to you in the very near future.

With highest esteem and regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Sidi Hyder Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

408

Nilambag Palace
Bhavnagar
26 June 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb wrote to you on the 8th instant just before his departure abroad. I was sworn in as Rajpramukh on the 10th instant.

2. The Raoki trouble, of which His Highness wrote in the sixth paragraph of his letter of the 8th, has been satisfactorily settled. My Government has been both firm and conciliatory and I must say that the amicable settlement arrived at is due entirely to their reasonableness and determination to bring it about.

3. At a conference of Rajpramukhs held in New Delhi on the 6th instant it was resolved that the objective to be aimed at for the forces of the Indian States was to level up their efficiency all round and to bring them up to the standard of the Indian Army. It was further resolved that the method of achieving this object would be considered in detail by a joint committee of the representatives to be nominated by the Rajpramukhs of all Unions and the Government of India. This joint committee met in Delhi on the 17th instant, and I am very glad to learn from my representative, Lt. Col. Ajitsinhji, that unanimous conclusions were reached. These conclusions will be considered by the Rajpramukhs again. Thereafter I trust necessary steps will be taken expeditiously to achieve the desired object. It was agreed that in the first phase the United State of Saurashtra should have a balanced formation comprising a brigade and that as a target it should have one Indian independent brigade group. Saurashtra is at present spending about Rs 25 lakhs per annum on its forces. The cost of a full brigade will be much higher. Therefore

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when the proposals are finalised at the Rajpramukhs' conference, the Ministry of States will have to determine in consultation with me how the extra finance required will be found.

4. I have recently enacted ordinances adapting the provisions of the Trade Unions, the Workmen's Compensation and the Payment of Wages Acts.

5. Cholera broke out in Amreli some time ago and cases have been reported from some places in Saurashtra also. We have had no rain so far, and are having a rather anxious time.

I trust that you are maintaining your progress and will soon be restored to perfect health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Krishna Kumar Sinhji
[Rajpramukh of Saurashtra]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

409

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
7 August 1948

His Highness Maharaja of Bhavnagar
Bhavnagar
(Kathiawar)

YOUR PRESENCE IMMEDIATELY REQUIRED FOR IMPORTANT CONSULTATION. PLEASE COME TOMORROW AT LATEST. KINDEST REGARDS.

VALLABHBHAI

410

TELEGRAM

Bhavnagar
8 August 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

REACHING WILLINGDON ABOUT ELEVEN.

RAJPRAMUKH

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411

Political Department
Saurashtra Government
Rajkot
4 October 1948

Pujya Sardar Sahib,

I sent to Mr. [V. P.] Menon copies of notes regarding "dissipations" and private properties of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Gondal. I send herewith copies of the same for your perusal. You may read them when you have time. I would not have troubled you about this but the case appears extraordinary and it is likely that you will have ultimately to take interest in the matter.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
U. N. Dhebar[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

412

New Delhi
8 October 1948

My dear Dhebar,

I have your letter of the 4th instant with its enclosure. I have gone through the list of dispositions made by Gondal. A large number of them are shocking and must be set right. We cannot recognise such ostensibly unjustifiable, if not dishonest, transactions. It is unfortunate that when I am trying to put these Princes in the good books of the people there are some amongst them who have failed to appreciate their real position in the modern world. They have got no sympathy for their existence anywhere. Their past is black and their present, if it continues to be the same, Heaven knows what will become of them.

[1] Chief Minister of Saurashtra, 1948; President, Indian National Congress, 1957-59; Chairman, All-India Khadi Commission

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2. I hear good reports about rain all over Kathiawar, more so in Junagadh, though belated. It will give you considerable relief in your anxiety of the expected disaster of famine in the first year of your career. I hope your elections are proceeding smoothly and there will be no difficulty in your getting through them successfully.

3. I hear some reports about want of adequate co-operation between you and Shamaldas [Gandhi][1]. This makes me uneasy. In all the Unions of States we have built hopes on Saurashtra as a model one which will, we hope, give lead to the rest of the Unions. I cannot conceive of any such differences between you two. I hope the reports are not correct.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri U. N. Dhebar
Chief Minister
Saurashtra Government
Rajkot (Kathiawar)

413

Communications Department
Saurashtra Government
Rajkot
9 October 1948

Shri Sardar Sahib,

Elections to the Saurashtra Constituent Assembly will take place on 10 November. The GPCC Parliamentary Board has announced the names of the candidates who will stand on Congress ticket. The Congress is contesting every seat. Excluding seven seats from Junagadh and one seat from Mangrol, where elections will take place at a later date, the Congress candidates have filed nomination papers for all the remaining 37 seats.

Shri Dhebarbhai, our Chief Minister, is being opposed by K. S. Indravijaysinhji of Jamnagar, Shrimati Bhaktilaxmi Desai is being opposed by the Thakore Saheb of Dhrol, Shri Manubhai Shah, our Commerce and Industry Minister, is being opposed by the Thakore Sahib of Wadhwan, while the Home Minister, Shri Rasiklal Parikh, is contesting his seat against the uncle of the minor Thakore Sahib of Limbdi.

[1] Close relation of Mahatma Gandhi; head of Provisional Government set up in Junagadh

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In all, there are 37 Congress candidates who are being opposed by the members of the Raj families, the Talukdars and Zamindars, members of the Hindu Mahasabha and of the newly started Lok Paksha. The Congress under the leadership of Darbar Shri Gopaldas Desai and Shri Dhebarbhai, is sure of success. It has organised the election campaign on the strength of the Congress election manifestoes of 1937 and 1945. We hope to win almost every seat and expect that deposits of many rival candidates will be forfeited. I request you to help us in winning a cent per cent victory. Could you spare a couple of days to tour some of the constituencies? If so, please let us know your convenience for the same. If not, please send us at the earliest convenience an inspiring message to the electors of Saurashtra to vote for the Congress. Thirty-three per cent of the people have been registered on the electoral roll and a very keen contest is expected.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Balvantray Mehta[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

414

30 October 1948

My dear Balvantray,

Thank you for your letter of 9 October 1948. I am surprised that after having won your struggle against the rulers you should now be depending on external aid for your elections. It is a surprising confession of weakness.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Balvantray Mehta
Rajkot

[1] General Secretary, AICC; Deputy Chief Minister of Saurashtra; Chief Minister, Gujarat; died in plane crash, 1965

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415

Communications Department
Saurashtra Government
Rajkot
18 October 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

In continuation of my letter dated 9th inst. requesting your co-operation in the matter of election of the Constituent Assembly of Saurashtra, I am glad to intimate to you that the election campaign is going on very well. The Congress candidates are scoring heavily in enlisting the support of the voters in their respective constituencies. Eight seats out of 35 have been won by the Congress without a contest. In many others, there is going to be a very nominal contest. There will be a keen contest in only a few and the matter is being handled very carefully and properly by the Saurashtra Congress Committee. I, therefore, request you not to trouble yourself any more in this regard, except for sending a message for the success of the Congress candidates at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
Balvantray Mehta

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

416

New Delhi
8 November 1948

My dear V. P.,

Colonel Rajan of the Military Adviser-in-Chief's office went to Saurashtra and has sent his full report on the enquiries he made regarding the reports which we had received of the alleged complicity of the state forces in the elections at Jamnagar. I have submitted the report to Vellodi and yourself separately. The only point about which HM feels very unhappy is a dinner which was held on Dussehra day in the Infantry Lines and which was presided over by Her Highness the Maharani of Nawanagar.

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In her speech, she made a statement which gave rise to certain rumours. As far as I recollect, the statement ran that the Rajputs would soon come into their own and that, although this year they were celebrating this dinner in the Infantry Lines, next year they would celebrate it in the Rozi, which was the place where the dinner used to be held so far but could not be held this year. At the dinner, one Karam Singh, while thanking Her Highness, said that there was a Rajput candidate and that they should all vote for him. It is also noteworthy that the dinner was held despite the advice of Brig. Pratapsinghji that the dinner should not be held in view of the scarcity conditions and the forthcoming elections.

HM suggests that you might immediately write to Her Highness pointing out that she should not have taken part in the function, of which political capital could be made, and that her association with the organisation which arranged the dinner is inconsistent with her position as the wife of the Raj Pramukh and that it would be in her interest to remove the impression which unfortunately has been created as a result of the above incident.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Shri V. P. Menon
New Delhi

417

New Delhi
9 November 1948

My dear Iyengar,

I am sending herewith a telegram which HM received from a Rajkot daily and his reply thereto. You might ask your Bombay office to publicize it in the local papers.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

A. S. Iyengar Esq.
Principal Information Officer
Government of India
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE I

TELEGRAM DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1948 FROM JAI HIND, A GUJARATI DAILY OF RAJKOT, TO SARDAR PATEL

PRAY YOUR SILENCE REGARDING SAURASHTRA ELECTIONS AS ALSO YOUR PRINCES PRAISE AT BOMBAY OTHER PLACES UTILISED BY OPPONENTS OF CONGRESS AS INDIRECTLY SUPPORTING TALUQDARI ELEMENTS AT JAMNAGAR. HOPE YOU REALISE DHEBAR'S DEFEAT WOULD MEAN FAILURE OF YOUR NEW EXPERIMENT IN STATES. PLEASE WIRE YOUR BLESSINGS AND MESSAGE FOR PUBLICATION IN OUR DAILY.

ENCLOSURE II

TELEGRAM

9 November 1948

Jai Hind
Rajkot

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 6 NOVEMBER. REASON WHY I HAVE THOUGHT IT FIT NOT INTERVENE IN SAURASHTRA ELECTIONS IS I NEVER THOUGHT ELECTORATE OF SAURASHTRA SO FOOLISH AND IGNORANT AS NOT TO REALISE WHERE ITS INTERESTS LIE. CONGRESS ORGANISATION IN SAURASHTRA IS MOST DEVELOPED AND IT SHOULD NEED NO OUTSIDE COMMENDATION OR SUPPORT. SAURASHTRA SHOULD REALISE THAT DHEBAR IS BEST PUBLIC SERVANT THEY CAN COMMAND AND ELECTORATE OF JAMNAGAR CAN HARDLY HAVE ANY CHOICE IN THE MATTER.

VALLABHBHAI

418

TELEGRAM

12 November 1948

Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

KINDLY CLEAR THE CONFUSION CREATED BY LOCAL DAILY JAIHIND PUBLISHING YOUR WIRE RECOMMENDING TO JAMNAGAR VOTERS TO VOTE FOR DHEBAR ONLY. THIS RECOMMENDATION HAS BEEN USED AS CURRENCY AND PROVES INDEPENDENT CANDIDATURE NEEDLESS. IF SO NO NEED FOR SAURASHTRA ELECTIONS. TOMORROW PUBLISHING THIS WIRE. HENCE PLEASE CLEAR WHETHER YOUR WIRE IS IN PERSONAL CAPACITY AND POPULAR ELECTIONS PROVIDE HEALTHY OPPOSITION. OTHERWISE WILL HAVE REVERSE EFFECTS.

RASHTRASHAKTI

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CHAPTER XIII

EASTERN INDIA STATES

419

New Delhi
25 January 1948

Dear Shri Shuklaji,

Please refer to your letter dated 20 January 1948. We have also had reports about the activities of Jaipal Singh and others in one or two States of the Chhattisgarh groups. They claim these to belong to the future State of Jharkhand. The situation requires very careful handling because we should on no account allow this movement to gather any momentum. You should, therefore, deal strongly with any agitators of this type and nip the mischief in the bud. At the same time, we should ensure that the Adibasis' claims are sympathetically dealt with and adequate steps are taken for their amelioration.

2. It is useless to write on this matter to the Bihar Government. They seem to be following a short-sighted policy, little realising that Jaipal Singh can never be with Bihar for long. His clear ambition is to form a Chota Nagpur State in which he would be a sort of a dictator, but in the desire to retain, or even to secure, a few States, the Bihar Government do not seem to mind the harmful effects of Jaipal Singh's activities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister
Government of the Central Provinces & Berar
Nagpur

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1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
8 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I have received from one Shreedhar Udgata, editor of an Oriya weekly paper Praja Mitra published from Bolangir in Patna State. The complaint is that he has been interned and his press and house have been searched and he has been ordered not to publish anything without pre-censor because in his paper he has been advocating the formation of the Union of the Orissa States on the model of Saurashtra and such other similar unions rather than their merger in Orissa. The action has been taken under Sections 2 and 11 of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1948. Apart from the legality of the order which is not free from doubt, the question is whether the provisions of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act could be applied to writings of this nature. The translation of the article which is the basis of this action does not show anything which even can remotely be suggested as leading to disturbance of public order or instigating any violence in some form or shape. I cannot believe that our Governments should use these special measures for suppressing expression of public opinion on a matter like this.

This is not the first instance. On the question of legality and the applicability of the Act itself to the State of Patna, I doubt if the Legislative Assembly of Orissa is entitled, under the law as it stands at present, to pass a law which will apply to any of the Orissa States any more than it can pass a law which could apply to any of the other provinces or any other State in India. I do not think that mere signing of the agreement for integration confers on the Legislature of Orissa the power to pass laws to govern the States.

This is not the only instance where action like this has been taken. The other day I received information that two Congressmen who had gone to one of the Chhattisgarh States had been arrested and detained there under a similar law of the Central Provinces. We have all along preached against such arbitrary laws

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and it does not lie in our mouth to use them on such pretext. I agree that where there is real danger to the peace and order of the province our provinces should have the power to take action under such drastic laws, but there is no justification in such cases for its use. As the matter raises a very fundamental issue, I am referring it to you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for Home Affairs
Mussoorie

421

Mussoorie
12 May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 8 May 1948 regarding the Oriya weekly Praja Mitra and the arrest of two Congressmen in Chhattisgarh States.

2. As regards the legal point taken up by you, under the Provincial Extra Jurisdiction Act, we have delegated powers to the Government of Orissa to extend to the Orissa States any enactment in operation in Orissa province. They have probably extended the provisions of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act to the Orissa States and, therefore, the action taken is quite legal. As regards the propriety of that action, it is only the Orissa Government which can explain it. I am, therefore, writing to [H. K.] Mahtab [Orissa Premier] to find out what the facts are.

3. As regards the two Congressmen, I received a protest from the Bihar Premier some time ago. I then wrote to Shuklaji and I understand that the two Congressmen have now been released.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President
Indian National Congress
New Delhi

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Camp Abu
18 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thanks for your letter dated 12 May regarding the Orissa Praja Mandal and the arrest of two Congressmen of Bihar in a Chhattisgarh State. My intention was to draw your attention to what I believe to be an abuse of such extraordinary powers. I referred to the legality of the order because I had my doubts, and I am not sure even now that the Legislature of Orissa can pass any act which can apply to any State even after delegation of powers by the Government of India. Anyhow this is a matter which has to be considered by courts, if it is taken there. But I am not very much concerned with that. But I object to the suppression of expression of public opinion by the use of extraordinary powers under the Maintenance of Public Order Act in such matters on which public opinion should be not only allowed to be expressed but welcomed. The same remarks apply also to the arrest of two Congressmen in the Chhattisgarh State. That they have been released on protest does not in any way justify the action that was taken. As I have indicated in my last letter, Governments are only too prone to take recourse to extraordinary powers. In recent months it has been seen that the High Courts have upset more orders of Governments than perhaps they did in former regimes. It is not in the interest of our Governments that they should be exposed to criticism that High Courts have had to intervene for the protection of people from illegal arrests and detention. In our regime the people should have no ground to go to High Courts against our Governments, and if they did go the orders should be such that the High Court would not interfere.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

511

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423

Mussoorie
12 May 1948

My dear Mahtab,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Rajen Babu and my reply to him [See No. 421] and the enclosure to his letter in original. I should be glad if you would let me have your comments as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Harekrushna Mahtab
Premier
Cuttack

424

Cuttack
21 May 1948

Revered Sardarji,

Your letter dated 12 May 1948 with its enclosures.

It is really unfortunate that Rajendra Babu should accept allegations against the Orissa Government as prima facie correct and then proceed on them till the reverse is proved. Anyway, I think our records are clean and I do not think anybody can question our bona fides in any action we take.

As regards the allegations of Sri Shreedhar Udgata, Editor of the Praja Mitra of Bolangir, Patna, all of them are totally false and this can be proved from the records. The paper was started by the Ruler of Patna State and since December last the paper has been violently attacking the States Ministry and also yourself and myself by name. We did not take any action on these things; but when a few Rulers decided to start an agitation for reviving the old Eastern States Union and when it was found out that their programme was to create lawlessness on a large scale, we thought that it was our duty to check these subversive activities from the beginning and accordingly we took rather very mild

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actions. I give below the report of the District Magistrate of Patna regarding the situation there:

> "There is a tense feeling in the State on the merger issue. The bulk of the people are preferring to remain in the province while a small section has been trying to oppose the merger and bring back the old order of things, under the aegis of a States Union. There is a certain section of people in the State who are likely to be influenced by articles of the nature mentioned above and take recourse to open lawlessness. I therefore consider that there will be a menace to the maintenance of public peace and public safety if the Praja Mitra is not controlled."

Apart from this report we received a number of reports from other quarters that very few people were distributing anonymous leaflets and encouraging the Adibasis to rise in revolt. Of course, the number of agitators was so small that one could argue that they should have been neglected; but I did not like to take any risk in this matter. So the necessary action has been taken.

As regards the legality of the question, the Orissa Public Safety Law has been extended to all the States and you have rightly held that there was no illegality in it. As regards the propriety, I consider it proper in the interest of law and order.

Finally, I would respectfully urge that the President of the Indian National Congress should listen to the other side before an impression is formed about a Provincial Government. Here I might say that there is not a single detenu in the States although some prohibitive orders have been issued upon some.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie (UP)

425

Mussoorie
23 May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 18 May 1948 regarding the Orissa Praja Mandal and the arrest of two Congressmen of Bihar in a Chhattisgarh State.

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When I first received your letter, I myself was surprised because the matter did not pertain to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in these matters are virtually autonomous. I thought the better course would have been for you to take it up with the respective Premiers. However, since I knew some facts, I thought I would explain them.

As regards the legal position, perhaps I have not succeeded in making myself understood. Under the Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Act, it is competent for the Government of India to delegate powers to a Provincial Administration which could be exercised in an Indian State in respect of which that power may be delegated. Under those powers we have delegated to the Government of Orissa the power to apply any of the Acts in force in Orissa to what were formerly known as Orissa States. It is under this power that it appears that the Maintenance of Public Orders Act of Orissa has been extended to the State in question.

I am doubtful how far we could take acquittals of High Court as indicative of the arbitrariness of provincial executive actions. Under the law, the High Courts are generally not competent to go into this question. They exercise their power, however, to determine whether an order has been validly made and the acquittals that have been ordered by the High Courts are generally on these technical points.

It would, therefore, be wrong to draw from these acquittals any inference that the arrests have been wrong on merits. You will recall that the action which we have taken in rounding up suspects of various kinds, RSS, National Guards etc., was taken at the instance of the Party and the Legislature. It is difficult for me to see how you can blame the executive alone for taking an action which has subsequently been challenged successfully in a court of law and, if we adopted the criterion that people should have no ground to go to High Courts against our Governments, I am doubtful if at all it would be possible to administer anything.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Camp Mussoorie

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New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Mahtab,

I have received the following telegram from Sri Babu:[1]

"KINDLY REFER MY OFFICE D.O. DATED 1 APRIL ENCLOSING COPY OF NOTES OF DISCUSSIONS WITH ORISSA PREMIER. FOLLOWING AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. TEXT OF AGREEMENT BEGINS. IT IS AGREED THAT THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES OF SERAIKELLA AND SINGHBHUM SHOULD WORK IN CLOSE COLLABORATION SO THAT NO BREACH OF THE PEACE TAKES PLACE AND ALL PARTIES GET FULL SCOPE TO PROPAGATE THEIR VIEWS IN SERAIKELLA AND KHARSAWAN REGARDING MERGER TEXT ENDS. GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA AND PREMIER MAHTAB WERE REQUESTED BY LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT BUT WITHOUT ANY RESPONSE. MEANWHILE LOCAL OFFICERS OF SERAIKELLA AND KHARSAWAN ARE PREVENTING ENTRY OF MEN FROM BIHAR FOR DOING PEACEFUL MERGER PUBLICITY IN THE TWO STATES. PRO-BIHAR MEETINGS BEING SYSTEMATICALLY DISTURBED WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF ORISSA OFFICERS. PRO-BIHAR WORKERS THREATENED WITH MURDER AND ASSAULT. THE UNFORTUNATE KHARSAWAN FIRING BEING USED TO TERRORISE SIMPLE ADIBASIS FOR ANYTHING AGAINST ORISSA. ONE PRO-BIHAR WORKER REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MURDERED. CASES OF ASSAULT ONE PRO-BIHAR MAN ALSO REPORTED. FROM ALL ACCOUNTS ORISSA OFFICERS HAVE LET LOOSE A VERITABLE REIGN OF TERROR. BIHAR SUSPICIOUS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF ORISSA GOVERNMENT. BIHAR WANTS ONLY FAIR PLAY AND FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO BOTH SIDES FOR DOING PEACEFUL MERGER PROPAGANDA. UNLESS THIS IS ASSURED TRIBUNAL WILL FIND DIFFICULTY IN FINDING OUT THE TRUTH. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WILL THEREFORE REQUEST FOR PUTTING AN END TO THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS AND FOR DIRECTING ORISSA TO ALLOW FULL FREEDOM TO BIHAR FOR MERGER PUBLICITY IN THE TWO STATES FAILING WHICH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SHOULD ASSUME DIRECT CONTROL IN WHICH BOTH PARTIES WILL GET EQUAL AND FAIR CHANCE. IMMEDIATE ORDERS ARE SOLICITED. SRI KRISHNASINHA

[1] Sri Krishna Sinha: Premier of Bihar, 1937-39, and Chief Minister after independence

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Please let me know what the facts are. If there is any hitch, I hope you will see that the agreement you reached is fully implemented.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mahtab
Prime Minister of Orissa
Cuttack

427

TELEGRAM

22 April 1948

From
Orissa
Cuttack

To
Foreign
New Delhi

FOLLOWING PERSONAL FOR SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FROM MAHTAB PREMIER ORISSA.

AT INSTIGATION OF CERTAIN RULERS AND WITH THEIR ACTIVE SUPPORT MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATE UNION OF STATES HAS RECENTLY GAINED MOMENTUM. MAIN CENTRE OF ACTIVITY AT PRESENT IS SERAIKELLA WHOSE RULER AND HIS SONS ARE TAKING LEADING PART AND DIRECTING MOVEMENT. CERTAIN SINISTER DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ARE A DIRECT OUTCOME OF MOVEMENT FOR SEPARATE UNION HAVE JUST COME TO LIGHT. SOME MEMBERS OF PRAJA SAMITY SET UP BY A SON OF SERAIKELLA ATTEMPTED TO RUN A PARALLEL GOVERNMENT. RING LEADERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND WILL BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL FOR SPECIFIC CRIMINAL OFFENCES SUCH AS WRONGFUL RESTRAINT. DISTRICT MAGISTRATE SERAIKELLA HAS JUST REPORTED UNEARTHING OF A PLOT FOR ASSASSINATION OF ORISSA OFFICIALS HATED BY OTHER MEMBERS OF SAME BODY AND PERSONS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH IT. FULL DETAILS OF PLOT HAVE BEEN FURNISHED INCLUDING NAME OF PERSON SUSPECTED TO CARRY OUT CONTEMPLATED EXECUTIONS. WE HAVE ORDERED IMMEDIATE ARREST AND DETENTION OF ALL PERSONS INVOLVED IN PLOT INCLUDING SON OF SERAIKELLA UNDER THE MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC ORDER ACT.

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SERAIKELLA'S SON WILL BE KEPT IN DETENTION AT CUTTACK. FULLER DETAILS WILL FOLLOW BY LETTER. IT MAY BE NECESSARY LATER TO ARREST AND DETAIN RULER OF SERAIKELLA HIMSELF AS HE IS CLEARLY THE DIRECTING AND CONTROLLING BRAIN BEHIND MOVEMENT AND POSSIBLY ONE OR TWO OTHER RULERS. PLEASE WIRE IF PROPOSED DETENTION OR AT LEAST EXTERNMENT OF SELECTED RULERS ON SATISFACTORY PROOF OF THEIR COMPLICITY IN ANY SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT HAS YOUR APPROVAL.

428

Cuttack
21 May 1948

Revered Sardarji,

You know I agreed to abide by your decision with regard to Seraikella and Kharsawan and as a matter of fact I took the initiative in this matter. I thought that the inter-provincial dispute would cease after the question of Seraikella and Kharsawan was disposed of. As a matter of fact Mr. Pillai, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, assured the Orissa delegation in the presence of Mr. Menon that he had been directed to say that Bihar would not lay any claim on any other State in Orissa. But I send you herewith an extract from a statement of the Hon'ble Mr. A. Q. Ansari, Minister of Bihar:

> "I hope that the question of other States of Chhotanagpur that have been temporarily merged with Orissa and the CP and which is now pending before the States Ministry will be settled in the same spirit and goodwill and justice and the happy and harmonious relationship between the provinces that have been lately disturbed on this account will be permanently restored. Bihar wants only justice and nothing more."

This statement has appeared in bold type both in the Indian Nation and the Searchlight.

Again Mr. Jaipal Singh writes to the Indian Nation from Delhi, date 10-5-48:

> "We have yet to get back nine other Chhotanagpur States, viz., Changbhakar, Jashpur, Korea, Surguja, Udaipur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur and Keonjhar. Our struggle for them will also be equally hard but go on it must relentlessly. For all the Chhotanagpur States our case is

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unassailable. Geographical, administrative, historical, ethnic and linguistic factors are all in our favour. The people themselves demand integration to the Bihar Administration. We welcome any plebiscite. The Governments of Orissa and the Central Provinces are desperately against a verdict of the people themselves. Why?

"It is truly gratifying to see that all political parties have combined to get back all the Chhotanagpur States. I appeal to every one to sink domestic differences in the struggle for the restoration of the Chhotanagpur States to the Bihar Administration."

These statements may create confusion again. I think it is my duty to draw your attention to this kind of activity on the part of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie (UP)

429

Dehra Dun
29 May 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

My attention has been drawn to the following extract of a statement made by Abdul Qayum Ansari:

"I hope that the question of other States of Chhotanagpur that have been temporarily merged with Orissa and the CP and which is now pending before the States Ministry will be settled in the same spirit and goodwill and justice and the happy and harmonious relationship between the provinces that have been lately disturbed on this account will be permanently restored. Bihar wants only justice and nothing more."

I had hoped that with the transfer of Seraikella and Kharsawan to Bihar, Bihar's claims on Orissa shall have been completely met. Bihar never laid claim to any other States except Surguja and Jashpur, which matter has been separately settled. I am, therefore, surprised to find a colleague of yours giving expression to such ideas which merely seem to encourage Jaipal Singh in his

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nefarious activities. I should like to know why Abdul Qayum Ansari made this statement. I hope he will be careful in future.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Premier of Bihar
Patna

430

Patna
16 June 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 29 May. Hon'ble Mr. Ansari is not at Patna. I will reply to your letter after I have a talk with him when he comes back from tour. I may, however, inform you that Bihar is grateful to you for having restored Seraikella and Kharsawan to it and it is not our intention to claim any other State now.

Yours,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

431

Camp Patiala House
New Delhi
7 August 1949

My dear Sardarji,

During my interviews here on 30 July 1949, you were very kind to assure me that you were considering my prayer for transfer of my State to Orissa and will consult Bihar in that connection. You were also pleased to advise me to see that the people remain calm and give no quarter to Bihar for taking oppressive measure and also to see the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I am trying to see him and hope to do so as early as will be convenient to him. Again I have wired my people to remain calm and patient. In the meantime I have received a number of telegrams, copies of which are enclosed herewith, which will show what

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repressive measures Bihar has begun simply because the people observed a hartal against the merger of Seraikella with Bihar. Even the sanctity of temples was violated. I hope and trust you will kindly order an immediate impartial enquiry and put a stop to such inhuman oppression. I further hope that you will kindly see that immediate steps are taken to transfer my State to Orissa.

Yours sincerely,
A. P. Singh
[Ruler of Seraikella]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

432

Malabar Hill
Bombay
12 August 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

There has been some agitation about the transfer of Seraikella and Kharsawan, particularly the former, to Orissa. I have been receiving letters and telegrams about it and the Ruler of Seraikella has himself seen me. I have told him that the transfer of Kharsawan to Orissa is out of the question unless Bihar itself wants to get rid of it. At the same time, I feel that if any genuine grievances do exist, you should try to remove them. It is no use keeping running sores and the only effective way to deal with them is to cure them. I do not know exactly what the position is, but I thought I would draw your attention to it so that you may prevent things from getting out of hand.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

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Patna
15 October 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am grateful to you for your letter dated 16 September regarding Seraikella and Kharsawan. As I said in my letter of 19 August, I am committed to give full protection to the language and culture of the Oriya-speaking population in the States of Seraikella and Kharsawan, and I have taken steps to ensure that they have no reasonable cause for any grievance on this account. I may perhaps repeat some of the facts concerning these two States for your information. All the schools in which instruction used to be given through the medium of Oriya under the Rulers, or during the period when the States were administered by Orissa, have been continued with Oriya as a medium of instruction, and their teachers have been given much higher salaries and allowances. A number of additional primary schools with Oriya as the medium of instruction have also been opened by us. In no school has the Oriya language been replaced by Hindi. Oriya students have been given special facilities for higher studies either by relaxation of standards for admission in colleges or by awarding suitable scholarships in deserving cases. A boy of an Oriya family, which is definitely known to be helping the agitation started by the Raja of Seraikella, has been awarded a stipend for post-graduate studies at Allahabad University. Another Oriya student who possesses third class qualifications has been admitted into our Medical College where Bihari boys of much higher merit and calibre could not get admission. Oriya has never been the court language in any part of the district of Singhbhum, of which Seraikella and Kharsawan States now form a subdivision; but we have made special provision for the States of Seraikella and Kharsawan where petitions and plaints in Oriya continue to be received. Oriya members have been given more than adequate representation in the Advisory Councils which were formed to associate the local people with the administration of the two States.

2. The Oriya-speaking population in general has no grievance against our administration. As a matter of fact, a representative

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deputation of Oriyas waited on Shri Bishwanath Das[1] at Seraikella during his recent visit to that State and told him in unequivocal terms that they were perfectly satisfied with our administrative arrangements under which Government had not only given adequate protection to their language and culture, but had also undertaken a number of development and welfare schemes. It is only a handful of Oriyas who, at the instance of the Raja of Seraikella, are carrying on this agitation and are making all kinds of false and mischievous allegations against our Government. I explained to you the reasons for this agitation in my previous letter. Mahtab has also written to me that it is the opposition in the Orissa Assembly led by the Raja of Kanika which is using this agitation as a plank for the next election campaign.

3. I did not wish to worry you with a long letter in your present state of health but I feel that I should tell you something, though very briefly, about the recent visit of Shri Bishwanath Das to Seraikella. Shri Bishwanath Das expressed a wish to Krishnaballabh Babu that he would like to go to Seraikella with Pandit Prajapati Misra to study the situation for himself. A joint tour was accordingly arranged and Shri Bishwanath Das and Pandit Prajapati Misra went to Seraikella on 17 September. We thought that Shri Bishwanath Das would have due regard for the advice which you gave him in your letter of 23 August, and he would not do anything that would help the agitation started by the Raja of Seraikella. But I am sorry to tell you that Shri Bishwanath Das used our hospitality to give a stimulus to the agitation which was dying out. He spent four hours in the palace where, it is said, plans were made for intensifying the agitation. A branch of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee was established overnight at Seraikella and Shri Bishwanath Das performed the formal opening ceremony in spite of vigorous protests from Singhbhum Congressmen. The Singhbhum District Congress Committee arranged for a public meeting on the 17th which was addressed by both Shri Bishwanath Das and Pandit Prajapati Misra. While asking the people of the States of Seraikella and Kharsawan to remain calm and peaceful, Shri Bishwanath Das told them that the question whether Seraikella and Kharsawan should be merged with Bihar or with Orissa was being settled by him in consultation with leaders. Pandit Prajapati Misra repudiated this suggestion and said that a decision had been taken by yourself to merge the States with Bihar, and it was not proper or right for any Congress Committee

[1] Premier of Orissa, 1937-39; Congress member of CA; later Governor of UP; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1971

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to agitate to undo that decision. The fact that Shri Bishwanath Das had held a private meeting in the palace and the fact that he was not prepared to accept your decision to merge the States with Bihar as final caused serious resentment amongst the people of the two States, including a large number of Oriyas and this led to some tension on 18 September. Shri Bishwanath Das expressed a wish to address a separate public meeting but on the advice of Pandit Prajapati Misra he agreed not to do so. He however stayed on in Seraikella after Pandit Misra had left and addressed a public meeting which was arranged by the Raja's party in utter disregard of the understanding which had been arrived at between him and Pandit Misra. The meeting was held without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner which was necessary under the law. I am told that the Oriyas were openly agitated at this meeting to carry on the agitation for amalgamation of the States with Orissa.

4. You may perhaps be interested to know that in spite of so many allegations of suppression of the Oriya language and culture and victimisation of Oriyas, Shri Bishwanath Das had only one message for me, after his visit to Seraikella. He did not like our policy of admitting Adibasi boys in the Seraikella H. E. School, which had so far been the close preserve of Oriya students and he has asked me to do something to remove this "grievance" of the Oriyas. I need hardly tell you that Government schools, all over the province, are open to all students without any regard for race, caste or creed and we could not possibly refuse to admit Adibasi boys in the H. E. School at Seraikella only because they were Adibasis.

5. Congressmen in Bihar are much exercised over this conduct of the president of a neighbouring provincial Congress committee and I should be grateful to have your advice as to how we are to deal with persons like Shri Bishwanath Das who come into this province to foment provincial feeling and hold meetings in contravention of the law. For my part I shall sincerely act up to the advice you have given me in your letter under reply, and shall be glad to have any suggestions which you may wish to make regarding the administration of Seraikella and Kharsawan.

6. In the end I must express the gratefulness of the province of Bihar for your firm decision to merge Seraikella and Kharsawan with Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
24 October 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter dated 15 October 1949, regarding Seraikella and Kharsawan.

I am very glad to note that you have approached the question in the proper spirit. All that I can suggest to you is that you must solve the minority problem in your province, such as Oriyas and Bengalis, in a spirit of goodwill and with generosity. What is necessary is not only that there is this spirit at the top but that even the subordinate officers are imbued with this spirit. Very often we find that, while the Ministers have a generous heart and the proper approach to the problem, the subordinate officials, particularly officials on the spot, are so much filled with provincial spirit that in their day-to-day administration they unnecessarily create irritation and bitterness. After all 95 per cent of the life of the local population is spent in dealings with the local administration. I hope, therefore, that you will instruct the officers concerned to behave in the spirit which I have mentioned above. As regards the details, I leave it to you to translate your policy in action.

You need not be much worried about the activities of Shri Biswanath Das; so long as they have no discontent to exploit, they will gradually make themselves ineffective. I have already written to him and, when he comes here next time, I may have something to say to him.

Menon has already written to you in detail about some of the complaints which have reached us and which might require your attention. I have nothing else to suggest just now.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

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Nagpur
20 January 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

After the integration of the Chhattisgarh States was announced, reports have reached me from reliable sources that efforts are being made by officials and non-officials of Bihar to foment agitation in Jashpur and Surguja to integrate them with the Bihar Government. The secretary of the District Congress Committee, Ranchi, the Commissioner of Ranchi and others have, I understand, visited Jashpur for this purpose. Added to this are the efforts of Mr. Jaipal Singh, whom you know so well, for the establishment of Jharkhand or what he calls Adibasistan. These disruptive efforts, I feel, need to be put down with a strong hand and should not be encouraged by one government against the other. A large population of Jashpur is Christian. The missionaries, who are working in Jashpur State, have their headquarters in Ranchi. Mr. Jaipal Singh belongs to that mission. Most of the Christians are Oraons. I understand Congressmen and MLAs wearing badges of the Adibasi Mahasabha have begun touring the interior, criticising the action of the States Ministry in open gatherings and directly and indirectly denouncing the Congress. This will have a very injurious effect on the minds of the states' people, who have not known what freedom is. There are some disgruntled politicians in the states who have lost chances of becoming ministers and chief ministers by the integration. I think, therefore, it has become necessary for me to bring all these facts to your notice so that you may be kind enough to request the Bihar Government to put a stop to this sort of propaganda.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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436

New Delhi
25 January 1948

My dear Shukla,

Please refer to your letter dated 20 January 1948. We have also had reports about the activities of Jaipal Singh and others in one or two states of the Chhattisgarh groups. They claim these to belong to the future state of Jharkhand. The situation requires very careful handling because we should on no account allow this movement to gather any momentum. You should, therefore, deal strongly with any agitators of this type and nip the mischief in the bud. At the same time, we should ensure that the Adibasis' claims are sympathetically dealt with and adequate steps are taken for their amelioration.

2. It is useless to write on this matter to the Bihar Government. They seem to be following a short-sighted policy, little realising that Jaipal Singh can never be with Bihar for long. His clear ambition is to form a Chhota Nagpur State in which he would be a sort of dictator, but in the desire to retain, or even to secure, a few states the Bihar Government do not seem to mind the harmful effects of Jaipal Singh's activities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister
Government of the Central Provinces and Berar
Nagpur

437

TELEGRAM

Chaibasa (Orissa)
23 January 1948

Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

RAMRAJ OF MAHATMA HAS BEEN SUCCESSFULLY BURIED BY THE ORISSA ADMINISTRATION FUNCTIONING IN THE NAME OF INDIA. IF SARDAR IS SINCERE IN UPROOTING PROVINCIALISM LET UNNATURAL

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GRAFTING OF ORISSA FROM SERAIKELLA AND KHARSAWAN BE REMOVED AND INDIAN OFFICERS TAKE ADMINISTRATION TILL TRIBUNAL DECIDES THE ISSUE. WE HAVE FAITH IN GOD AND TRUST THAT MISTAKE OF SARDAR WILL BE RECTIFIED AFTER SOME MORE INDIAN LIVES ARE SACRIFICED.

PRESIDENT
ADIBASIS AT SERAIKELLA

438

New Delhi
11 March 1949

My dear Shuklaji,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter which we have received from Shri Ratan Lal Malviya and Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi, representatives of the Chhattisgarh States in the Constituent Assembly. I should like to have your comments on the suggestions made.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Ravishankar Shukla
Premier, Central Provinces
Nagpur

ENCLOSURE

141 Constitution House
New Delhi
10 March 1949

Revered Sardarji,

In pursuance of the talk that we had the privilege to have with you on 9 March 1949 at 5-30 p.m., we write to place the following for your consideration:

(1) The fourteen States of Chhattisgarh have decided to hold a political conference at Raigarh, on the main line of Bengal Nagpur Railway, on 9, 10 and 11 April 1949. We and the people of our States will deem it a great favour from you if you could, (subject to your health permitting) grace the occasion with your presence. All our workers have repeatedly asked us to request you for this. The date may be changed to suit your convenience. The whole area has never had the privilege of a visit from personalities of your eminence.

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(2) We have submitted a memorandum to you for giving representation to our people in the provincial legislature and Cabinet. We shall be thankful if our prayer as set out in the said memorandum is granted at an early date.

(3) Pending such representation as is requested in para (2) we request that the Joint Advisory Council for States, as established by CP, should continue to function. We request that members of the said Joint Advisory Council should receive the same pay and allowances as legislatures in CP. We made a request to this effect to the Honourable Premier, CP, as late as November 1948, but have heard nothing from him so far.

(3.i) The prices of bamboo and timber have been raised by the provincial Government of CP in most of the States. The enhanced rates are very high and poor peasants and agricultural labour are finding it very hard to purchase the said forest produce for their manifold use. The rates should be reduced to a proper level. In our opinion they should be placed at pre-merger levels.

(3.ii) We request that no taxes, such as sales tax, should be levied on the States' people for a year or so more. Any deficit in the budget should be met from reserves taken over by Government from the States on 1 January 1948.

(4) The reserves as referred to in (3.ii) should also be utilised for giving some relief to the peasantry and on developmental works such as opening of schools and hospitals and improvement of inter-states roads and roads in the district headquarters.

We should be very thankful for your sympathetic consideration of the points.

Yours sincerely,
Ratan Lal Malviya
Kishorimohan Tripathi
Representatives of the Chhattisgarh
States in the Constituent Assemby
of India, New Delhi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
Government of India
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

Government House
Puri
4 July 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

. . . There are, however, two matters to which I must invite your pointed and immediate attention. The first relates to the Eastern States. Although the new administrative machinery for the integrated territories is getting into gear, it will be some time before it can develop any speed. The hangover of the past, which carries with it a multiplicity of varying conditions from State to State, will continue to present embarrassing problems. I have had talks with Mahtab, Senapati (Chief Administrator of the Orissa States), Executive Councillors and other officers concerned. I notice from the reports of the Central Intelligence Bureau that you are being kept abreast of the activities of those who are engaged in the Eastern States Union movement. I understand from Senapati that the real leaders of this movement have their headquarters in Calcutta and they are also believed to have their sub-headquarters in Bihar, CP and Madras. Their whole effort is:

(1) to go back on their agreement of 14 December 1947;

(2) to work up a feeling among the gullible in favour of a union of the Eastern States (which, by the way, is blossoming into an allied movement for creating a new province of Jharkhand); and, finally,

(3) to join hands with any mischief-maker who can create trouble and disorder.

They are reported to have bought up the editors of some newspapers, and they are trying to stir up the Adibasis, and, if newspaper reports are to be believed, they have matured a plot to encourage widespread lawlessness throughout their mountain fastnesses during this rainy season when the Eastern States will be cut off from the mainland. Both Mahtab and Senapati have assured me that these newspaper reports are rather of an alarming nature and should not be taken too seriously. The

529

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actual proportion of those who are affected by this movement among the people of the States, according to Mahtab, may not be 2 per cent, and Senapati assures me that sufficient security measures have been taken against possible eventualities.

According to the information available, the Raja of Seraikella, who is also the real father of the Maharaja of Patna, was and still continues to be the prime figure in all this 'movement'. Kalahandi, Bonai, Bamra, Talchar and Gangpur are believed to be actively engaged in these activities, and there seems to be enough evidence in our possession against Kalahandi of a serious nature which may justify serious steps against him. I have given the most careful consideration to all the reports and all the facts concerning this state of affairs and I am in constant touch with the officers concerned. It is my considered opinion that something more than the warning which you have already issued is required to put a stop to the mischief which has been brewing almost since the beginning of this year. Perhaps a more pointed and seriously significant warning should be the next step, in which it should be pointed out that the benefits which have been assured to them under the Agreement will have to be seriously reconsidered if their activities are not terminated forthwith. It may be necessary to make an example to deter the others. I have told Senapati to send you as soon as possible a well-marshalled case against the most recalcitrant of them. I cannot help feeling that it will have to be Kalahandi.

I have most carefully examined the file of the habeas corpus petitions which have been preferred by certain individuals before the Patna High Court. Certain persons were proceeded against under the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1948, and it appears that, encouraged and financed by some of these ex-Rulers, particularly Kalahandi, they went up to the High Court to test the validity of the Agreement, which lies at the root of subsequent legal proceedings. In this petition they question the very factum of accession and also the cession of their powers and jurisdiction, etc., over these territories. In my opinion the Agreement fulfils the requirements of Section 6 of the Government of India Act of 1935, as adapted by the India (Provisional Constitutional) Order of 1947, and therefore the rest of their contention falls to the ground. I do feel, however, that two steps should be taken without any further delay:

(1) All the contracted instalments of their privy purse which have fallen due should be paid to them immediately. . . .

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(2) In terms of sub-section (6) of Section 6 of the Government of India Act, 1937, the Agreement, which I prefer to call the Instrument of Accession, should be laid before the next session of the Legislature, which, I understand from Press reports, is going to meet on the 8th of August next.

I can assure you that I am most anxious to meet as many of them as possible and try to conciliate and help them with fruitful advice in their own interest. But you will be amused to learn that, barring the Prime Minister of Mayurbhanj who is in a different category and has sent me the usual congratulatory message, not one of them has so far considered it due to the new Governor to get in touch with him. It looks like an attitude of sulky non-co-operation. I am told that they are extremely angry with you. I do not, however, desire anything to be said or done which may appear to suggest that we consider this movement in the Eastern States a matter of serious consequences to the administration. What I have suggested appears to me to be essential for nipping this evil in the bud lest the contagion should spread to other parts of the country.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE BUREAU

The second matter which I desire to bring to your notice is a purely administrative detail relating to the Central Intelligence Bureau. The CIB reports from here, about matters of which we should take immediate notice, come back to us via Delhi! I can imagine the possible reasons for this course. There should, however, be no difficulty about a relevant abstract of reports of special interest to us to be sent to the Governor and the Premier. I had a talk about it with Mahtab, and he goes further and feels that copies of the CIB reports about Orissa should be submitted by your officer posted here to him and to the Governor direct. I have considered this question in the larger context, of which I am fully aware, and very strongly feel that the Governor should have as full a picture of things before him as the Central Government. I trust you will consider this matter and the present procedure will be modified to the desired extent.

With kindest regards,

Yours ever sincerely,
Asaf Ali[1]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

[1] Deputy Leader, Congress party in Central Legislature, 1945; Minister of Transport in Interim Government; Ambassador to US; Governor of Orissa

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Ministry of States

HM would be glad of very early comments on the extracts from a letter received by him from His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, placed below.

V. Shankar
Private Secretary to HM

12 July 1948

SECRETARY

After writing his letter of 4 July, the Governor of Orissa has in his address told the Princes in Orissa "to behave themselves." I had also occasion to discuss this with Mr. Mahtab yesterday. The position is that one or two Princes (one is Kalahandi) are not yet reconciled to the integration scheme and are still "living in hope" and fomenting trouble. Mr. Senapati, who is in charge of these States, is not the right type of officer to deal with these Princes and is to a great extent responsible for rubbing them the wrong way. There is also in the Governor's letter an element of wounded vanity because the Princes did not "pay homage" to him. But the basic factor is that unless we settle Kalahandi and possibly Patna there will be trouble in Orissa. If HM approves, I shall send for Kalahandi and give him a straight talk. I am trying to push him out on a suitable job but he was rejected for the Foreign Service. I will try again to keep him busy in some job or other as quickly as possible.

I think in reply to the Governor of Orissa's letter HM need only say that I have had a talk with Mr. Mahtab and that HM would take suitable action to check the activities of the disloyal Princes; that meanwhile HM hopes that the speech of the Governor would have a salutary effect on the Princes.

V. P. Menon

19 July 1948

HM

HM will reply to Mr. Asaf Ali as suggested by Secretary, but HM regrets he is unable to agree that men like Kalahandi who are giving us so much trouble and are up to so much mischief should be given employment. Such men, he feels, are dangerous and, unless we set an example, any accommodation extended to them would merely encourage intransigence. HM feels that we

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should make no attempt whatsoever to "purchase" him; instead, we should deal with him according to his deserts. He agrees that Kalahandi, Seraikella and Patna may be called to Delhi.

V. Shankar
21 July 1948 Private Secretary to HM

441

New Delhi
6 August 1948

My dear Asaf,

I have received your two letters dealing generally with the question of Orissa States. In your letter of 4 July, you have also referred to the reports of the Central Intelligence Bureau.

As regards the Orissa States, I have been very much concerned for some time past to find that Orissa is the only province in which merger has been attended by these unseemly public controversies and threats and counter-threats. In Bombay, as well as in CP, and to a much smaller extent in Madras, there has been practically no agitation except from Pudukkottah. There, however, the agitation was short-lived, and as soon as we told them that the merger was final, we have heard no more about it. I sent for the Raja of Kalahandi who has had long talks with Menon. I have had a talk with one or two other persons also. It seems to me that each side has a grievance against the other. I have, therefore, felt it necessary to call a meeting, at which both sides would be present. We are calling seven Rulers of the Orissa States to a meeting in Delhi, and I propose to ask Mahtab and Senapati also to come over, so that we can adjust differences by mutual discussion. It seems to me that, if approached in the proper spirit, such mutual adjustment is even now possible without resort to any extreme action.

As regards Central Intelligence Bureau reports, we have already emphasised that our Central Intelligence officers should keep in constant touch with the Premiers of provinces. I am, however, looking into the arrangements and will do my best to ensure that on matters requiring immediate notice, it won't be necessary for you and the Premier to get information via Delhi.

I am now feeling quite normal, though there are still restrictions on my movements. I shall be glad to hear from you from time to time as to how you are getting along.

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Mr. Asaf Ali
Governor of Orissa
Cuttack

442

New Delhi
24 August 1948

My dear Asaf Ali,

Thank you for your letter of 14 August 1948. Since then, Mahtab has been here and we have had a conference with the Rulers. Mahtab will tell you what happened. I think they are now coming round and seem to have reconciled themselves to the view that the merger is final and absolute and that it has only to receive the formal sanction of the Constituent Assembly. I do not anticipate any further trouble on this score and if any does take place we are bound to take a strong line.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency M. Asaf Ali
Cuttack

443

Camp Pilani
Jaipur State
7 August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Here is a letter received from a gentleman whom I do not know. He, however, represents a not inconsiderable opinion in the Orissa States. The people, of course, have had never an opportunity of declaring whether they would like to have a separate union of their own or be merged in the province of Orissa. The people of Maharatta States got that opportunity and they decided in favour of merger. It is not safe to assume that all such opinion is inspired by the Rulers. Whether there is merger

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or not, the Rulers of course cease to have any power, but the opinion of the people should not be ignored. At any rate, it should be ascertained.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Bobbili House
Maharanipeta
Waltair

Dear Shri Rajendra Prasad,

I beg to write a few facts for your kind and serious consideration. Indians got their freedom but the subjects of the Eastern Garjat group have not tasted the happiness of freedom as yet. They shall get no opportunity to free themselves from the fetters that are being moulded by the Premier of Orissa with the help of Mr. Patel. As President of the Indian Congress my complaint to you is that why should there be war between brothers? Why one province would try to usurp the property right and privilege of another province? Garjat is a separate unity from time immemorial. Neither Mussalmans nor Marhattas disintegrated them. The British Government thought it advisable to keep them as they were and did not amalgamate them in any province. Practically the Garjat States were under Central Government till the British quit India. Democracy and autocracy cannot go hand in hand. Therefore the Rulers had to surrender their rights. But the subjects should have got their right of self-rule. But as soon as Mr. Patel left Orissa with agreement from the Rajas Mr. Mahtab tried to take possession of these States by show of heroism and force. Practically he did so. The States are in a beseiged state. Freedom of speech [is] denied to them. Lathi charges, bayonet charges, imprisonment, externment, internment are going on in full swing. To Kalahandi State Gurkhas were sent and they depraved and raped some women. And the police was vigilant to frighten the Adibasis that if they say against merger they would be imprisoned and their lives be at the mercy of the Gurkhas. On the 25th instant four Adibasis of Bamra were killed and some wounded because they pleaded that they wanted union. On what ground, on what authority Mr. Mahtab is oppressing and killing innocent people is unknown. Mahatma a few days before his death said that no State should be merged without the consent of the people. Does Mr. Mahtab care a bit for Mahatma's wish? He is dead and gone. After his death

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Mr. Mahtab has given a nice burial to truth and non-violence. Falsehood has been the fashion of the day and violence is rampant. Who is going to enlighten us with the true fact? We are in total dark. There is a tussle between Garjat subjects and the Orissa Government. The former is praying for union in a non-violent way and the latter with violent and military force and ammunition. Sir, is it democracy? Who is going to protect us? We are ignorant and uneducated. The people of Orissa are better eudcated than us, because they came in contact with the British administration from the very beginning. Survival of the fittest is the chief principle of evolution. Orissa people are experts in various ways whereas the Adibasis are not. If States will be merged, the Orissa people will thrive and we will dwindle. Knowing all these things why the Central Government is mum is a dilemma to us.

The Central Government have formed six unions less in area and population than the Garjat group. Still [it is an] irony of fate that our States are going to be merged in Orissa.

Sir, you are President of the Congress. You should know the behaviour of the Congress members and also should know how the vow of the Congress is being ignored for power and unlawful gain.

Necessity knows no formality. If I lack in formality I may kindly be pardoned. I am an old man of 76 in externment.

Yours sincerely,
Jaladhar Deb

444

New Delhi
12 August 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 7 August 1948 regarding Orissa States.

The decision to merge these States with Orissa was taken after due consideration of all the relevant factors, including public opinion. In no State have we consulted public opinion in the sense in which you perhaps intend. Even in the Maharatta States it was an improvised legislature which voted for merger and there was no referendum or plebiscite. The question of consulting such a legislature in Orissa States did not arise, because no such legislature existed. I know this for a fact, however, that all the Praja Mandal workers whom I met in Orissa on this question wanted merger. We have not consulted public opinion

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in Seraikella and Kharsawan either, on the question whether they should merge with Bihar.

I am sure you will appreciate that it is no longer possible to put the progress of the clock backwards merely because of a clamour from certain sectional interests. The policy followed in the case of Orissa States is the same as has been followed in the case of Maharatta States, Gujarat States and Chhattisgarh States. That policy has been approved universally throughout the country. The so-called Orissa States were recognised as States only recently; actually, they were little more than glorified zamindaris. I do not think we can countenance any solution other than what has already been achieved.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Pilani
Jaipur State

445

Cuttack
7 October 1948

Revered Sardarji,

I do not know what has happened to the question of integration of Mayurbhanj with Orissa. I hope this will be brought about as early as possible.

In order to dispose of this question of private properties of the Rulers, I have invited all the Rulers to an informal discussion with me at Puri on the 19th, 20th and 21st and all of them are coming. I thought it would be better to dispose of the matter by mutual discussion rather than by long correspondence. I am trying my utmost to settle the matter amicably.

There is another important matter on which your advice is most needed. A member of our Assembly has given notice of a bill to stop setting up rice mills in the province. We see many practical difficulties in accepting this measure. In these days of control, when the provincial Governments are required to send rice on demand from the Centre, it would not be practical for the provincial Governments to rely upon hand-pounding at this stage. You know the sentiment prevailing about hand-pounding. This is a very small matter but your advice will be much appreciated by our Party

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I read in today's paper that Babu Rajendra Prasad has withdrawn his candidature for the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. Please let me know whom you would like to be the President of the Congress. In my opinion, the Working Committee of the Congress should be so constituted as to pull on harmoniously with the Central Government.

Pray for your health.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

446

New Delhi
11 October 1948

My dear Mahtab,

Thank you for your letter dated 7 October 1948.

Regarding Mayurbhanj, the Prime Minister saw me and I have told him that all that was necessary was for him to sign along with the Maharaja a statement agreeing to merger. We would then do the rest and it was not necessary for him to convene a meeting of the Constituent Assembly. He has accordingly gone back to Calcutta to discuss this matter with the Maharaja and to bring him back.

I am glad you are calling a meeting of the Rulers for an informal discussion regarding their private properties. I agree that this would be the most satisfactory method of settling this matter.

Regarding the rice mills, if you feel that your commitments to the Centre would be affected by your accepting the proposal to ban the setting up of new rice mills, I agree that you should oppose this ban for the time being. When normal times return, the question can be considered in all its practical and sentimental implications.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mahtab
Cuttack

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Patna
20 April 1948

Dear Sardar Sahib,

In continuation of my letter dated 2 April 1948 regarding Surguja and Jashpur States, I enclose, for favour of your perusal, extracts from the Fortnightly Report for the Central Provinces and Berar for the first half of March 1948, and from the Abstract of Intelligence of the Central Provinces and Berar Police dated 13 March 1948. It will appear from these official documents of the CP Government that the reports published in the Sentinel were substantially correct. Shri Shuklaji, I feel, went against the understanding which was arrived at in your presence in trying, as admitted, to subdue feelings for Bihar with threats and intimidation and in consolidating his own position in these two States. We have been rather pained at this attitude of Shuklaji. Still, I am requesting Hon'ble Dr. Anugrah Narain Sinha to discuss the question with Shuklaji at Bombay on 24 and 25 April, though naturally I expect that very little good will come out of the discussions.

I would, therefore, solicit the favour of your referring the case of Surguja and Jashpur also to a tribunal in case our negotiations break down, and meanwhile allowing both CP and Bihar full freedom to do propaganda regarding merger. The officials of both the Governments may be associated in controlling the propaganda meetings so as to avoid a breach of the peace.

I may add that it will be necessary to come to a final decision about merger by the end of May before the rains set in.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1948

During the fortnight, the Hon'ble the Premier made a whirlwind tour of the States of Korea, Surguja, Raigarh, Udaipur, Jashpur and Sarangarh. Wherever he went he received a right royal welcome. He explained to record audiences the benefits of the merger of the States into the province, the plans which the Central Provinces Government had for the uplift of the common man, for the improvement of his land laws, his local self-government and the development of his resources. In particular, he laid stress on the new Janapada scheme which is likely to revolutionize local government by giving the average villager his due place in the scheme of things. He took occasion to refer to the sinister agitation that had been launched by some interested parties from across the border with the object of sowing the seeds of dissensions among the peace-loving folk of Jharkhand States. The cry of Adibasisthan and the cry of 'back to Bihar' were being raised, he said. All these were engineered by self-seekers intent on self-aggrandisement. He gave these promoters of trouble and discord a stern warning that they would be given no quarter if they dared disturb the peace which the province had so long enjoyed. From all accounts, the speeches have had a most exhilarating effect on the general public and a chastening effect on the trouble-makers.

EXTRACT FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, DATED 13 MARCH 1948

The Hon'ble the Premier's visit to recently integrated States was reported to have allayed a good deal of misapprehension regarding Government's land tenure policy and the outcome of the agitation in favour of amalgamation with Bihar and in one State measures were concerted to counteract such propaganda in future. The States deputation returned from Delhi after interviewing the Deputy Prime Minister less enthusiastic about the fruition of their demand for the formation of a union of States, regarding which a secret meeting was held in the palace of Baikuntpur (Korea) to discuss ways and means of fomenting agitation.

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448

Nagpur
26 April 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I was in due receipt of your letter regarding what appeared in the Sentinel, Patna, with reference to my Surguja and Jashpur tours. You know, it is a Muslim League paper and Muslim Leaguers are interested in the Jharkhand movement[1] and therefore in the question of merger of Surguja and Jashpur States into Bihar. There is hardly any truth in the complaint made. I am sending herewith a full report of my speech which will give you the correct idea of what I said about the CP-Bihar controversy regarding these two States. You will see that I avoided controversy by telling them straight that it mattered little whether Surguja remained in CP or in Bihar. I told them that UP, Bihar and CP were three brothers and that they would sit together and settle the matter; controversy was not only futile but deplorable. I laid emphasis on the dangers of the Jharkhand movement.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

449

Dehra Dun
26 April 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter dated 20 April 1948 regarding Surguja and Jashpur States.

I should like to know what the outcome of the discussion between Shuklaji and Dr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha at Bombay has been. We could then take further steps in accordance with the agreement reached at my house when this matter was discussed in February.

1 Movement for separate state for Jharkhand region in Bihar

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Premier of Bihar
Patna

450

TELEGRAM

Nagpur
28 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

AUTHENTIC OFFICIAL REPORT RECEIVED FROM JASHPURNAGAR IS AS FOLLOWS QUOTE LAHRI GENERAL SECRETARY RANCHI CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND TIWARI ARRIVED JASHPURNAGAR FROM RANCHI JEEP ON 22ND. THEY MET DHANESHWAR PATHAK AND IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDED ICHKILA LUTHERAN MISSION CENTRE. ABDIA KUJUR WAS PICKED UP FROM THE PLACE AND ALL PROCEEDED GINABALIAN CATHOLIC MISSION CENTRE. HERE THEY MET JOHAN EKK PRESIDENT RAYAT WARG AND PATRAS MEENJ TEACHER AND PROMINENT WORKERS RAYAT WARG. THEY PLANNED REVIVAL OF PROBIHAR ACTIVITIES. TIWARI AND LAHRI ASKED FOR PRODUCTION OF THE APPLICATION OF RAYATS VOTING FOR MERGER WITH BIHAR. CONSIDERABLE AGITATION CARRIED ON IN THE PAST IN JASHPUR FOR AMALGAMATION WITH BIHAR, FORMATION OF JHARKHAND BEING THE ULTIMATE MOTIVE. OUTSIDERS FROM BIHAR LAKORA AND OTHER PLAYED A PROMINENT PART. MEETINGS CONVENED AT DIFFERENT PLACES MISSION CENTRES AND VICINITIES SELECTED AS VENUES. FEELINGS OF ADIBASIS CHRISTIANS AND NONCHRISTIANS PLAYED UP AGAINST NONADIBASIS. PANIC CREATED IN AREAS ROUND ABOUT BAGICHA AND MUSGHUTRY. ALLEGATIONS OF THREATENED VIOLENCE BY ADIBASIS AGAINST NON-ADIBASIS MADE. GOVERNMENT APPLIED PUBLIC SAFETY ACT TO JASHPUR AS AN ESSENTIAL MEASURE TO CHECK PROBIHAR AND JHARKHAND AGITATION WHICH ENDANGERED PUBLIC SAFETY. HONOURABLE PREMIER'S JASHPUR SPEECH CONSIDERABLY ALLEVIATED PUBLIC PANIC RESTORING CONFIDENCE. ACTIVITIES IN FURTHERANCE OF PROBIHAR PROPAGANDA AFTER THE SPEECH ARE BOUND TO ENDANGER PUBLIC SAFETY, CREATE PANIC AND DESTROY CONFIDENCE CREATED BY THE HONOURABLE PREMIER. THE VISIT OF TIWARI AND

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LAHRI WAS ESSENTIALLY IN FURTHERANCE OF AGITATION CONSIDERED DANGEROUS FOR PUBLIC SAFETY. MEASURES TO CHECK THEIR ACTIVITIES WERE IMMINENT AND FULLY JUSTIFIED UNQUOTE.

THIS WAS CLEAR BREACH OF AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT BETWEEN BIHAR AND CP PREMIERS IN YOUR PRESENCE AT DELHI. DETAILED REPORT WILL BE SUBMITTED AS SOON AS RECEIVED. REPORTED ACTION OF RANCHI CONGRESS COMMITTEE SECRETARY AND HIS COMPANION TIWARI, A DISMISSED STATE SERVANT, MOST DANGEROUS. HAVE NOW COLLECTED INFORMATION REGARDING SURGUJA AND JASHPUR STATES AND AM PREPARED TO PLACE FULL FACTS IN A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH BIHAR AND CP GOVERNMENTS. I REQUEST THIS MEETING BE CONVENED IN MUSSOORIE AND FINAL SETTLEMENT ARRIVED AT IN YOUR PRESENCE. KINDLY FIX ANY DATE CONVENIENT TO YOU AFTER 10 MAY.

PREMIER SHUKLA

451

TELEGRAM

Mussoorie
30 April 1948

Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Premier
Nagpur
Repeated to:
Hon'ble Srikrishna Sinha
Premier
Patna

YOUR TELEGRAM OF 28 APRIL ABOUT SURGUJA AND JASHPUR. WOULD BE GLAD MEET YOU AND SRIBABU HERE ANY TIME BETWEEN 12 AND 15 MAY. PLEASE TELEGRAPH DEFINITE DATE IN CONSULTATION WITH SRIBABU.

VALLABHBHAI

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452

TELEGRAM

Nagpur
30 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER REGARDING JASHPUR [and] SURGUJA. AM REPLYING SHORTLY. KRISHNAVALLABH SAHAI WIRED ME ADMITTING THAT LAHRI AND RAJANIKANT TIWARI WERE SENT TO JASHPUR FOR PROBIHAR PROPAGANDA. HAVE DIRECTED LAHRI TIWARI AND THEIR COMPANIONS TO BE RELEASED AND TO LEAVE JASHPUR STATE IMMEDIATELY. LETTER FOLLOWS.

SHUKLA PREMIER

453

Mussoorie
30 April 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of 26 April 1948 regarding your Surguja and Jashpur tour.

Unfortunately, your Fortnightly Report for the first half of March 1948 gives quite a different impression of your speech. However, in view of my telegram which has been separately sent to you suggesting that you and Sri Babu come here some time between 12 and 15 May for a discussion on this question, it is useless pursuing this matter any further.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

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454

Camp Pachmarhi
8 May 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

As you are aware, the CP Government may very soon be called upon to act in a particular manner. Our arrangements are already almost complete. The only danger is that our Berar Congressmen may not take to irresponsible propaganda. I would, therefore, request you to write a letter to Shri Brijlalji Biyani, the President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, not to indulge in any activities or propaganda, not specifically authorised by the Government. This may kindly be done at the appropriate time.

2. I learnt from my Chief Secretary that owing to the unwillingness of the Bihar representatives to place their case before Mr. Menon at New Delhi on the 7th, he had to return to Nagpur without any business being transacted. This is unfortunate as your idea, I learnt from the Chief Secretary, was to finish the controversy before other important events take place. I wonder whether it would be possible for me to meet you at Mussoorie on the 15th as desired by the Bihar Premier. I am returning to Nagpur this evening.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

455

TELEGRAM

Mussoorie
11 May 1948

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Premier
Pachmarhi (CP)

FIFTEENTH MAY WOULD BE SUITABLE HOPE YOU ARE COMING.

VALLABHBHAI

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Nagpur
12 May 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The CP memorandum on the question of the merger of Surguja and Jashpur States will shortly be in your hands, and the question will be discussed in your presence on the 15th.

2. Bihar's claim is based on flimsy grounds and I am sure you will find that we have met their arguments fully and adequately. Meanwhile, I would like to place before you certain "extra-judicial" considerations which have an important bearing on this question. They are:

(i) The Adibasi problem is already proving to be a serious headache. The agitation to merge Surguja and Jashpur with Bihar is really connected with Jaipal Singh's movement for the creation of a separate Jharkhand. Jaipal Singh wants all his Adibasis under one provincial government so that he may have to fight only on one front instead of on three fronts or rather four fronts as at present. His Adibasis are spread over the four provinces of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the CP. If Jashpur and Surguja are merged with Bihar, Jaipal Singh will be in a strong position and his movement may prove too strong to be dealt with by Bihar. It is obvious whether in the larger national interests of the country this separationist tendency should be encouraged by concentrating the Adibasi population in one province. Personally I am of opinion that it will be fatal to allow Jashpur and Surguja to merge into Bihar. Gangpur State which has been merged with Orissa has had to face, in the past, two or three successive risings of the Mundas under Jaipal Singh's inspiration, and immediately on the merger of Jashpur with Bihar, Jaipal Singh will revive his activities and exploit these innocent but temperamental tribes. I have also reliable information that Rs. 35,000 were paid to Jaipal Singh out of the funds of the late Eastern States Union by the Ruler of Korea, who was the President of the Union, and the Maharaja of Patna, who was the Vice-President, for the purpose of creating agitation amongst the aboriginal population of the States and to support the movement for the merger of Jashpur and Surguja in Bihar.

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(ii) Surguja has rich coalfields of Bisrampur and Lakhanpur. Bihar is already rich in coal and if Surguja is allowed to go to Bihar, it will mean that Bihar will have a monopoly for coal. How far it is advisable to permit one province to monopolize a key mineral, on which all industries depend, is a question which you are in the best position to decide.

(iii) The redistribution of provinces will be taken up earlier than expected, and the Marathi-speaking districts will be weaned from the Central Provinces, leaving the Mahakoshal province considerably impoverished and reduced in resources. If Jashpur and Surguja are allocated to Bihar, it will further impoverish Mahakoshal and either the Government of India will have to sustain Mahakoshal by an annual subvention or by giving it other territory from the United Provinces, thereby creating further complications.

Undoubtedly, the case will be decided by you on merits but these are considerations which, in my opinion, cannot be overlooked.

3. I hope you are keeping well and have recovered entirely from the recent illness, which caused all of as much anxiety.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

457

Calcutta
15 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You remember I spoke to you on several occasions about allowing Cooch Behar to be merged to West Bengal. I am perfectly sure you are inclined in the same direction. It may be that it will take a little time before the preliminaries can be settled before the merger is decided.

You know that Sri Sarat Chandra Bose has filed his nomination for the Assembly from South Calcutta, the last date of nomination being 24 May. Polling is taking place on 12 June. I certainly expect help, advice and co-operation from you and Panditji. In this connection may I suggest to you that the announcement from

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the Centre that Cooch Behar would be merged to West Bengal would be a great help to us in the election campaign? When you have finally decided about this merging, kindly let us know so that we can keep the field ready and make our propaganda that this merging has been affected not by Sri Sarat Chandra Bose but by the West Bengal Government. The Provincial Congress Committee has decided to put up a candidate, a strong one, against Sri Sarat Bose. But, of course, the polling booth is always a tricky customer.

I hope you are keeping well.

An early reply will be welcome.

Yours sincerely,
B. C. Roy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

458

Dehra Dun
18 May 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of 15 May 1949 regarding Cooch Behar. I am afraid we cannot hustle things through like this. In view of the local feeling, it will not be possible for us to do this overnight. We have to tread warily.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy
Premier
West Bengal
Calcutta

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Government House
Shillong
29 June 1948

My dear Sardarji,

My wife and I have just returned from Cooch Behar. This was our first visit to the State after your decision that its relations with India should be carried on through me. You may therefore be interested in the report of my impressions which is given in Rustomji's letter to Kripalani, copy enclosed. The only further comment which I wish to make is on the subject of the anti-Bengali feeling in the State.

I was informed that out of the State's population of between six and seven lakhs the Bengalis number a mere 30,000; yet Bengali propaganda would make it appear as if Bengalis constitute the greater portion of the population. The bulk of the population consists of Rajabansis including Muslims between whom and the Rajabansis there is so far amity and free social intercourse. The danger of the situation lies in the fact that the Bengal Congress leaders are lending themselves to propaganda that Cooch Behar should be merged with West Bengal. This is resulting in the Congress as a whole tending to become unpopular in Cooch Behar. Any attempt to bring Cooch Behar under the wing of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee would be violently resisted and in the present state of feeling the Congress would find few Cooch Behari adherents. The best solution in the present circumstance would be to let Cooch Behar come under the wing of the Central Congress; but if that is not possible, the second best would be to let it be affiliated to the Assam Provincial Congress. This is only the second best solution as it might still further exasperate Bengali feeling against Assam. During my visit I was cordially received by all classes of people which was not a personal tribute to me but relief at seeing in me visible evidence that Cooch Behar was not tied to the apron strings of West Bengal.

By their aggressive attitude the Congress leaders of West Bengal and the Calcutta Press are increasing the animosity roused against West Bengal in this part of India. Dr. Syama

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Prasad Mookerjee is visiting Shillong on the 7th and is staying part of the time with us here and the rest with Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy (at his Shillong house) who is accompanying him. I am arranging that every possible courtesy should be shown to them and will take the opportunity of their visit to impress upon them tactfully that if they really want the present anti-Bengali feelings to subside they must put a curb on West Bengal's propaganda machine for a greater Bengal wanting to absorb bits here and there from her neighbours. Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh, who recently stayed with us in Shillong, created a very good impression both by his moderation. . . . We were meeting him for the first time, and my wife and I took a very great liking to him. In deference to his advice, Bardoloi[1] [Premier of Assam] is seriously considering the grant of some compensation to the few sufferers in the recent Gauhati disturbance and I am encouraging him to persuade his colleagues to agree to this gesture of friendship.

With my kind regards and hoping that you are getting better and better every day,

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Hydari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

460

New Delhi
10 July 1948

My dear Hydari,

Thank you for your letter of 29 June regarding Cooch Behar. I am glad you went there. It has enabled us to get a first-hand report of how things are shaping there.

I have seen your letter to Jawaharlal regarding Bengal versus Assam. It is most unfortunate that things should develop on these lines. I shall see what can be done to check these matters from worsening.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari, KCIE, CSI, ICS
Governor of Assam
Shillong

[1] Gopinath Bardoloi: headed Congress Ministry in 1937-39 and again in 1945

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Dinhate
26 July 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
Minister for States
New Delhi

Sir,

I, on behalf of the State Prajamandal, beg most respectfully and humbly to submit herewith a copy of the resolution passed unanimously in a meeting for immediate merger of the State and thereby saving Hindusthan from future danger and troubles.

RESOLUTION

Resolved that a most reactionary group has been formed, formulated and patronized by the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, to serve his own personal purpose of dominating and ruling the people for his own exploitation to the detriment of the interest and safety of the Indian Union. Ignoring the fact that the Raja of the small State (which has an area no greater than that of a subdivision in an Indian district) had so long been allowed to rule the State to serve the ends of the British Raj, His Highness, in collusion and collaboration with his favourite Muslim pro-League and scheduled caste ministers, thinks that he can still now play the same reactionary role as was done previously during the British era. The Ministers of the State are absolutely pro-League and they are in constant touch with Pakistan and the result of their friendship has been to divide the Hindus of the State into two factions namely Cooch Beharis and non-Cooch Beharis (two-nation theory). All sorts of rules and regulations have been and are being formed to drive out the caste Hindus of the Indian Union from the State.

The effect of this division among the Hindus by rules and laws has been to effect both solidarity and expansion of the Muslims of the State. The outcome of this policy is to Muslimize the whole State effacing the Hindus. His Highness and his puppet ministers for the purpose of their own personal gain have been dragging the State to be Pakistanized. Attempts are being made to send a deputation to the Deputy Prime Minister of the Indian Union to persuade not to merge the State and with that end in view false figures and charts have been prepared. The actual income of the State is only Rs. 48,00,000

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but by including false figures such as that of tobacco excise duty (which the consumers pay and who practically live outside the State) and also false figures of income tax which according to the prevailing rules and custom should go to the Indian Exchequer, the total income of the State is falsely shown Rs. 75,00,000. It will suffice to say that the land revenue of the State is only Rs. 22,00,000. To allow the State to remain autonomous will be suicide to the safety and interest of Hindustan.

In view of the above circumstances and many others it is resolved further unanimously that for the safety and interest of the people of Cooch Behar and also for the solidarity of the Indian Union the State of Cooch Behar be at once merged with such a province which is indissolubly connected with Cooch Behar State culturally, economically, geographically and linguistically.

Yours sincerely,
For the State Prajamandal Cooch Behar
Radhakanta Sarkar
Secretary

462

TELEGRAM

Gitaldaha
4 August 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

COOCH BEHAR STATE AUTHORITIES FORCING PEOPLE TO SIGN AGAINST MERGING AND MAKING PROPAGANDA AGAINST INDIAN DOMINION. TAKE ACTION.

SECRETARY,
BAMANHAT THANA CONGRESS

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463

TELEGRAM

Camp Birla House
Malabar Hill
Bombay
11 September 1949

From
Ministhome
Bombay

To Nanjappa
Chief Commissioner
Cooch Behar

FOLLOWING IS SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE:

BEGINS ON THE HANDING OVER OF COOCH BEHAR TO CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION I SEND TO ITS PEOPLE MY BEST WISHES AND ASSURANCE ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA THAT, THOUGH FAR, THEIR INTEREST AND WELFARE WILL CLAIM OUR CLOSE AND INTIMATE ATTENTION. I AM FULLY AWARE OF THE MANY PROBLEMS, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, WHICH AFFECT THE STATE AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT WITH THEIR COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE WE WOULD SUCCEED IN SOLVING THEM IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE AND THE COUNTRY. FOR THEIR HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY, UNITY AND MUTUAL ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION ARE ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITES. WITHOUT THESE SUCH RESOURCES AND PERSONNEL AS WE MAY BE ABLE TO SPARE FOR THEM WOULD AVAIL LITTLE. I HOPE THEREFORE THAT THE PEOPLE OF COOCH BEHAR WILL WORK WITH SINGLE-MINDEDNESS AND DEVOTION TO DUTY AS A UNITED TEAM FOR THEIR OWN BETTERMENT AND TO ACHIEVE THEIR DUE PLACE IN THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP OF INDIA. TO ACCEPT TRANSFER OF TERRITORY FROM A RULER IS NO SMALL RESPONSIBILITY. I AM THEREFORE CERTAIN THAT HIS HIGHNESS THE RULER OF COOCH BEHAR WILL APPRECIATE THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WHICH WE FEEL ON THIS OCCASION. TO GIVE UP SOVEREIGNTY OVER TERRITORY IS NO MEAN SACRIFICE. I AM GRATEFUL TO HIM FOR THE SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION AND UNDERSTANDING WHICH HE HAS DISPLAYED AND THE PROMPT

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MANNER IN WHICH HE ACCEPTED OUR ADVICE. MAY HE AND HIS PEOPLE FEEL HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS UNDER THE NEW DISPENSATION WHICH IS BEING INAUGURATED TODAY ENDS.

464

Government House
Calcutta
4 October 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

There has been all sorts of reports in the newspapers about the developments in Cooch Behar. It was suggested that the Muslims from Eastern Pakistan were infiltrating into Cooch Behar and some reports went to the length of suggesting that there would be a definite attempt made to make Cooch Behar join Pakistan, and this movement would not be wholly repugnant to the ruling house. The police report which I recently saw was very much to that effect. Last week Mr. Himmat Singh K. Maheshwari who is now the Chief Minister in Cooch Behar called on me. I have known him for a long time as he was in the UP Civil Service. He assured me that all these reports were completely baseless. There was absolutely no infiltration of Muslims of any kind and no pro-Pakistan movement of any description. The Muslim Minister who is an elected representative on the Legislative Council is an entirely harmless individual. He suggested that all these reports were parts of propaganda for ulterior ends. I have advised him to submit a full report to you of all that is happening and what the true state of affairs in Cooch Behar is from his point of view. Cooch Behar having acceded to the Indian Dominion, the Government of India are vitally interested in its security, and should, I think, be kept informed correctly of what is happening in the State. I dare say that this advice was unnecessary and you are in full possession of all these facts.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. N. Katju[1]

The Hon'ble Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India

[1] Minister in first Congress Ministry, UP, 1937 and later in 1946; Governor of Orissa, 1947; Minister of Home and later Defence in Nehru Cabinet; Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh

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New Delhi
9 October 1948

My dear Katju,

Thank you for your letter of 4 October 1948. I am so glad to hear what you say about Cooch Behar, particularly the reliance you place in its Chief Minister, Himmat Singh K. Maheshwari. I was a bit uneasy about conditions there as reported by my Bengali friends. It is something that things are not as bad as they are painted.

2. I shall certainly keep in view J. L. Jobanputra, the ex-Dewan of Sachin State. I know him personally.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Kailash Nath Katju
Governor of West Bengal
Government House
Calcutta

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CHAPTER XIV

MALWA & VINDHYA PRADESH

466

TELEGRAM

Kolhapur
13 May 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

I SHALL BE GRATEFUL IF I CAN SEE YOU ANY DAY ABOUT THE TWENTIETH ON SOME IMPORTANT BUSINESS. PLEASE WIRE CONVENIENT DATE TO MY ADDRESS HERE.

CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJA
KOLHAPUR

467

TELEGRAM

Camp Mussoorie
14 May 1948

Chhatrapati Maharaja of Kolhapur
Dewas Senior

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. SHALL BE GLAD SEE YOU TWENTIETH AT FOUR P. M. WOULD BE GLAD KNOW IN ADVANCE SUBJECTS YOU WOULD LIKE DISCUSS.

VALLABHBHAI

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Rajarampuri
Kolhapur
26 July 1948

Respected Sardar Sahib,

Until now, I had refrained myself from encroaching upon your time by submitting my case to you for your consideration. I had in mind to be there to call on you. But the Administrator here advised me not to do so [saying] that it would not bear any fruit.

As the Praja Parishad now is being converted into the Congress Committee, I am herewith sending for your perusal a copy of our representation to the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee.

I have henceforth decided to engage myself in constructive activity as the future course of my life.

Yours sincerely,
Madhavrao Bagal
[President,
Kolhapur State Praja Parishad]

PS.

Mahatmaji's imposing statue of 22 feet in height is near completion. On its being ready, we would like to have the inauguration at your hands. There are still two months for the ceremony.

[Original in Marathi]

ENCLOSURE

Poona
23 July 1948

To
The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee

Last time, i.e. on 7 March, I had been to Bombay on the invitation of the Pradesh Congress. This is the second time I have been so honoured. In between this period, I was under incarceration for the period of three

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months. Before that I courted arrests several times. But those arrests were due to our struggle with the State authorities. Never did I take such arrests to heart. For, after every such arrest, we were marching towards our goal of the Praja Parishad.

At long last, the Praja Parishad could realise its long cherished goal. After twenty-six years of my strenuous struggle, I could see the Ministry of the Praja Parishad in the saddle. But some disgruntled elements, making ado of the riotous situation that had flared up as an aftermath of Gandhiji's murder, made several allegations against the Ministry, indulged in heavy calumny against it; and thanks to their machinations, the Central Government deputed an administrator to rule over us.

Thus all the toil and the sacrifices made by the Praja Parishad went in vain! The Swaraja that came to us after a long while has come to naught. The Administrator is neither responsible to the Ruler nor to the people. An era of autocratic rule has set in. The worst of all is the most irresponsible and autocratic behaviour of the Administrator. In fact, we are now slaves in our own land. As the Administrator is in charge of law and order, he can subject anyone to ignominy. Never a king, a minister, a resident, or even a British Cabinet member would have insulted anyone in the manner he insults me and several others.

I have ever been a strong opponent of atrocious movements and underhand dealings. I have done my best to uproot casteism. But on that very pretext, after 21 years of public service the representative of the Indian Government has been pleased to honour me by setting limits on my movements. Men such as me including others accused exceed thousand and a half. One committed suicide. The other could not sustain the shock of accusation and died. Nana Saheb Jagdale's wife in her post-natal stage could not bear with her husband's arrest and it took the toll of her life.

Nanjappa being a nominee of the Indian Government, people think of him as the executor of the Congress policies. Communalism is again rearing its head. Government policy has undergone no change. The freedom that we lost after 15 March is yet to be restored to us. The accused have been shown no mercy. If all accusations are not withdrawn with a merciful heart, there will be no love lost or devotion for the Congress. Let me specifically say that there is hardly any spirit of openness on such an occasion when the Praja Parishad is being converted into the Congress committee.

Yet, our workers have approved of it and I, as the executive head, have come here to convey their decision to you. But the executive body that will now be formed must be truly representative in character. It must be elected by a democratic process. This is our request to you all. Who is good, who is bad, who committed what faults,—such dry measure of things will bring no good. Hence the only acceptable procedure for all would be to let

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the primary members elect their own executive body and its president. Let anybody be the head, he will entirely be acceptable to us. I put this matter to you on behalf of all workers of the Praja Parishad in my capacity as President.

But you as a higher body upon us are free to take any decision that you may deem fit.

Yours respectfully,
Madhavrao Bagal
President,
Kolhapur State Praja Parishad

[Original in Marathi]

469

Kolhapur
12 August 1948

Dear Shri Latthe,[1]

Please refer to your Secret D.O. dated 17 July 1948 and my reply dated 21 July 1948. I have discussed the question of withdrawal of jagirdars' powers with Hon. Sardar Patel and Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, States Ministry, and both of them have definitely advised me to immediately proceed with the scheme for withdrawal of civil, criminal, revenue and other powers exercised by the jagirdars and feudatory chiefs of Kolhapur State.

I have already informed you about this personally.

You are doubtless aware of the insistent public demand in the State for immediate withdrawal of jagirdars' powers. From what I have seen during the last four months, I have no hesitation in saying there is serious maladministration and consequent discontentment in the jagirs. Corruption is rampant and the administration of justice is almost a farce.

I have also pointed out to you that similar action has been taken in Gwalior State to withdraw jagirdars' powers. The exercise of these powers is neither in conformity with public opinion in this State nor with the policy of Government. The present practice is undoubtedly inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the jagirs and the State.

It is essential to have a standardised administration for all the villages in Kolhapur State. Unless this is done it is impossible to expect any improvement in the administration of the

1 A.B. Latthe: Dewan of Kolhapur, Finance Minister in Kher Ministry in Bombay

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jagir and the darbar territories. Similarly, uniformity of legislation is also absolutely essential.

Several jagirdars have personally approached me and have unequivocally expressed a desire to surrender their powers. It is also understood that the jagirdars are being prevented from approaching the Administrator and from surrendering their powers. I would sincerely request you to desist from such a policy. I know of cases where jagirdars have been warned for calling on the Regional Commissioner and the Administrator.

I have incidentally noticed that you are opposing and delaying every piece of legislation suggested by me. It appears to me that this is your policy. You have raised the bogey that His Highness cannot promulgate legislation except in an emergency. You have recently advised His Highness against imposition of the sales tax in the State. This is very surprising in view of the fact that it was you as Finance Minister of Bombay who introduced the Sales Tax Act in that province. Unless the Sales Tax Act is promulgated and the revenues of the State improved, a very serious situation will arise. The financial position as I have seen after I took over has reached a crisis and every effort must be made to increase the revenues. If you persist in following the policy of opposing all useful legislation, I will be compelled to bring the situation to the notice of the States Ministry.

I would like to make it clear that as all the transferred departments are under the control of the Administrator, he has got every authority to draft and enact necessary legislation for the progress of the State and to keep the administration in line with the provinces and States of the Indian Union. Sanction by His Highness is only a mere formality. It is therefore expected in all fairness that His Highness' assent is communicated to me at the earliest possible opportunity and without unnecessary delay.

Yours,
V. Nanjappa

Shri A. B. Latthe
Prime Minister
Kolhapur

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ESCORTED BY MR. A. N. JHA (LEFT) VICE-CHANCELLOR, BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, AND MR. GOVIND MALAVIYA, THE SARDAR RETURNING AFTER HIS SPEECH AT THE UNIVERSITY

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GREETED BY THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE AND SIR RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, DEWAN, ON ARRIVAL AT MANDAKHALLY AIRPORT

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14 August 1948

Dear Rao Bahadur Menon,

Subject: Anti-Merger propaganda in Kolhapur

During his visit to Kolhapur last week, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had confidential talks with the Maharaja Sahib of Kolhapur during which he made it clear to the Maharaja Sahib that Kolhapur State will have to merge with the Indian Union some time or the other and that this was only a question of time. The Maharaja Sahib told His Excellency that he was prepared to do anything for the Indian Union and hand over all powers etc., but he would not sign the merger agreement willingly. The Maharaja Sahib has also suggested that he was prepared to abdicate in favour of his son or appoint the Maharani Sahib as Regent if necessary. Personally, I consider that this is only a formal stand taken up by His Highness and that he would sign the merger agreement if tackled by the Hon. Sardar Patel. The Maharaja's stand is only natural and to be expected. In my opinion, he will go on saying this until he actually signs.

There is, however, an unfortunate reaction to the above talks. His Highness appears to have become desperate and has launched an intensive campaign against merger. He is attempting to rally round him all the reactionary and mischievous elements in the State. Immediately after the Governor's departure he had secret talks with Mr. [M. K.] Bagal[1] in the palace when Bagal assured the Maharaja Sahib of his whole-hearted support and agreed to fight against merger. This has been told to me by the Maharaja himself. The Maharaja has also contacted anti-Congress Maratha elements and particularly the leaders of the so-called Bahujanwadi party like Jedhe and More. Jedhe and More, though they are really in favour of merger, have agreed to support the Maharaja in order to spite the Congress party in power.

His Highness has now left the State for Dewas and is expected to return in the first week of September. Mr. Latthe, the Prime

1 Political worker in Kolhapur State; President of Kolhapur State Congress

561

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Minister, has also proceeded to Delhi to attend the meeting of the Special Selection Board of which he is a member. It is understood that the Special Selection Board will proceed to tour headquarters of most Indian provinces for interviewing candidates. I am sorry to report that both His Highness and Mr. Latthe are taking absolutely no interest in the administration of the State and the welfare of the people. Unfortunately, under the existing constitution of the State I have to obtain the signature of His Highness on legal enactments. I am just now considering the question of withdrawal of civil and criminal powers of jagirdars and feudatory chiefs in Kolhapur and the Maharaja is doing his best to avoid putting his signature on it. This is only one instance of the obstructionist and [delaying] tactics of the Maharaja. Both Mr. Latthe and the Maharaja are doing their best to make it as difficult as possible for me to administer the State. Files sent to the Maharaja for formal approval required under the law are delayed by him for weeks and months deliberately.

There is reason to believe that Mr. M. K. Bagal and members of his party are plotting to create trouble on 15 August, Independence Day, to mar the celebrations. They are advising people secretly not to take part in the celebrations. I suspect that Bagal is doing this under the instructions from His Highness. I wanted to arrange a military-cum-police parade on the 15th morning and His Highness has put forward all kinds of excuses for not asking the military to parade on the day. However, a police parade is being held and the public are expected to attend in large numbers. Incidentally, I understand that last year the Maharaja had ordered that the Indian Union flag should not be flown on any Government building on 15 August and his orders were carried out. This year I have ordered the flying of Indian and Kolhapur flags on the 15th on all Government buildings. I am also giving an 'At Home' to the leading citizens of the State on that day. I have advised Bagal and his men not to create trouble on the 15th and warned them about the consequences.

Mr. Latthe is also openly carrying on a campaign against merger. In addition he openly ridicules the Indian Government and members of the Indian and Bombay Governments. He says that the Indian Government is inefficient and weak and will soon be defeated by Hyderabad.

After careful consideration of the situation in Kolhapur State, I have come to the conclusion that the time is ripe for completing its merger. Public opinion is very strongly in favour of

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merger except only a selfish minority consisting of a few jagirdars and communalists. I do not expect any outbreak of violence if merger takes place today. Further, I feel confident that the situation is fully under control and I will be able to deal with any emergency that may arise. The police are thoroughly loyal and the top officers are now brought from Bombay. The Government services are all in favour of merger.

I hope to come to Delhi some time about the third or fourth week of this month when I shall explain the matter personally in further detail.

Yours sincerely,
V. Nanjappa
[Administrator,
Kolhapur State]

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon
Secretary, Ministry of States
New Delhi

471

Administrator's Office
Kolhapur
22 August 1948

Dear Mr. Buch,

Subject: Situation in Kolhapur

Mr. A. B. Latthe, Prime Minister, Kolhapur, returned to Kolhapur on the 19th from Delhi where he had been to attend the preliminary meeting of the Special Selection Board. En route he halted at Dewas to see the Maharaja Sahib of Kolhapur who is now staying at Dewas.

After his return from Delhi, Mr. Latthe has been spreading various adverse rumours regarding the Central Government and particularly the States Ministry. He has been saying that the States Ministry is extremely incompetent and high-handed and that Delhi is in a chaotic state. According to him, the Indian Government will be defeated by Pakistan very soon. At Dewas he had discussion with the Maharaja regarding the organisation of resistance to the merger of Kolhapur. Immediately on his return to Kolhapur he contacted the jagirdars and members of the ex-Ministry now dismissed, in order to gain their support for fighting merger. I saw Mr. Latthe preparing the defence statements for members of the ex-Ministry to be presented to the

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judicial enquiry. He is also spreading rumours that the Maharaja has gone to Delhi to arrange for the dismissal of the Administrator.

I understand that the Special Selection Board have made it clear to Mr. Latthe that he cannot work simultaneously as Prime Minister, Kolhapur, and as a Member of the Board. Mr. Latthe is expected to make his decision in a week's time. I anticipate that Mr. Latthe will most probably resign from the Special Selection Board. The Maharaja has advised Mr. Latthe to resign from the Selection Board and continue as Prime Minister. It is understood that his pay is being increased from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000 per month (free of income-tax and rent-free house).

The Maharaja left for Dewas early this month and is still at that place. He is expected to return here by the first week of September. The ostensible reason for his journey to Dewas is to attend the Gokul Ashtami festival at that place. He says that he has to attend the function as a member of the Dewas family. He however conveniently forgets that he is now adopted in the Kolhapur ruling family and that his duties lie in Kolhapur State. There is reason to believe that he has proceeded to Dewas for a month's stay in order to drink without interference. He finds the presence of the Administrator at Kolhapur rather awkward in this regard. He is also meeting the Rulers and Jagirdars of Central India States and indulging in his favourite pastime of mischievous intrigues. Intriguing has unfortunately become second nature to him.

The Rajaram Rifles Battalion of the Kolhapur State Forces, which is placed at the disposal of the Indian Union, is now stationed at Sholapur on the frontier of Hyderabad State. I have requested the Maharaja to visit his battalion and also tour part of the Hyderabad frontier seeing other Indian Army units. I further suggested that I could arrange for some publicity to his visit and that he might usefully issue a statement regarding the placing of the Kolhapur State resources at the disposal of the Indian Union and appealing to the Marathas to support the national Government wholeheartedly. I regret to say that he has not followed my advice so far. I have again conveyed this message to him at Dewas and I am hoping that he will visit Sholapur and see the Kolhapur battalion at an early date in September. I am constrained to remark that the Maharaja is not taking the slightest interest in the administration of the State and the welfare of the people.

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Mr. Hire, president of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, and Mr. Chavan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Bombay Government, came to Kolhapur last week in order to organise a district Congress committee in place of the State Praja Parishad. Attempts were also made to bring together the rival political groups in the States. Their attempts, however, have been unsuccessful so far and they have programmed to visit the State again after about a fortnight.

The differences between the two rival political groups in the State led by Bagal and Ratnappa Kumbhar are again becoming acute as merger is expected by the public in the near future. Bagal and his men (late Ministry who committed arson and looting) are organising themselves to fight the merger with the support of some of the Jagirdars and under the auspices of the Maharaja. Their strength is however negligible and I have no doubt of the fate they will meet when the State merges. A majority of the people are awaiting merger anxiously.

Yours sincerely,
V. Nanjappa

N. M. Buch, Esqr.
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

472

Ratnappa Kumbhar
Kolhapur
Camp Bombay
26 August 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am writing to you after a fairly long time because I did not want to trouble you during the period of your convalescence. I am glad that you have fully recouped your health and are again at your post in the service of our country. May God give you good health and long life.

2. The main object of writing this letter is to show to you that the time to take a decisive step and merge the State has now come. Just now, all the opposition forces are most demoralized and at their lowest ebb. The Maharaja is frightened because the Administrator has asked him to refund the

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huge sum of Rs. 65 lakhs or so which the Maharaja has illegally taken from the treasury. The party of Mr. Bagal is also most demoralized because of the enquiry under Justice Coyajee. The rabid communal organisation of Messrs. Jedhe and More has not had any time to spread its feet in Kolhapur. The friends of the Maharaja are also trembling in their shoes because they have lost all influence and are feeling that an early merger is inevitable. The Maharaja himself has become so unpopular with the public at large owing to his vices that merger will be deemed to be a relief by most of the subjects of the State. The most critical time has, therefore, arrived and the State must be merged, if ever, now. The question should, under no circumstances, be postponed beyond September. The Governor of Bombay recently paid a visit to Kolhapur when we could meet him and when he could study the situation first hand. I feel that he was also convinced of the extreme desirability of deciding the merger issue without delay.

3. There is no truth in the statement that riots will break out in Kolhapur if the State is merged. Such prophecies were made on several occasions in the past, viz., when the Bagal Ministry was dismissed, Mr. Madhavrao Bagal was arrested, etc. But nothing happened. Now the conditions are so favourable that a reaction is least likely to happen. The situation is well under control, as the Administrator will testify. I therefore feel that there is no point in postponing merger on a panicky forecast of eventualities.

4. I would also like to impress upon you the complications that will arise if the merger issue is postponed. It will not be possible then to delay elections any longer. Once the elections start, all opposition forces which are now demoralized and at the lowest ebb will be strengthened again. The Maharaja will spend huge amounts in subsidising all reactionary and communal elements. An attempt will be made to secure a majority for the rabid communalists in the forthcoming elections and then to create fresh difficulties with their support. The politics of Bahujan Samajvad of Jedhe and More will be introduced in Kolhapur and fully developed on the election platform. I am afraid that these and numerous other complications will arise if a decision on the merger is postponed and elections are held (as they inevitably must be). These complications must be avoided at any cost.

5. I have seen Sjt. Balasaheb Kher and discussed the situation with him in detail. I would, therefore, request you to kindly

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discuss the situation with Sjt. Kher during his next visit to Delhi and take a final decision on the matter.

6. I would also be grateful if you can find some time to see me. I am coming to Delhi on about the 28th inst., and at the time of our interview, I will be able to explain the whole local situation personally.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ratnappa Kumbhar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
New Delhi

473

Camp Bombay
1 November 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sending the accompanying telegram to the President, Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi, as per your kind advice you offered me during today's interview. I hope the matter will receive urgent attention from the authorities concerned.

I am extremely thankful to you for your patient hearing.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
Nana Dharmadhikari

My Address:
Nana Dharmadhikari
Kapil Teerth
Kolhapur

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ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Bombay
1 November 1948

President
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

KOLHAPUR MAHARAJA'S NOMINATION OF BARRISTER KHARDEKAR TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY IN PLACE OF SHRI LATTHE WHO RECENTLY RESIGNED IS STRONGLY OBJECTIONABLE. MAHARAJA WITHOUT CONSULTING KOLHAPUR CONGRESS AND OTHER PUBLIC BODIES DELIBERATELY NOMINATED KHARDEKAR WHO IS THE DICTATOR OF BAGAL'S PRAJA PARISHAD, A SMALL CLIQUE FLOUTING RULE OF ADMINISTRATOR APPOINTED BY INDIA GOVERNMENT. PRAY REJECT KHARDEKAR'S NOMINATION AND ASK ADMINISTRATOR APPOINT POPULAR REPRESENTATIVE. I HAVE PLACED THIS MATTER BEFORE HONOURABLE SARDAR PATEL TODAY DURING INTERVIEW.

SOLICITING IMMEDIATE ACTION. NANA DHARMADHIKARI KAPIL TEERTH, KOLHAPUR

474

5-B Bulevard Road
Delhi
9 January 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

I shall have to report the talk I had with you yesterday to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar and therefore wish to have the substance thereof confirmed, so as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. I understand the position to be as follows:

(1) You accept the validity of my appointment as Prime Minister but consider that the termination of the services of Shri N. C. Mehta was not in conformity with the agreement arrived at and that it was calculated to lower the prestige of the States Ministry and you, therefore, take strong exception to it.

(2) You consider that His Highness the Maharaja has not adhered to the understanding arrived at at the

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time of the accession as regards the removal of certain officers from their posts.

(3) In the situation that has arisen you now insist on the removal of Messrs. Dhanda, Neidou, General Williams and Masood Quli Khan and the two American experts from their posts.

(4) That you also insist on the formation of an interim popular Ministry (with Prime Minister appointed by His Highness) at once with such popular representatives as may be available—regardless of other considerations.

(5) As regards General Williams, the States Ministry will provide a suitable substitute, if required.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly confirm the above (with additions or alterations if necessary) and send the same per bearer, as I am leaving for Indore early tomorrow morning. I am sending two copies so that one may be retained by you and the other returned to me with your confirmation.

Yours sincerely,
M. V. Bhide
Prime Minister to His Highness
the Maharaja Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

475

New Delhi
9 January 1948

Dear Mr. Bhide,

Thank you for your letter of today's date addressed to Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel made it clear to you that he would have no negotiations whatsoever with His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. Sardar regards the Maharaja's omission to reply to his letter of 22 December as extremely discourteous. Further, his action in dismissing Mr. Mehta in complete disregard of Sardar's letter to His Highness in which with a view to accommodate the Maharaja he was prepared to withdraw Mr. Mehta, is a deliberate slight to the States Ministry. He also takes a very grave view of the failure of the Maharaja to implement the agreement which was reached at the time of accepting Indore State's accession and also the understanding reached at Bikaner in regard

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to constitutional and administrative changes in the State. An intolerable situation has thus been created by the deliberate action of the Maharaja and the States Ministry feel that no useful purpose will be served by any further discussions with Indore.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

Shri M. V. Bhide, Esq., ICS
Prime Minister
Indore State
Indore (CI)

476

Udaipur (Rajputana)
10 January 1948

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am much worried to know from the papers that the Maharaja of Indore is politically in hot waters at present, and due to some administrative acts done by him, there is much misunderstanding between him and his politically-minded subjects, and naturally you are anxious to put things right. I have ventured to write to you as I am deeply interested in that State, having served it for over 32 years and especially as I have the privilege of your acquaintance. I hope you remember me. We met several times when I was Prime Minister of Indore. I have addressed His Highness also today. If he thinks I can render some useful service to him and his State in bringing about better relations between him and his subjects and also yourself, I shall approach you with his letter on hearing from him. If, as I hope and pray cordial relations are restored and my services are not required, I shall see you possibly in March, when I visit Delhi for the Bharat Bank meeting. I hope it will be convenient for you to spare a few minutes for me then. I generally stay with Seth Dalmia.

Now something personal. Over a year ago, I fell seriously ill when I was Prime Minister in Alwar and had to undergo a major operation in Bombay for ulcer. I was confined to bed for about seven months, but am now well. I am here at present as Udaipur is my home, but I am thinking of going back to Indore and living there with my sons, who are in service there.

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I hope you won't mind this long letter. I know your time is fully occupied with important affairs of State and I have therefore tried to place my views before you as briefly as possible.

I hope you are well.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Bapna

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

477

Camp Rajkot
16 January 1948

Dear Sir Seraimal,

Sardar has asked me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of 10 January regarding Indore affairs. The position is that in spite of what H.H. has done in the past Sardar went out of his way to be kind and considerate to him. At Sardar's instance, I saw the Maharaja a number of times so that a solution acceptable to all concerned could be reached and implemented. The last time I went to see him was at Bikaner where an agreement was reached at the instance of H.H. Bikaner, but as soon as the Maharaja reached Indore he changed his mind. The difficulty is that he is entirely in the hands of his advisers who, unlike you, are not disinterested and have got their own axes to grind. Sardar still wants a peaceful solution, but unless the Maharaja is prepared to trust his own people a final solution will never be found. Sardar will certainly see you when you come to Delhi in March but the situation in Indore may get out of hand by then. At present there is still time and, if you have any influence in Indore, I suggest that you should use it now.

I hope you are keeping quite fit.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

Sir S. M. Bapna
Udaipur
Rajputana

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EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE INDORE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DATED 27 FEBRUARY 1948

Resolution

Whereas it is necessary to integrate various scattered states to bring into existence a strong and united India and whereas under the present state of things such a move has become absolutely necessary in the interests of the people as a whole and whereas talks in this direction are already in progress in responsible circles, this Legislative Council unambiguously voices its opinion that on the foundations of democracy, such a Union of the Madhya Bharat States be brought into being with a view to ensure political, economic, industrial and social progress of the masses as also to enable them to partake in the country's affairs and progress.

This Legislative Council also expresses its opinion that in the formation of such a Union Holkar State should play its full role and be the part and parcel of the Union.

This Legislative Council hereby nominates a committee consisting of the following persons to assist and advise His Highness in the creation of such a Union.

1. N. H. Dravid
2. Jal
3. N. G. Kothari
4. Sardar Kibe
5. Jadavchandra Jain
6. Nandlal Joshi
7. Seth Hiralalji
8. D. H. Chandavasker
9. Jyotsna Mehta

This resolution has been unanimously passed by the extraordinary session of the Indore Legislative Council.

N. H. Dravid
Chairman,
Indore State Legislative Council

Indore, 27-2-48

[Original in Hindi]

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479

TELEGRAM

Indore
20 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

IN CONNECTION WITH UNIFICATION OF STATES I HOPED THAT YOU WILL KEEP PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE IN CLOSE TOUCH AND CONSULT IT ON IMPORTANT MATTERS BUT TO MY DISAPPOINTMENT I FIND THAT PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE IS IN UTTER DARKNESS ON THE SUBJECT OF UNIFICATION. HOPE IN FUTURE YOU WILL GIVE DUE WEIGHT TO THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND OBLIGE.

KANAIYALAL KHADIWALA
PRESIDENT, PCC

480

TELEGRAM

Indore
17 August 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Member in Charge
States Department
New Delhi

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. SHALL BE REACHING DELHI MORNING TUESDAY NINETEENTH.

MAHARAJA HOLKAR

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481

Government House
New Delhi
28 November 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

On arriving here I discovered you were not arriving till today about 12 noon. Knowing the strain the journey must have been to you, I do not wish to trouble you today. I am leaving for Indore tomorrow, so if you could spare me a few minutes to my coming and paying my respects before I leave in the morning, I would feel very grateful.

With warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

482

TELEGRAM

Indore City
14 November 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

AM COMING TO DELHI EARLY NEXT MONTH AT HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA BIKANER'S INVITATION WHEN I SHOULD MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU AND DISCUSSING PERSONALLY SOME VERY IMPORTANT MATTER AND OTHER MATTERS WHICH THE STATE MINISTRY MAY HAVE TO DISCUSS. AM SENDING YOU A LETTER TOMORROW MENTIONING SOME IMPORTANT AND FURTHER REFORMS WHICH I AM [introducing] IMMEDIATELY. WITH AFFECTIONATE REGARDS.

MAHARAJA HOLKAR

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Manik Bagh Palace
Indore
17 November 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

Having been able to spend the greater part of the hot weather abroad under the care of specialists from whom I received surgical attention some time ago, I have returned home much improved in my health and strength. Even while abroad I have been following with the closest attention the turmoil and stress through which our country has been passing and I share the joy of all our countrymen that most of its greatest trials have been so successfully weathered by your personal lead and statesmanship.

As I must remain careful about my health, I propose to avoid unnecessary strain but I have written to His Highness the Rajpramukh that he can count on me and my fullest help in the patriotic task that has been assigned us in the new set-up. It is my wish to be able to pay my respects to you personally as soon as and wherever it may be convenient for you. We would be very happy indeed if, after your forthcoming visit to Gwalior early next month, you would honour Indore also by a visit and, of course, stay with us. I know it would make the people of this part of Madhya Bharat very happy, indeed, to have you in our midst.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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484

New Delhi
22 November 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter which I have received through your ADC.

I am very glad to know that you have returned to India in much better health than you left it and that your stay abroad has done you so much good. I hope it will now be possible for you to continue to stay here at least for some considerable time.

I am most grateful to you for Your Highness' very kind invitation to come to Indore, but unfortunately my health and preoccupations in Delhi do not permit of a longer outing than two days which I have already assigned to Gwalior.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar
Bahadur
Maharaja of Indore
Indore

485

Manik Bagh Palace
Indore
30 December 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

While drawing attention during your recent visit to Gwalior to the ever-increasing and vital need for more food for the country, you made a positive suggestion that something tangible might be done to show to the cultivator what improved and intensive farming is and can mean for him and the community. I have been very taken up with the idea ever since and would like to do something about it. Owing, however, to my own personal resources being far from unlimited and otherwise also,

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I should think that a co-operative effort in this direction would probably produce the best results. If a farm, to begin with on a moderate scale, with the objects in view could be organised on a co-operative basis somewhere near Indore, I should be able to take personal interest in its development. There is the advantage besides of an existing agricultural research station and school at Indore the results of whose working could be continually used for demonstration and development on the proposed farm. If this idea meets with your approval and I could have an assurance of the Government of India's consistent support which may be necessary in more than one way, I would take steps to approach such Princes and industrialists who might like to contribute to such an effort. With your blessing to a project like this there should be adequate and quick enough response to an appeal for support to it.

We have all read with great pleasure in the Press the report that there is a possibility of your coming to Indore in connection with the annual conference of the Sarvodaya Samaj. I would like to take this opportunity of extending once again our warmest invitation to you to honour Indore also by your visit. I know it would make everybody here very happy to have you in our midst. Her Highness and I, of course, very much look forward to the privilege of having you and Maniben stay with us whenever you come. I was very touched by the personal courtesy and kindness that you and Maniben showed to me during your last visit to Gwalior.

I did not trouble you with this letter earlier owing to your preoccupations at Jaipur. Please accept my respectful congratulations for once again keeping the ship of State along its safe course.

With warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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486

New Delhi
11 January 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 30 December 1948. I am sorry that on account of my preoccupations I was not able to reply earlier.

2. As regards your scheme for land development, I have left the matter entirely in the hands of the Madhya Bharat Government. I suggest that you discuss whatever plans you have with the Premier, Shri Liladhar Joshi.

3. I am afraid I see no prospect of my coming to Indore in the near future. My programme is far too full and it will be some time before I can expect to have a little rest. I am grateful to you for Your Highness' invitation and will bear it in mind whenever an opportunity offers.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja
Shri Yeshwant Rao Holkar
Maharaja of Indore
Manik Bagh Palace
Indore (CI)

487

TELEGRAM

Gwalior
7 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

STRONG RUMOURS ABOUT GOVERNMENT MAKING HERCULEAN EFFORTS TO SEND THEIR HENCHMAN UNDER THREATS AND TEMPTATIONS TO DEFEND THEIR MOST UNDEMOCRATIC ACTION OF CONSENTING TO THE CONTEMPLATED MERGER OF GWALIOR WHICH IS SHAKING THEIR

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FOUNDATIONS. DID NOT THE PRIME MINISTER TELL PARLIAMENT ON 12 MARCH THAT IN ALL MATTERS OF STATES INDIA'S POLICY WAS THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE STATES SHOULD DECIDE THEIR FUTURE BY PLEBISCITE? WHY POPULAR GOVERNMENT AFRAID OF FACING PUBLIC? WHY WELL KNOWN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE OF ADULT PLEBISCITE BEING TRAMPLED BY THE SOCALLED POPULAR MINISTRY OF GWALIOR?

DWIVEDI, LEADER OF THE GREATER GWALIOR DEPUTATION AND KISAN SEVA SANGH, SHRINIKETAN, JANAKGANJ.

488

Gwalior
12 May 1948

Respected Sardar,

It gives me great pleasure to say that Jayaji Pratap (bi-weekly)—the official organ of Gwalior State—is going to bring out a Special Number on the 28th of this month to commemorate the inauguration of the Gwalior-Indore-Malwa Union by the Prime Minister of India, the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

I feel a message of good wishes from your mighty pen for the Special Number would greatly enhance its value and importance. I shall be personally grateful to you if you can kindly spare a few moments and send us your kind message on the occasion by the 21st inst.

Trusting this finds you in enjoyment of excellent health and with warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Liladhar Joshi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

489

Camp Mussoorie
16 May 1948

My dear Liladhar Joshi,

Thank you for your letter of 12 May 1948. I am sending herewith a message for incorporation in your special number of Jayaji Pratap. I hope you will get it in time.

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2. Shankar told me that he had asked you to come because you wanted to discuss certain matters. I think the best course would be now for you to come some time after the inauguration of the Union.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Liladhar Joshi
Chief Minister
Gwalior Government
Gwalior

MESSAGE FROM SARDAR PATEL ON THE OCCASION OF THE INAUGURATION OF THE GWALIOR-INDORE-MALWA UNION

The inauguration of Malwa Union brings into reality a dream which many a patriotic Indian has cherished for long. Malwa has been a historical, geographical, economic and territorial entity since ancient times. It has witnessed many a scene of splendour, glory and greatness. It has been the seat of Hindu empires, the exploits of which have adorned the pages of Indian history. Nature has been bountiful to Malwa and its people, but history and fate have often been unkind. After hundreds of years, Malwa is now on the threshold of what I hope and pray shall be a period of uninterrupted peace and prosperity.

I need hardly say that the achievement of this destiny is in the hands of the Union themselves. It is up to them to sink personal prejudices and party differences and to set themselves to the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation with single-mindedness of purpose, with relentless devotion to duty and with entirely unselfish aims. It is with a unity of purpose and community of aims between the Rulers and the people alike that this Union could be brought into being. Let that unity remain the watchword in future as in the immediate past, and let them not be guided by any narrow ideology or restricted range of vision, but inspired by a vision of unprecedented greatness and glory that awaits them if only they will discharge their obligations without fear or favour. . . .

I should also like to remind the people of Malwa of the great obligation which now devolves upon them. The Rulers, by self-sacrifice and voluntary transfer of power to the people, have laid the latter under a great burden. The immensity of that burden lies not merely in the responsibility which they now undertake to regulate their own affairs in any manner they choose but also in the new relationship which is now forged between them and their

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Rulers. That new relationship demands that the people become the trustees of the prestige and position of the Rulers. It is not only profitless but also detrimental to the people's interest to look back upon the past and to let previous prejudices and animosities still determine their conduct; instead, it behoves the greatness of the people to bury that past and to take up this relationship in a spirit of utmost cordiality and goodwill. Nothing can be more glorious for the Ruler than to put himself entirely in the hands of his people. Nothing can be more disgraceful for the people if they are not tolerant, comprehending and generous in such an hour and if they seek to take undue advantage of this glorious occasion. I hope, therefore, that I can rely on the people of Malwa to stand by their Rulers as though they were—and in fact they are—one of them; and to regard their honour, their prestige and their position as those of their own. Let no bitterness or rancour spoil the beauty of the dawn which is now opening up in front of you all and let no unkindly thought besmirch the essential nobility of human nature; instead, let us all dwell on the pure vista of peace and progress which is now opening up and let us exploit to the full the many opportunities of service which are now being placed in the hands of us all.

On behalf of the Central Government I can assure the people of Malwa of our abiding interest, most willing co-operation and our helping hand. I am confident that if all of us play the part and unite in a common endeavour, Malwa will attain a glory which, even in its greatest hour, it has never enjoyed in the past.

490

Prime Minister
Madhya Bharat Union
Gwalior
9 June 1948

Respected Sardar,

I must write a line to express the deep gratitude of myself and my colleagues for the very kind and thought-provoking message sent by you on the historic occasion of the inauguration of the Madhya Bharat Union.

The formation of the Madhya Bharat Union has indeed been the consummation of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples of Central India, which were being cherished for a long time and the fact that a message of good wishes was received from eminent patriots of the country like you not only enhanced our enthusiasm and pride on this unique occasion but I feel sure it will continue to serve as a great source of inspiration in

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the future also. I am sure in expressing these sentiments I am voicing the feeling of all our people of this Union and trust that you will continue to give us the same benefit of your valuable guidance as heretofore.

I also take this opportunity of conveying our sense of deep gratitude to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for the excellent arrangements made by them on the occasion of inauguration both for relay broadcasting the programme by the All India Radio party and for filming the ceremony.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Liladhar Joshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

491

37 Rajpur Road
Camp Delhi
9 July 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am writing this to thank you on behalf of all my brother Princes for your kind gesture in granting us a liberal amount as privy purse. Ever since you took over charge of the Ministry of States, you have shown the greatest consideration and have been extremely generous to the Princely order. When I say this I do not merely give vent to my feelings which are of genuine admiration and respect but I am voicing the feelings of the entire Princely order of Central India.

I need hardly assure you on behalf of us all that we will always be prepared to do our utmost for the cause of our motherland and we will never be failing in our duty nor hesitate to make any sacrifice that may be necessary in the times to come.

With feelings of respect,

Yours very sincerely,
Jiwaji Rao Scindia

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Rewa
Central India
19 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

I have not troubled you with a communication for a long time since there was nothing very exciting to report.

Since I wrote last the one event of importance that happened is that our franchise and variation committee submitted its report to H.H. on 31 December 1947. The report is almost unanimous and has been with H.H. since. You will remember that it was a part of the agreement that H.H.'s award on a matter of difference between members is to be final. I have not been asked about it yet nor have I officially seen the report.

There is one point of major difference, viz. whether the elections are to be direct or indirect. Both would involve administrative arrangements which in the backward and unorganized state of affairs here may be considerable but they will have to be overcome. Pending decisions of H.H. on such points I have already ordered that electoral rolls on an adult franchise basis must now be compiled, because whatever system is adopted these will be necessarily required.

I would like to have a direction, if possible, as to which of the system of elections should be considered desirable. Moreover, I would like to know, in the event of direct election system being preferred, whether a system of election by single-member constituencies (like we have in CP) or plural or multiple member constituencies with cumulative voting (like Bombay) would be desirable. I personally favour the Bombay type, for in this a minority has a chance of concentrating its notes with a view to get some representation. In the report no reservations for anybody are contemplated in the Lower House and hence, I feel, it may be desirable to follow the Bombay type.

If on the other hand indirect elections are preferred the idea here is to elect panchas who will form an electoral college. In such a system it is always possible that the proportion of the composition of the population may not be reflected in the electorate. This is possible to so arrange that this result does

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not follow by fixation of quotas of persons to be elected as panchas for given units based on the population of that unit as disclosed by the 1941 census. Should this be attempted? Direction on this point would be useful.

There are people here who do not like the proposed Upper Chamber. Personally I have always considered a second chamber desirable. And it is especially so in a place like Rewa. In any case this is an agreed point and no award on this is called for, and the new Assembly, when elected, could always change its constitution, if it is so desired. Just at present the only people who appear to be against the Upper Chamber are the ex-Maharaja's men. And their main brunt of objection is to the representation given to the pawaidars (landlords) rather than to the Chamber itself. This point is mentioned for information.

The work on the constitution has slowed down for two reasons:

(i) the catastrophe that has overtaken the nation by the departure of the greatest man (Gandhi) our age has produced from amongst us; and

(ii) the talks about the Union of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. This point has to be concluded before a constitution can be visualised. If the Union comes about, naturally the present proceedings will have to give place to a new set-up.

The position about formation of a union appears to me to be in a fluid state. H.H.'s advisers here are divided. Since we returned from Delhi and since it was learnt that there was necessarily no compulsion to join although it is considered desirable, a new element has entered into consideration.

H.H. has contracted chicken-pox and has been ordered complete segregation by the doctors for a fortnight. It has not been possible for H.H. to meet his advisers since his return from Delhi. Part of the time was spent in ceremonies in connection with taking of Mahatmaji's [asthi] to Amarkantak. This was done with all military and civil honours together with a salute of 78 guns. H.H. himself took personal interest in the ceremony and had accompanied the asthi to Amarkantak. Since his return he has been ill. In the meanwhile Shri Menon, who I understood would be coming to Nowgong in March, intimated that he will arrive on 25 February. I wired to him yesterday to make it not earlier than the first week of March, if possible. This will give

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H.H. time to recover and rethink the proposition of formation of the Union. It would be convenient if this postponement could be possible.

Things are comparatively quiet. The leaders of the RSS were rounded up, but nothing very incriminating has been traced. Most of them repudiated the connection and have undertaken not to do so in future. They are being released on an undertaking not to leave their places of residence without permission and to produce themselves before the authorities whenever required the next three months.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Ramrao Deshmukh
[Prime Minister of Rewa]

493

Rewa
Central India
19 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

In a separate communication this morning I have reported on the general position here. There is, however, a specific matter on which I would like your direction. I am sorry I could not get time to mention this personally under the circumstances of our meeting at Delhi.

2. This matter relates to the ex-Maharaja's affairs. I have an idea that in this connection H.H. is having a change-over in his ideas. In this matter I think he has other advisers. From what I could partly guess and partly gather the line that these advisers appear to advocate is somewhat as follows:

(i) that the ex-Maharaja cannot be kept out of Rewa for all time nor for long;

(ii) it may be that when the union forms or when a new Ministry is formed for Rewa as a result of changes, such a Ministry might itself invite or permit the ex-Maharaja to come. And if this happens the States Ministry may not interfere;

(iii) in such an event the credit will belong to the Ministry. Is it not therefore desirable that H.H. should himself invite him and take the credit? They do not suggest

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that this should be done without previous consultation with the States Ministry, but are apparently suggesting that H.H. may move in the matter;

(iv) by this process they appear to feel that the ex-Maharaja will feel obliged to H.H. and will keep quiet and in fact be helpful to H.H. by his sense of obligation. On the other hand, if he were to arrive at someone else's instance, he might not feel bound by any obligation to H.H. and consider himself free to do what he likes.

3. I do not think H.H. himself has his mind made up one way or the other at the present moment.

4. Certain evidence, however, appears to me—and I may be right or wrong—to indicate that he is thinking.

5. Here is why:

(i) The ex-Maharaja in his letter dated 4 February 1948 to the Bank of Baghelkhand wrote that "time has come when platitudes should end" and "reality be faced and appreciated by you as my bankers. There is no use taking shelter under the Crown Representative or to contend or even to suggest that the matter is sub judice and that until orders are communicated to you you cannot see your way to fulfil your obligation as my bankers! All this is but an excuse of sorts to deprive me of my just rights without there being any justification whatever in that behalf."

(ii) With this introduction he claims that the account [in] the bank is his private and personal property.

(iii) He, therefore, demands his pass book with cheque forms and pay-in slips without further delay.

(iv) He also encloses—so the letter says—dividend warrants for Rs. 1,710-8-0 from the Bank of India apparently for credits to his accounts.

6. A significant aspect of this is to note that this letter is addressed to the bank. I am the Director-General of this bank. This communication has not yet been officially put before me for orders by the bank which in the normal course of routine it should do and will perhaps do. But a copy of this communication was sent to H.H. So far as I can see from this copy it is not even signed by the ex-Maharaja himself. The signature . . . is "Sd/- Gulabsingh, Rewa."

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7. On this document H.H. has sent me the following order signed on the document itself dated 10-2-1948:

> "It is my definite desire that what my father has asked for in this letter be conceded without delay. Will the Director-General please submit to me today a draft order to this effect, if necessary, after having contacted the P.M.? As this matter is urgent, I want that no delay be allowed."

8. The peremptory nature of this communication is significant of the excitement of mind. I have taken no steps so far because I wanted to have a discussion with H.H. about this but owing to his illness the opportunity could not occur.

9. The point in all this is: Is the ex-Maharaja's implication of repudiation of all orders by the Crown Representative to be accepted, and does the States Ministry countenance such repudiation or does it desire that the Crown Representative's prohibitions are to be operative until such time as they are not lifted by it? I should like a very clear directive in this matter. As early as I could get it, it would be better.

10. It is possible that a situation arising out of such a position may lead to serious trouble. Hence this long description of it.

11. Of one thing I am certain: that, if for any reason, the ex-Maharaja is permitted to make trouble here or he is to return, I should like to ask you to let me go. If anything further happens I shall be informing you.

Yours sincerely,
Ramrao Deshmukh

494

New Delhi
24 February 1948

My dear Deshmukh,

Thanks for your letter of 19 February 1948. All the orders of restriction passed by the Crown Representative on the ex-Maharaja which were in force before 15 August 1947, continue to be in force until we withdraw them. It would, therefore, be quite improper on the part of the State to withdraw any of the restrictions without our consent.

2. I have no doubt in my mind that the best course for you would be to have direct elections. Indirect elections are, in the conditions of India, today, anachronistic. They are also anti-democratic.

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3. As regards an Upper Chamber, you will notice that in practically no State is an Upper Chamber being established. I do not see any reason, therefore, why Rewa should have one.

4. Menon will be going some time in the first week of March. I hope that will be convenient for His Highness.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri R. M. Deshmukh
Prime Minister
Rewa State
Rewa

495

Rewa
25 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

This is in continuation of my personal and confidential letter dated 19 February 1948 referring to certain matters in connection with the ex-Maharaja's account in the bank.

The bank has since put up such papers as it had, and I find that this account was frozen by the Crown Representative. Hence the ex-Maharaja's reference already quoted.

The bank does not possess any papers. The file, which used to be with the Prime Minister, was passed on by my immediate predecessor to H.H. and is said to be with him. I had requested H.H. for it and H.H. had said that it would be sent, but so far it is not received. This was some time ago, i.e. before the reported incident occurred.

Since H.H.'s illness I have not had access to him. I am told H.H. will be allowed to have his bath tomorrow and have been told that I may then have an interview. In the meanwhile my Deputy Prime Minister has had many interviews and has had access to H.H.

On the 19th last after my letter to you was dispatched, I received a note from the Deputy Prime Minister stating that he had been directed by His Highness to proceed to Bombay with a letter along with some oral instructions, and so he intends leaving by tomorrow's mail. He states he sent this intimation to me for information, which of course is irregular.

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On the 20th he left for Bombay and has not returned yet.

My own suspicions—and these are no more—are that the letter could only be to the ex-Maharaja who is at Bombay and has given "C/o Dena Bank, Elphinstone Circle," as his postal address. Something appears to be brewing.

Yesterday Hon'ble D. P. Mishra phoned to me to come over to Nagpur because he wanted to communicate to me the talks he has had at Delhi and Lucknow. I propose to go on the 27th and shall probably return by the 2nd or 3rd.

With regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Ramrao Desmukh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

496

Rewa
Camp Amraoti
29 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

I saw Hon'ble Pandit Mishra at Nagpur yesterday. I also attended the meeting of the Nagpur University Court to which I have recently been elected. Having done this I reached here last night and shall return to Rewa on 3 March, so as to be in time for the Nowgong meeting on the 5th.

Pandit Mishra's point briefly was that if Rewa did not wish to join the Union I should not interfere or influence them. In fact I do not think I can influence them, and had left Rewa telling them that they must be ready with their decisions by the time of my return.

Your letter of 24 February reached me just before I left Rewa. Thanks for very clear indication and directions.

With a view to safeguard events happening in my absence, I had, however, already written to H.H. A copy of this is enclosed for your information.

I expect this will upset H.H. but I am afraid it was not possible to avoid doing so. Depending upon how much this upsets him, things may perhaps happen on my return. . . .

On my return I shall also place your views to H.H. for his consideration.

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The Regional Commissioner from Nowgong had also arrived at Rewa for some private reasons. I could see him just as I was leaving Rewa. He was intending to interview H.H. I acquainted him very briefly with the situation up to the time.

I was not able to have an interview with H.H. before I left Rewa as I had expected to do; and mainly because of this reason that I had to write what I did to H.H. in the enclosed communication.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Ramrao Deshmukh

ENCLOSURE

Rewa
27 February 1948

May it please Your Highness,

I am leaving for Nagpur this morning. I had hoped to have an interview before I left at which I could have explained to Your Highness personally what could but be explained only very inadequately in writing; nevertheless to avert any misunderstanding it appeared to me to be necessary to do so.

In view of Your Highness' talk with me concerning the ex-Maharaja Sahib and subsequent communication to me dated 10-2-48 as well as the intimation sent to me for information by the Deputy Prime Minister on the 19th that he was going to Bombay "with a letter along with some oral instructions," I considered it necessary that I should consult the States Ministry and ascertain their views as to how far the bans or orders by the Crown Representative should be deemed to be in operation or otherwise so far as the ex-Maharaja Sahib is concerned.

I wrote this on the 19th and I am expecting to receive an authoritative clarification in this respect which I shall submit for His Highness' perusal. I am expecting this almost any day now.

Yesterday the Deputy Prime Minister informed me that he visited Bombay to see the ex-Maharaja Sahib to consult him. I have no comments to offer as indeed I cannot have any. But I would most respectfully suggest and request in the interest of Your Highness that no irrevocable steps should be taken in this matter of lifting the Crown Representative's bans or orders with regard to the ex-Maharaja Sahib's affairs till I have had an opportunity to place Sardar Patel's views in this matter personally to Your Highness. I shall as ordered be returning on 3 March.

Yours very sincerely,
Ramrao Deshmukh

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497

TELEGRAM

Allahabad
21 March 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOU KNOW PRESENT CABINET AGAINST UNION SECRETLY IN LEAGUE WITH GULAB SINGH. CABINET TRYING SABOTAGE UNION BY PRESSING MAHARAJA ANNOUNCE AT ONCE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS AND HOLD ELECTION. IMMEDIATE ELECTION WILL RESULT IN ANTI-UNIONISTS SUCCESS. UNDER PRESENT CONDITION KINDLY WITHHOLD REPLY TO REWA PRIME MINISTER'S COMMUNICATION OTHERWISE YOU WILL PLAY IN OPPONENTS HANDS. SELF COMING TOMORROW TO ACQUAINT YOU IN DETAIL.

PRAKASHNARAIN
PRESIDENT,
RECOGNISED PRAJA MANDAL, REWA

498

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
2 April 1948

Deshmukh
Prime Minister
Rewa

HAVE MADE SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TELEPHONE TO YOU BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. PLEASE TELEPHONE TO ME THIS EVENING WITHOUT FAIL AT 8864.

SHANKAR

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Rewa
7 April 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

Kindly accept my most grateful thanks for your very kind message to me delivered through the Hon'ble Mr. Gadgil on the occasion of the inauguration of Vindhya Pradesh on 4 April 1948. How very much I regret that you could not come to Rewa on this occasion. I sincerely pray for your speedy recovery.

As desired in Menon's telegram, I am sending Deshmukh to apprise you of the whole situation regarding the formation of an interim ministry for Rewa State. My personal views . . . about the existing political parties in the State, are:

(i) Baghelkhand Congress Committee: this is the oldest political organisation functioning from 1930 but only recently divided into two camps owing to sharp differences among themselves, viz., president dissolving the working committee while the externed members passing a vote of no-confidence in the president. All of them have been called to Lucknow on 9 April by the Provincial Congress Committee to settle their dispute.

(ii) Affiliated Praja Mandal: this has come into existence only about a year and a half ago and is led by raw youths, very few in number, having no following.

(iii) Azad Praja Mandal: this was started only two years back and has a wavering leadership often changing hands.

(iv) Pawaidar Association: composed of zamindars, [it] cannot be solely entrusted to form an interim ministry.

Thus the only practical solution to form an interim ministry is to utilize the electoral college through which the member of the Constituent Assembly of India was elected. The composition of this electoral college is as follows: Panchas of Chauras all elected, 71; members of the municipalities elected on adult franchise, 44.

The District Congress Committee could have been asked to form an interim ministry, but on account of the differences mentioned above in the local Congress here, one workable method is as I have mentioned above. There is another method by which

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I can ascertain the real wish of the people. The electoral rolls on adult franchise basis throughout the State are ready and efforts can be made and elections held by 15 June and the majority party returned can choose the leader.

My whole point in writing this letter and emphasizing my viewpoint is that peace should prevail in this State and no disturbance or untoward [incidents] should happen. When there are so many parties, each trying to gain power, there cannot be any workable solution except that the people should elect their own leader, more so when I have parted with all power and entrusted it to the people. By no stretch of imagination can I think of power going to self-imposed leaders who have their selfish ends to meet and no concern for the welfare of the people.

With my cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Martand Singh Bahadur

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

500

New Delhi
14 April 1948

My dear Maharaja,

Many thanks for your letter of 7 April 1948.

Menon is writing to you separately about the agreed arrangements regarding your Cabinet. I understand from him that the matter was fully discussed with Deshmukh and other representatives of popular opinion in your State, and the conclusions reached represented the greatest measures of agreement that was possible. It is now for Your Highness to consider those conclusions as Raj Pramukh of Vindhya Pradesh.

I am at one with you in your desire to avoid any disturbances or any trouble in your State. You will appreciate that whatever arrangements you make would be of an interim nature and the final arrangements would have to be on the basis of election. We have, therefore, to proceed for this interim period on a more or less impressional basis and form a Cabinet which, according to the best of our light, would be representative of public opinion.

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharajadhiraja
Martand Singh Bahadur
Maharaja of Rewa
Rewa

501

New Delhi
23 April 1948

My dear Shankar,

I enclose for H.M.'s information a copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Maharaja of Rewa.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to H.M. (States)

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

In our discussions today regarding the formation of an interim ministry for Rewa I communicated to you Sardar's wish in regard to it. Sardar is of opinion that in view of the uncertain party position in Rewa it would be best in the interests of the State if you appointed Deshmukh as your Prime Minister. It will be open to him in consultation with party leaders to form an interim ministry. Your Highness agreed to this arrangement and I hope the party leaders will co-operate with Deshmukh. After the elections to the Constituent Assembly a new ministry could be formed.

I also mentioned to you that both Sardar and Deshmukh have only the interests of Your Highness and those of the State at heart. If Deshmukh finds any difficulty in forming the Ministry, Sardar is prepared to discuss the matter further with him.

Sardar hopes that Your Highness' confidence in Deshmukh will not be misplaced.

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With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

H.H. the Maharaja of Rewa
Camp New Delhi

502

The Palace
Rewa, CI
27 June 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much indeed for your kind letter dated 23 June 1948. I am very grateful to you for the assurance that the serious matters, about which I reported in my letter dated 19 June, will be set right and that Captain Avadesh Pratap Singh will be instructed to adopt the proper course in future. In deference to your wishes, therefore, I am calling upon Captain Avadesh Pratap Singh to submit a list of names to me for the formation of a Cabinet for the Vindhya Pradesh Union. I propose to make a final selection out of that list and forward the same to you for your information, as desired by you in your telegram dated 12 June.

In regard to the deputation of an adviser and a chief secretary, I believe that my formal approval will be sought by Mr. Menon before final steps are taken.

I was delighted to hear that you are much better now, and I trust that the salubrious climate of Dehra Dun will help you regain your normal health before long.

With kindest regards,

Most cordially yours,
Martand Singhji

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

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503

New Delhi
10 July 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 27 June 1948. I purposely did not reply to it because you were coming to Delhi for a personal discussion.

I am glad to know that the whole matter has now been settled and that Your Highness has accepted the advice of the Prime Minister in regard to the formation of the Ministry. As I explained to you, that is quite in accord with the constitutional position of the Raj Pramukh in these matters. The Raj Pramukh, as was pointed out to Your Highness at the meeting, can only advise and warn in the matter of formation of ministries and other non-reserved subjects. If the Prime Minister or the Ministry still persist in their course of action, the Raj Pramukh, like the king or the constitutional governor-general, cannot press them further.

As regards the adviser and the chief secretary, I hope Menon has explained to you the position.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja Martand Singhji
Maharaja of Rewa
Rewa (CI)

504

Alwar (Rajputana)
27 February 1948

Respected Sardarji,

The day of your visit here was the happiest day for Alwar State. We could never imagine that we shall ever be so fortunate as to have you in our midst so early. Many a problem that confronted us so far have been solved simply by your visit. Our people for the first time realised that our country has achieved independence.

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On behalf of the people of Alwar we extend our heartiest gratitude to you for your visit and solicit the same kindness in future.

Respectfully yours,
Bhola Nath Master
General Secretary,
Alwar State Praja Mandal

505

Alwar
17 May 1948

Dear Mr. Menon,

I am writing this letter to review the negotiations with the Kisan Sabha. It will be recalled that on 28 April when you were in Bharatpur, Chaudhri Deshraj had been assured that the request for the Kisan Sabha's representation in the Cabinet would be favourably considered. Later, I also reiterated this assurance and promised to find a solution of the Kisan Sabha's difficulties within a matter of weeks; at the same time I left the kisan leaders in no doubt that, settlement or no settlement, any threat to law and order and any attempt to embarrass my administration would be firmly dealt with.

2. Apparently, the efforts of Deshraj and Ratan Singh to restrain the hotheads in the party have not been wholly successful. A few days ago, some Jats obstructed, in the discharge of its duty, the police party sent to arrest Lahorey Singh. Also, some of the kisan leaders delivered violent speeches and exhorted the people to withhold payment of taxes till their demands were met. Since these activities constituted a threat to law and order and might have had a prejudicial effect on the collection of land revenue (a) those guilty of obstructing the police party were arrested under Section 225 (b) 147 IPC and (b) a few kisan leaders including the president of the Sabha, Chaudhri Ram Singh, were detained under Section 3 of the Public Safety Ordinance.

3. This action on the Administration's part naturally evoked a storm of protest from the kisan leaders. I therefore invited Ratan Singh to have discussions with him. I told him plainly that I was not prepared to put up with any challenge to constituted authority. At the same time, I repeated my readiness to do all that lay in my power to find a remedy for his grievances. Ratan Singh accused me of playing for time but said that he was

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ready to assist the Administration if the Kisan Sabha's request for representation in the Cabinet was conceded without further loss of time.

4. I pointed out to Ratan Singh that the Kisan Sabha's request had been opposed on the ground that his party represented a reactionary clique interested only in the advancement of the sectional interests of the Jats. I emphasised that in the future set-up of the Indian Union, communal parties were not likely to be able to masquerade as political parties. Ratan Singh stated he was prepared to give any guarantees I wanted to prove that his party (a) had no connection with the palace, and (b) represented the inner urge of the kisans and not the sectional interests of any particular community. He said his party was prepared to make it a rule that any one found indulging in communal propaganda or activities or in intrigues with the palace, would be debarred from the membership of the party.

5. I regard this as a very satisfactory development and consider that if a settlement can be reached on this basis by vacating an important ministership in favour of one of the Kisan Sabha leaders, we would have done a great deal in reconstructing the political life of this area on a sound democratic basis.

6. The Chief Minister, whom I have throughout kept informed of my discussions with Ratan Singh, and his colleagues are however adamant. They are of the view that whatever promises Ratan Singh and others may make, the Kisan Sabha cannot change its fundamental character of a purely Jat body. They apprehend that if representation is accorded to the Jats through the Kisan Sabha, other communities and reactionary groups will feel encouraged to make similar demands. They attach a great deal of importance to the principle of one-party government and are strongly of the view that even if one ministership is conceded to the Kisan Sabha or any other group, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to carry on the administration in this interim period smoothly.

7. The Chief Minister's fears are not altogether unjustified but, on weighing all the factors governing the present situation, I am inclined to offer one important ministership to the Kisan Sabha provided satisfactory guarantees are forthcoming to ensure that all propaganda of a communal nature and all intrigues with the palace and other reactionary groups will cease. By effecting a settlement on this basis, we may be able to isolate the Kisan Sabha leaders from the reactionary groups and thus weaken,

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if not altogether eliminate, the tendency in the Bharatpur area to lay emphasis on the Jat rights and privileges or on the regional requirements of the Bharatpur area.

8. If no settlement is reached, the Administration is likely to be put to a considerable strain. Jats predominate in the Bharatpur Administration and more especially in the police and the army. The Kisan Sabha, as at present constituted, also receives direct support and encouragement from the Bharatpur and Dholpur ruling houses. The Kisan leaders are also likely to exploit the discontentment prevailing among the refugees with the slow progress of our relief and rehabilitation programmes. Arrangements have of course been made to meet any situation that may arise if the present negotiations break down and I have little doubt that we will be able to control the situation. But, in the meanwhile, other important items of work will be left unattended, and the work of integration etc. will suffer.

9. The situation at present is such that we will have to take a definite decision as to the best method of handling the Jat problem. I do not think any advantage will be gained by allowing the problem to drag on. If it is considered politically expedient to put an end to further negotiations, we must take immediate and effective action against the Kisan Sabha leaders. This action will enable us to maintain law and order but may, in my view, increase the kisan leaders' popularity. On release from jail, these leaders will provide a rallying point around which the discontented elements and reactionary groups, particularly in the Bharatpur area, may gather and make a bid for victory in the forthcoming elections. This, I feel, is a risk which we should not run. If we inveigle one of the Kisan Sabha leaders into the Cabinet at this stage on the basis suggested by me, we may succeed in giving a favourable twist to political life in Matsya and in scattering the ranks of the reactionary groups.

10. I will keep you informed of the further progress of my discussions with the Kisan Sabha leaders and of the Kisan agitation in Bharatpur. It seems to me that a stage has been reached when HM's intervention in the matter alone can solve the problem.

Yours sincerely,
K. B. Lall
[Administrator]

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon
Secretary to the Government of India
Ministry of States
New Delhi

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Alwar
19 May 1948

Dear Mr. Menon,

KISAN SABHA AGITATION

In continuation of my semi-official letter dated 17 May 1948 on the above subject, I enclose for your information a copy each of Ratan Singh's demi-official letter to me dated 17/18 May 1948, and my reply thereto of 17/18 May 1948. You will observe that in his letter Ratan Singh has stated that his organisation has no intention of advancing the interests of the princes or the princely order and will debar from its membership any one found indulging in communal propaganda. It was after some effort that he was persuaded to make some of the categorical statements mentioned in his letter and if he can be held to them, there is bound to be a distinct improvement in the political atmosphere in the Matsya Union. On this basis I recommend the Kisan Sabha's request for political representation in the Matsya Union's Council may be considered favourably.

2. I have shown the enclosed correspondence to the Chief Minister, as also my letter to you. He is not now so adamant as some of his colleagues. My impression is that he is now veering round to the view that it will be more advantageous to have Ratan Singh in the Council than to resort to repression now and face a more determined and perhaps more numerous opposition at election time. He is however not clear about the repercussions of this move on the Bharatpur Praja Mandal and, in any case, does not feel himself strong enough to persuade the Bharatpur Praja Mandal to withdraw one of its representatives from the Council. He adheres to the view that a solution will have to be found and imposed by HM. If you think HM should be troubled in this matter, would you kindly find out and let me know the time and date on which he would be able to take up this question? In that event, would he also like to see the representatives of the Kisan Sabha personally so that he may be in a position to size up himself their potentialities for mischief or good?

3. My unbending attitude in regard to law and order has had a very healthy effect. No demonstrations have been organised by

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the Kisan Sabha in any part of the Bharatpur area during the last 36 hours and Sapru's information is that the so-called satyagraha has been called off, at least for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
K. B. Lall

Rao Bahadur V. P. Menon
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

17/18 May 1948

Dear Mr. Lall,

I am writing this letter to you in order to clear the misunderstandings that are being created between us and the Administration by some interested persons. We believe and we have reason to believe that the Kisan Sabha is the strongest party in Bharatpur State. As far as I know the impression which is being sought to be created about the Kisan Sabha is that we are (i) a tool in the hands of reactionary groups supported by the ruling family, and (ii) a purely Jat body with the avowed purposes of continuing Jat predomination in the State and promoting the local interest of Bharatpur only.

Let me at the outset make it clear that both of these impressions are totally wrong.

2. I am not sure whether you are aware that the membership of the Kisan Sabha is not confined to any particular community. The Sabha is open to one and all, without distinction of caste or creed and Gujars, Rajputs, Kalars, Brahmins, Banias, Ahirs, Chamars, Muslims, Meos, Sikhs and Meenas have all alike been and are its members. We have had non-Jat secretaries and presidents. Even now our secretary, Pandit Harish Chandra Sharma, is a Brahmin. In the Brijjaya Pratinidhi Samiti elected in Bharatpur in the year 1943, the Kisan Sabha annexed 21 out of 37 seats. Our contingent included 6 Meos, 3 Gujars and only 10 Jats.

3. As for our connection with the ruling family, we certainly respect them, but our object has been the same as that of the Praja Parishad, namely, the establishment of full self-government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur. Since the formation of the Matsya Union, however, we have welcomed the establishment of the Union of four States and have publicly declared our loyalty to the new State. We agree that the old States are finished never to return. We do not therefore propose to put the interests of Bharatpur before those of the Matsya Union. We intend to conduct ourselves as loyal citizens of the new State of Matsya. Similarly, we feel that the proposed introduction of responsible government

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is a fulfilment of one of our objectives. We do not therefore view with favour any position of particular privilege or authority for the ruling families, and have no intention of lending the weight of our organisation to the advancements of the interests of the princes or the princely order.

4. One of the main planks of our policy has been a desire to raise the standard of the kisans without any distinction of caste or creed. This is an object which is dear to the heart of every patriot. In order, however, to dispel misconceptions about our party's connections with the Jat organisations, I write with the authority of my working committee to assure you that in our party, as in others, any one found indulging in communal propaganda will not be tolerated and will be debarred from membership of the party (In this context, the word, "communal" has reference to the various religious and racial sects inhabiting the United State of Matsya.).

5. Sir, I have explained the position of our party. I hope you will be convinced that we are a political party with a programme of our own. We are not a reactionary group or a Jat party as our opponents allege. We will fight the forthcoming elections on the basis of the policy outlined in the previous paragraphs. We only request that these elections are held early. Till these elections are held the administration should be run by a representative of the Government. If, however, it is considered necessary to have a council of popular Ministers, our party should enjoy representation in it on the basis of its strength in the now defunct Brijjya Pratinidhi Samiti (Representative Assembly) of Bharatpur. The best way of nominating Bharatpur representation in the Matsya Council of Ministers would be to hold an election and to ask the elected members of the Pratinidhi Samiti to elect them. If this alternative is not acceptable we suggest that no one from Bharatpur should be associated with the interim administration until the result of the forthcoming election is known.

Yours sincerely,
Ratan Singh

507

TELEGRAM

Alwar
7 July 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MATTERS OF URGENT IMPORTANCE CONCERNING MATSYA UNION TO BE DISCUSSED. GRATEFUL IF TIME SPARED THIS WEEK OR EARLY NEXT WEEK. ONE OR TWO COLLEAGUES WILL ACCOMPANY. RESPECTS.

CHIEF MINISTER

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CHAPTER XV

PEPSU & HIMACHAL PRADESH

508

TELEGRAM

Amritsar
10 February 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

AT SPECIAL MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF KARSEWA SIRI DARBARSAHIB GOLDEN TEMPLE AMRITSAR IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED THAT THE SIKH SANGAT IS WHOLEHEARTEDLY BEHIND THE SIKH RULERS THEIR HIGHNESSES MAHARAJAS OF NABHA KAPURTHALA FARIDKOT AND NAWABSAHIB OF MALERKOTLA IN FORMING A UNION AND IT URGES UPON ENTIRE SADHSANGAT TO LEND STRONG SUPPORT FOR THIS UNION AND ITS SUCCESS.

PRESIDENT

509

New Delhi
5 March 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala together with a copy of the enclosure. I wonder whether you could spare Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh for this purpose. You know the relationship between him and the House of Kapurthala. It is probably for this reason, apart from any other circumstance, that the Maharaja has thought it fit to ask for his services. If you can spare him, I am sure he would enjoy the Maharaja's confidence much more than anybody else could.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Maniben Patel
for HM

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister

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ENCLOSURE

Palace
Kapurthala
3 March 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

In view of the rapid political developments that are taking place in the various States in these days I want to take the advice at the earliest possible opportunity of an experienced person who would help me as a Constitutional Adviser. He would be required to study the conditions in my State and to advise me as to what type of constitutional set-up would be most suitable for my State which would not only be in the best interests of my State but would also be in full consonance with the wishes of the majority of my people.

I would prefer to entrust this work to Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh, but I do not know if he can take up the work in view of his engagements with the Government of India. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know if he can be spared for some time to help me in taking necessary steps with regard to my State. In case he cannot be spared, kindly suggest some other suitable person who has the full confidence of the Government of India. I trust you will not mind this trouble.

A copy of the announcement which I have issued today is enclosed for your information.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date and with all best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jagatjit Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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EXTRACT

Kapurthala Akhbar
3 March 1948

EXTRAORDINARY GAZETTE

HIS HIGHNESS' ANNOUNCEMENT

1. Full responsibility will be given to my people in which the executive will be responsible to the duly elected Legislature in all matters. This will be done at the earliest possible occasion.
2. Land revenue and court fees will be reduced and brought absolutely to the same level as in force in the adjoining districts of the East Punjab. A committee consisting of prominent members of the public and officials will be appointed to study this matter and to submit proposals in this connection. The personnel of the committee will be announced in a few days.

Jagatjit Singh
Maharaja

510

Motibagh Palace
Patiala
29 February 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

For the last few days information had been reaching me that a large section of the local population at Patiala wanted to oppose the move of a few people here to hold a political conference, as it was suspected that this was being done with some ulterior motives. I was to come to Delhi this morning for certain meetings which had been previously fixed up, but a very serious situation developed here yesterday owing to the utterances at this Praja Mandal meeting. The so-called Praja Mandal organisation has hardly any following except just a small group of people. They managed to get a certain number of tenants to attend this meeting by giving them wine and money, and also by taking advantage of the tenants-landlords dispute, which we are already on the point of settling.

Three days ago there was a very strong anti-movement in regard to this matter, and it took all my time to pacify the

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people who wanted to make it impossible for the Praja Mandalists to carry out their intention. I was anxious that a clash should not occur, and was able to manage that this meeting of the Praja Mandal should take place as far as possible without counter-demonstrations and unfortunate incidents. I was approached by certain people with strong representations that this attitude was likely to be misunderstood not only by the organisers themselves but also by others both inside and outside the State, but I remained firm. At this meeting they took an inadvisable step and asked for the merger of Patiala into East Punjab, and during the course of the day slogans were uttered that Sikh Raj should be terminated. So far as views on political matters are concerned, it may be possible to extend tolerance to even a misguided attitude, but I daresay you will immediately recognise that any attempt to attack the Sikhs here is likely to release volcanic forces, which it may be impossible to control. If the question of merger is to be made use of as a cloak for any such attitude, it will not be difficult to see through it. I am afraid this move has created an uncomfortable and unhappy situation which has led me to stay on here today, and also I have injured my ankle very badly and cannot walk. If I am slightly better I may be able to come tomorrow and speak to you personally, but in the meantime I am sending this letter through my private secretary, who would further explain the situation to you personally.

All I would like to ask you is to realise that anything that I would do in this part of the country for unity and harmony is likely to be upset by self-seekers, who would create confusion and a most serious situation if they do not desist from making Patiala a play-ground for their ill-advised attitude. If they attempt to form a nucleus around which to expand their activities, with the eventual intention of effacing Patiala as an entity, they are very much mistaken. I am sure you realise that the people of Patiala have no internal dissension and they will not stand by any such move.

It is possible that the activities which are now on foot on behalf of the Praja Mandalists might get a good Press, as the Press does not know the real sentiments of the people and the situation here. Possibly, the other side of the version might not get there, as it normally should, as the public at large have no professional agitators to put their case. But I would ask you to assist in this matter and try to keep the people, who come from outside

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Patiala, from unnecessarily creating trouble here and spoil the atmosphere which we are now trying to keep calm.

Further details of the utterances are not yet with me, but I would possibly get them tomorrow. The other complications, of course, you can realise and I am, therefore, not mentioning them here. All that I would say is that it would be wise to leave Patiala to Patialvies and the people of Patiala alone. Representations are still constantly coming to me of the widespread tension that has been created by this ill-advised move, and I am trying to keep control of the situation, and sincerely hope that I will succeed. If I can come tomorrow I may be able to give you a lot more information, which will come to hand in the meantime, but I cannot stress too strongly that it would be most unwise to let things drift. I would, therefore, request that you may do whatever is possible to strengthen my hands here by prevailing upon the outside element to leave the State immediately, and keep out of it in future, so far as such activities are concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavindra Singh
[Maharaja of Patiala]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

511

Motibagh Palace
Patiala
6 March 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Information has just reached me that certain Praja Mandal workers went from Patiala to Delhi some time ago and contacted States Ministry officials in regard to their programme of work here. Mr. Desai,[1] who saw them, is reported to have told them that while he would advise them not to launch any frontal movement against Patiala, as the Government of India could not alienate Patiala just now, they could easily bank upon the Ministry to support any indirect move to embarrass Patiala. It is

[1] C. C. Desai: Additional Secretary, Ministry of States, 1947-48; Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, 1948-50

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also believed that he added that in case of any serious situation developing in the State, the Ministry will step in.

I am very unwilling to give credence to this information, as I am sure that this is not the policy of the Government of India, and no responsible official could say anything which is not in consonance with their policy. But I am passing it on to you owing to its gravity.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavindra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

512

New Delhi
16 March 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 6 March 1948 addressed to the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I have read over the letter to him. He is very sorry he is unable to reply to it himself under medical advice. He has, however, asked me to say that Mr. Desai left the States Ministry some time ago and it is, therefore, doubtful if the information which reached you is correct. In any case, he cannot commit the Ministry to any particular matter now that he is Secretary, Commerce Ministry, and not in the States Ministry.

2. He has also asked me to say how distressed he feels at the recent turn of events in Patiala. He has been receiving information about the increasing rift between Hindus and Sikhs which has apparently gone to the point of forcing the Hindus to leave the State. He finds this altogether a very unhappy development and would be glad if Your Highness will kindly ensure a speedy return of normal conditions in this regard.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Major H.H. Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavindra Singh Mahindar Bahadur
Maharaja of Patiala
Patiala

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New Delhi
6 April 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose a letter which I received from the Maharaja of Patiala regarding the suspension of publication of some newspapers which espoused the Sikh community's cause. I shall be grateful if you will kindly have the matter reconsidered in the light of the observations made by the Maharaja of Patiala.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh
[Defence Minister]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Motibagh Palace
Patiala
16 March 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

Certain papers were banned recently in Delhi by the Government of India and had to suspend publication for about three months, in which are included a few of those which espoused the Sikh community's cause. While I fully appreciate that communalism in a form which brings about discord should be discouraged, I am sure you will agree that the Sikhs, who have otherwise been hit very hard, would stand to suffer still more if their legitimate demands go by default and do not find a good Press. I feel, therefore, that this ban should be removed, and I trust that as a representative of the Sikh community in the Central Government, you will try to assist in this as much as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavindra Singh

Sardar Baldev Singh

609

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514

New Delhi
8 April 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 6 April 1948, regarding the three Sikh newspapers. The action was taken at the initiative and instance of the Central Press Advisory Committee and I suggest that the editors of these newspapers may approach that committee.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Minister
New Delhi

515

Ranbir Villa Palace
Chail
9 May 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Now that the Patiala and East Punjab States Union has come into being, I am anxious to tell you of the great personal regard I have always felt for you, and how much I have throughout appreciated your sentiments towards me personally. Whenever I have met you I have felt as if I was in the company of my closest friend, for whom I have the greatest admiration. You were good enough to refer in your message to what I was able to do in the larger interests of the country. This letter contains an expression of the innermost feelings of one who wants to convey them to you. I shall always be ready to take my due share in anything and everything concerning the welfare of our country. I have received utmost consideration from you so far, and have not the least doubt that you will continue to extend the same affection and regard in future. On my part, I should like to assure you, if any assurance was needed at all, that it shall be a great pleasure to me to consistently continue in the line I have adopted. Your

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guidance and sound advice is something which I value now more than ever.

I hope you will recover very quickly.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
Government of India

516

Mussoorie
12 May 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 9 May.

I cannot describe how overwhelmed I feel at the kind words that you have said about me and how deeply I appreciate the spirit of cordiality, co-operation and, may I add, brotherliness which permeates your letter. I fully reciprocate your sentiments. I am now feeling better and hope to be normal after a few weeks.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major His Highness Maharajadhiraja
Sir Yadavendra Singh
Mahindar Bahadur, GBE
Ranbir Villa Palace
Chail

517

Chail
5 August 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Since I returned to Chail from Patiala about a week ago, information has been reaching me that all sorts of rumours are afoot in Simla about the administrative affairs of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union. Names of certain officials of the East

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Punjab Government are being mentioned who have been earmarked to be appointed in the Union. I don't know how far this information is correct. But I do strongly feel and hope that before an official is proposed to be sent out to join our Union service, I should be consulted in the matter. If an official is dumped on us without previous agreement, I am afraid it is not likely to prove helpful to anyone.

I am also informed that some people at Delhi are said to be having talks with regard to the formation of an interim Government for the Patiala & East Punjab States Union, and they have gone to the length of even proposing certain names for the post of the Prime Minister of the Union. It looks difficult for me to believe all this, because this is a matter which concerns us solely and one with which those outside could appropriately have nothing to do. I am afraid, if the information I have received is correct, it will only tend to add to our difficulties and complicate matters still further.

I shall feel obliged if you kindly look into this matter and keep in view what I have mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,
Yadavendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

518

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT, PATIALA AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION CONGRESS, TO THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

Head Office : Patiala
Now at: 4A Hailey Road
New Delhi
17 August 1948

Dear Sir,

In continuation of our confidential letter dated 16 August 1948, we hereby report to you the causes that led to the complete breakdown of negotiations for the formation of an interim Ministry for the Union.

After the conclusion of talks last evening Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, States Ministry, conveyed the terms of the "gentleman's agreement" and the formula decided upon to Sodhi Jai Dev

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Singh, the Private Secretary to the Raj Pramukh [Maharaja of Patiala]. Sodhi Jai Dev Singh contacted the Raj Pramukh at Patiala on phone and told him all about the affair. Our information is that the Raj Pramukh made it plain that none but his own nominee was agreeable to him.

This morning, when representatives of the three parties met Mr. V. P. Menon at 10.30 a.m., he did not ask the party leaders to submit the names of their nominees to be included in the Ministry and told them that the agreement arrived at the previous day had fallen through as it was not acceptable to "other quarters."

In the afternoon the Raj Pramukh himself arrived in New Delhi. He was in no case prepared to have a Congressman of the Union as Prime Minister, therefore the talks of Ministry making could not proceed further, and the deadlock over the formation of the Interim Ministry continues as before.

In fairness to us it is very essential that the States Ministry make a public statement giving a background of the talks, otherwise the whole burden of breakdown will be shoved on to our shoulders. The States Ministry's silence at this juncture will greatly help the Raj Pramukh, the Akalis and the Lok Sabha to confuse our position in the public mind. As the Secretary to the States Ministry, we presume that Mr. V. P. Menon has no special interest in the Raj Pramukh and that he is in agreement with the general policy of the Government of India to establish democratic administration in the Union. A detailed statement giving in full the background of the tentative agreement, written and unwritten, arrived at between Mr. Menon and ourselves, we feel, is absolutely essential.

Reviewing the course of the latest phase of negotiations, we fail to understand the purpose behind all these talks if in the end the Raj Pramukh was to have the last word. However much we would wish not to drag the name of the Raj Pramukh into this controversy, we cannot help expressing the view with utmost reluctance that the Raj Pramukh is not at all serious about the proper constitution of a popular interim Ministry.

We have been dealing with the Maharaja of Patiala for the last so many years [and] we have absolutely no illusions about his liberalism and "democratic instincts." If setting up of a popular interim Ministry depends upon his will, it is better that he be named as the Maharaja of eight States rather than of Patiala alone.

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We would venture to press upon you once again the need to take immediate steps to democratise the administration in the Union, for we feel that the explosive nature of the local situation in Patiala and other States of the Union makes it urgently necessary. Our fear is that if matters were left hanging fire as they have been, the situation is apt to become a source of concern. As for the proposal to establish an interim Government of the two parties, Akalis and the Lok Sabha, we think it our duty to point out that it will lead to widespread dissatisfaction giving rise to demonstrations and clashes.

Yours faithfully,
Brish Bhan,
President, Patiala & E. P. States
Union Congress

519

TELEGRAM

Sangrur
4 August 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

NEWS OF MASTER TARASINGH'S PROPOSED VISIT TO JIND STATE ON 7TH AND 8TH CREATING UNDUE SENSATION AMONG PEOPLE. HIS PRESENT ACTIVITIES HIGHLY PREJUDICIAL TO HINDU-SIKH UNITY AND ORDER BY GOVT. SHIROMANI MALWA RIYASTE AKALI DAL DETERMINED TO OPPOSE MASTER TARASINGH'S PRESENT ANTINATIONAL AND ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AT ALL COSTS. PEACEFUL CONSULTATIONS NEED OF THE DAY. PRAY PREVENT HIS VISIT TO JIND STATE.

SANT INDARSINGH JANDSAL
PRESIDENT
SHIROMANI MALWA RIYASTE AKALI DAL
SANGRUR

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Hotel India
New Delhi
1 March 1948

Dear Sir,

As a member of the negotiating committee of the constitution-making body of Himachal Pradesh, I have been directed to submit herewith a memorandum embodying the demands of the States people towards the grouping of the Punjab Hill States for your kind consideration.

Yours faithfully,
Baghmal Sauhta

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
States Minister
Indian Dominion
New Delhi

MEMORANDUM

We the representatives of Simla Hill States people have come to know that the Ministry of States have invited the Rulers of the Simla Hill States to Delhi to confer with the Ministry on 2 March 1948 in connection with the impending constitutional changes in those States. We think and believe that it is not the Rulers alone but also the people of the States who are concerned with the changes and it is the people's interests chiefly that are going to be vitally affected. We should be failing in our duty if we do not place the views of the people before the Ministry and, therefore, we crave the indulgence of the Ministry of States for permitting us to present the public views before it.

We want a separate unit comprising all the Punjab Hill States, a map whereof we beg to enclose. The Simla Hill States have already constituted themselves into a single State—Himachal Pradesh—and have also formed a constitution-making body, to which the Rulers of the component States have transferred their sovereignty. A copy of the proceedings of that body has been forwarded to the States Ministry.

It is a patent fact that we, people of these hills, materially differ in their habits, customs, culture etc. etc. from those of the plains and adjoining provinces, East Punjab and United Provinces. Our language, too, differs from them

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to the unavoidable minimum. The life and the present circumstances of the hill people being as such necessitate the formation of the separate autonomous State.

As the enclosed map would indicate, all the States of the contemplated unit have territorial contiguity. It forms a State of a population of about 20 lakhs. With the present unexplored resources the total income of this unit would be about 175 lakhs. We have full confidence that with the scientific exploitation of the resources the income would increase considerably. The resources of wealth such as mineral wealth, hydro-electric power, forest, horticulture, medicinal herbs etc. etc., too numerous to be mentioned here, remained unexplored for the simple reason that the local people had no hand in the Government.

We may add that unitary states and even provinces of the size, population and income of the contemplated state have existed and still exist in India and, therefore, it would be just and equitable to allow this autonomous state also to come into existence.

India has attained her freedom and now in free India it is our right that we also be free to shape our destinies and manage our own affairs ourselves to our best interests. If we are denied the opportunity even now, our hopes will be shattered and the freedom of August 1947 would prove nothing but a sapless dream.

521

Barnes Court
Simla
27 March 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

You will remember that when I met you last week at Delhi we had a very brief talk about the formation of the new province of Himachal Pradesh. There is some feeling among my Ministers about the creation of this separate province, and I understand that my Premier feels that these States, which are now to be formed into a separate province to be administered direct by the Central Government, should have been merged with the East Punjab for purposes of administration. The formation of these States into a separate province is a political matter into which I do not feel competent to enter, but this morning a thought flittered across my mind that, instead of a separate Lieutenant-Governor for Himachal Pradesh, the Governor, East Punjab, might be appointed Lieutenant-Governor. I have not gone into the implications of

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this idea, but at first sight it seems to have several advantages. This arrangement should ensure close co-ordination between East Punjab and the new province in all matters of administration, particularly police and economic development. It would also mean savings in overhead administration, because under this arrangement it would not be necessary to raise the pay of the Governor, East Punjab, although owing to the need for more touring his travelling allowance allotment and perhaps his contract contingencies might have to be slightly increased. The only disadvantage I can see is that the Governor, East Punjab, would have additional work to do especially at a time when his hands are full with problems concerning the newly-created province of East Punjab. Personally I have no desire to take on additional responsibilities, but I am putting the idea to you for what it is worth. You may not think it worth-while pursuing, in which case this letter may be put into the waste paper basket. If, on the other hand, there is something in it, it can be pursued further with experts who may be able to point out some snags in the proposal. One such snag might be that the Governor, East Punjab, is a constitutional Governor, whereas the Lieutenant-Governor will be the agent of the Central Government. I myself do not think that there is much substance in this, though I admit that the position under which the same person is both Governor of a Governor's province and Lieutenant-Governor of a Centrally-administered province might be somewhat anomalous.

I was very glad to have the opportunity of seeing you for a few minutes in Delhi and particularly glad to find that you were rapidly improving. I do hope you will take all the rest which the doctors have enjoined on you. We in the East Punjab are doing as well as can be expected. You know all about the latest political developments, e.g., the merging of the Akali Sikh members with the Congress party, the reshuffle in the Cabinet involving possibly the addition of four Ministers to the East Punjab Cabinet. My Premier is in Delhi today consulting the High Command about it.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
C. M. Trivedi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
29 March 1948

My dear Chandulal,

Thank you for your letter of 27 March 1948.

The decision to have a separate Centrally-administered area of Himachal Pradesh was taken after considerable deliberation and, if I may say so, hesitation. We were not unmindful of the claims which East Punjab would put forward to the merger of this area with their province. But the most important considerations which weighed with us in coming to this decision were that the whole area required intensive efforts for development; it might need financial assistance of some magnitude, and the Rulers and the people themselves were in favour of a Central administration. I am convinced that the decision which we have reached is the right and proper one and in the interests of the people of this tract.

I feel that at the head of the administration in Himachal Pradesh there should be an officer of experience and administrative ability who would be able to give his whole time to the setting up of the organisation and the drawing up and completion of many schemes of development which would be necessary to raise the moral and material well-being of the people. I am afraid, therefore, it will not be possible to attach it to the Governorship of East Punjab.

I am feeling much better now, but I have to obey doctors' instructions to take complete rest.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Chandulal Trivedi, ICS
Governor of East Punjab
Barnes Court
Simla

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523

East Punjab Civil Secretariat
Simla-E
19 May 1948

Dear Sardarji,

Subject: Creation of Himachal Pradesh

I enclose herewith copy of a note regarding the position of Himachal Pradesh and incidentally also of the East Punjab States vis-a-vis the province of East Punjab. My colleagues and I were not consulted at the time of the creation of Himachal Pradesh nor are we aware of the intentions of the Dominion Government with regard to the future relationship between our province and the East Punjab States.

We in this province have given careful thought to the question of the future set-up between these three administrative units of the Indian Government and we feel that the conclusion is inescapable that in the long run we must have the three amalgamated into one homogeneous predominantly Punjabi-speaking unit. I feel, therefore, that even in the interim period while such an amalgamation is not effected we should so work and co-ordinate our policies that the inter-dependence and ultimate unity of these units is fostered and not lost sight of.

As will be seen from the enclosed note, the relations of the erstwhile province of Punjab with the States now composing Himachal Pradesh have always been close, and, in one manner or another, the latter States have always been helped by loan of officers, etc., by the Punjab Government. Moreover the working of their police and other law maintaining services have had to be of necessity very close in the interest of good administration in both. The case of the Forest Department is deserving of particular notice where the Punjab officers have been entrusted with their development and administration in toto; and not to continue this arrangement would leave our province with a fully trained Forest Service but very little forest area. Moreover our interests in the development and maintenance of these forests are so intimate because of their being catchment areas for our rivers that discontinuance of the present arrangement would seem to be unthinkable.

619

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It will be observed that the State of Bilaspur has not yet joined this unit. Bhakra and Nangal projects are both situated within the territory of this State and it is, therefore, very essential from our point of view that Bilaspur be merged into East Punjab and not with any other administrative unit with the consequent absence of control by us on our two most vital future projects.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp Mussoorie

524

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
9 November 1947

Nawab of Pataudi
Pataudi

MANY THANKS YOUR LETTER OF 3 NOVEMBER. WOULD BE GLAD SEE YOU HERE ON 16TH MORNING. IF YOU WILL TELEGRAPH YOUR PROGRAMME SHALL MAKE ARRANGEMENTS AS DESIRED BY YOU.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

525

TELEGRAM

Pataudi
10 November 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
States Department
New Delhi

THANKS TELEGRAM. WILL BE DELIGHTED MEET YOU SUNDAY 16 NOVEMBER. PLEASE MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR MILITARY CAR TO PICK ME UP RAILWAY STATION PATAUDI AT 8-30 AM ON SUNDAY AND A CAR TO MEET ME AT GURGAON FOR CONVEYANCE TO DELHI. AS I SHALL BE RETURNING SAME DAY MILITARY MAY BE REQUESTED FOR RETURN JOURNEY IN THE AFTERNOON IN THE SAME MANNER.

PATAUDI

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526

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
15 November 1947

Nawab of Pataudi
Pataudi

REGRET RAILMOTOR ARRANGEMENT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE. AM ARRANGING SEND TWO JEEPS TO YOU TO BRING YOU FROM PATAUDI TO GURGAON AT BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS GURGAON. CAR AND ESCORT WILL MEET YOU TO BRING YOU TO DELHI. JEEPS WILL REACH YOU ABOUT NINETHIRTY AM. WOULD BE GLAD IF YOU WOULD LUNCH WITH ME TOMORROW.

VALLABHBHAI

527

TELEGRAM

Pataudi
15 November 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

THANKS TELEGRAM. I SHALL BE DELIGHTED TO LUNCH WITH YOU TOMORROW. I HAVE INFORMED BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS GURGAON I SHALL GO AS FAR AS SOHNA IN MY JEEP AND THERE MY CAR WHICH REMAINS IN DELHI WILL MEET ME. THIS WILL SAVE THEM ALL THE TROUBLE OF ESCORTING ME FROM PATAUDI TO DELHI AND BACK.

PATAUDI

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528

TELEGRAM

Pataudi
15 December 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

REFERENCE OUR CONVERSATION PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHEN I COME AND SEE YOU.

PATAUDI

529

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
22 December 1947

His Highness Nawab of Pataudi
Pataudi

COME TWENTYFIFTH 9-30 AM.

VALLABHBHAI

530

Pataudi
7 February 1948

My dear Sardar,

You perhaps remember that during our last talk in Delhi I had told Menon in your presence that I personally would welcome a merger with the province if the people of my State wanted it. On our return from Bhopal a week ago I got busy and sent for the people and told them that though the Government had made no announcement in regard to its policy vis-a-vis the Punjab States, I, for my own guidance, would like to know whether the people wanted to merge with the province, join the confederation of the Punjab States (if formed), or remain as they are. I could not put things more frankly and honestly to them especially when I was under no compulsion to do so.

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I naturally expected an equally frank and honest approach to the question by everybody. I asked the people to let me know their views between 6 and 13 February in the form of a ballot paper. People voted yesterday and today for merger and I am no wiser. The number of votes cast so far (1,124) are nothing compared with what they should have been if people really understood the issue. But the serious part of the whole thing is that some young gentlemen who are pleased to call themselves 'Praja Mandal' and who are conducting the "elections" in favour of merger are using the highly dangerous and dirty arguments that the only way to get rid of the Mussalman Nawab and other Muslims in the State is to merge the State in Gurgaon district and whoever opposes merger is a Mussalman and an enemy of Hinduism! ! There is ample evidence in my possession to show that this has been said in practically every village.

What a reward for honesty and sincere work! !

Need I add that this has upset Mussalmans and many intelligent Hindus. It is obvious that no useful purpose will be served by my continuing the ballot except the grave risk of a communal clash. Besides, any opinion rendered on such issues can help no one.

I am stopping further the ballot for I have learnt all I wanted to know! I can now talk details of the business with Menon and Desai when I am in Delhi, but I must also have a talk with you, for you should know what is being done by the alleged followers of the great martyr, the father of us all.

How can anyone discharge his duties properly in such filth and nausea!

I shall run over to see you whenever it is convenient to you, provided you let me know.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Pataudi

531

New Delhi
8 February 1948

My dear Pataudi,

Thank you for your letter of 7 February.

I am sorry to hear that your good intentions in regard to plebiscite have been so much misunderstood. I shall be glad to see

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you whenever you happen to come to Delhi. I shall not be here on the 11th and 12th and on the 15th and 16th. Any other day would be quite convenient to me.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.H. the Nawab Sahib of Pataudi
Pataudi
Camp Pataudi House
New Delhi

532

TELEGRAM

Pataudi
9 February 1948

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MY LETTER SENT PER BEARER YESTERDAY. I AM MEETING MENON AFTER LUNCH SEVENTEENTH EVENING AND WOULD ALSO LIKE TO SEE YOU THE SAME DAY IF CONVENIENT TO YOU. PLEASE LET ME KNOW.

PATAUDI

533

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
10 February 1948

Nawab Sahib of Pataudi
Pataudi

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED NINTH ADDRESSED TO SARDAR PATEL. SEVENTEENTH AFTERNOON WOULD BE SUITABLE.

SHANKAR

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534

TELEGRAM

Rampur
17 August 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE KIND MESSAGE OF GOOD WISHES SENT BY YOU ON THE OCCASION OF INAUGURATION OF THE NEW RAMPUR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

RAZA ALI KHAN NAWAB RAMPUR

535

The Palace
Rampur State (UP)
22 December 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I should have very much liked to write a letter to you with my own hand, but unfortunately I am down with a relapse of Typhosis "O." I was suffering from this disease for about three weeks and while I was in a state of convalescence I had to go to Aligarh to welcome His Excellency the Governor-General who had to receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws of that University. On my return I have had a relapse and I am in the hands of doctors who have again put me to bed.

2. I am writing this to thank you most warmly for the very kind and generous reference you made to me and to my State in your masterful speech at the Congress session at Jaipur the other day. More than ever I am convinced that my personal interests as a ruler and the interests of the people of Rampur are perfectly safe in your hands, and that we can always look up to you to deal out full justice to us. You know, without my telling you, how anxious I have always been to fully co-operate with you in whatever you might do in the best interests of the Indian Union, and I am sure that your magnanimous references to me and to my State were the outcome of your large-heartedness and

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your desire to protect and maintain the cultural heritage of the Indian States.

3. I should have loved to pay a visit to Delhi to meet you and thank you personally for all your kindness to us, but unfortunately my indisposition renders me helpless.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
S. Raza Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
Government of India
New Delhi

536

The Palace
Rampur State (UP)
18 May 1949

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Mr. V. P. Menon arrived in Rampur on the 15th and we got to work immediately. I found Mr. Menon very considerate and helpful in finalizing all the proposals which, in their essentials, had already received your approval and blessing.

2. Mr. Menon had interviews with my Ministers, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Members of the Legislative Assembly, senior officers of the State, the Rampur Congress Committee and some leading citizens. He also held a Press interview and gave a clear explanation of the policy of the Ministry of States in regard to the States in general and Rampur in particular. The announcement and the lucid clarification made by Mr. Menon were well received by all sections of the people. Mr. Menon was also good enough to make some kind remarks about me and Zaidi for which we feel grateful.

3. Your decision to take over Rampur State as a Centrally-administered Area for the time being has given great satisfaction to the people of Rampur, and they realize that this is entirely due to the affection and regard you have always had for me and my people.

4. After the Centre takes over I shall, of course, have nothing to do with the administration; but permit me to say that much of the future set-up will depend on the officer selected to hold

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the post of Chief Commissioner. I have no doubt that as a friend, and as one who holds the interests of Rampur so close to his heart, you will kindly see that a picked officer is selected as Chief Commissioner. In this connection, may I suggest a few names?

(i) Chowdhury Harpal Singh who, for several years, served as Collector of Moradabad, a district nearest to Rampur. He was very popular, and built up a fine reputation for his administrative ability and freedom from communal bias. At present, he is Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow. His appointment here as Chief Commissioner will be very welcome.

(ii) If, due to any reasons, Chowdhury Harpal Singh cannot come to Rampur as Chief Commissioner, then I would like to suggest the name of Mr. R. T. Shivdasani, Commissioner, Bareilly and Kumaon Division. He is an experienced, level-headed and capable officer, and is sure to do well here.

(iii) Another suitable and highly spoken of officer is Shri Jaikeerat Singh, Collector and District Magistrate, Meerut.

5. Now, pray, permit me to offer you, on my own behalf and on behalf of my people, our grateful thanks for having extended to us the highest measure of consideration and kindness in so arranging the integration of Rampur with the Centre that everybody has a vivid realisation of the fact that the interests of Rampur were and will always be safe in the hands of the great Sardar, and that he will not allow anything to be done which is calculated either to ruffle the feelings of the Ruler and the people of Rampur or to cause them any disappointment. It is a matter of great pride to me that the integration has been achieved so smoothly and tactfully, and that in spite of the first phase of depression—which is but natural—everyone will begin to lead a peaceful and prosperous life under the aegis of the Government of India and look forward to a very bright future. True to their traditions of communal harmony and concord, the people of Rampur are determined to remain loyal to the Government of the Indian Union. I trust that you will continue to reserve a special niche in your warm heart for us.

6. In the end, please allow me to tell you how great my regard and admiration for you is. In my relations with the Government of India and with the Ministry of States, I have always tried to extend the fullest measure of co-operation. I have always

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endeavoured loyally to serve the Motherland, and to see that all of us in this State did nothing which was not worthy of true sons of India. But it is not for me to sing my own praises or to refer eulogistically to the people of Rampur. It is for you and for the Government of India to judge.

Please accept my most grateful thanks for all that you have done for me personally. I have a very grateful heart and I shall never forget all your kindness to me. May God spare you for many years to guide the destiny of India!

Yours sincerely,
S. Raza Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun

537

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE TAKING OVER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF RAMPUR STATE

On the taking over of the administration of Rampur State by the Centre, I should like to give to the people of Rampur our assurance that in seeking their future as part of a bigger entity they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. In the world today, isolated existence of small units is at best precarious. Apart from being a handicap in their growth to full stature, such isolation results in a serious breach of their independence for the obvious limitations on such independence virtually negative it. As part of a bigger unit they can seek the aid and the resources of that unit and can play their part in moulding its policy and administration. We are fully conscious of the responsibility which we are taking over and I can assure His Highness the Nawab and the people that we shall discharge that responsibility to the best of our ability and resources.

I should also like to say how grateful I am for the readiness with which His Highness has responded to every call that we have made for his co-operation in the wider national interests. Before the birth of our independence His Highness had given unmistakable proof of his determination not to entertain any extra-territorial loyalty. He brooked neither delay nor danger in forming his decision. He gave ample proof of his patriotism and his enlightened attitude on the future relationship of the State with the Union. His final decision to merge the State with the Centre

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was an act of self-sacrifice in keeping with the liberal and helpful attitude which he has throughout adopted in the interests of his people and the country. I can assure him that he will never regret the trust which he has reposed in us.

Vallabhbhai Patel

538

TELEGRAM

Amritsar
9 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

INCOMPETENT INCUMBENT IMPOSED ON NABHA NOT AUTHORISED. ONLY I AM AUTHORISED TO SPEAK AND DECIDE FOR NABHA STATE. NATIONALIST NABHA ALONE OF 600 ODD INDIAN STATES FOUGHT VALIANTLY A QUARTER CENTURY AGAINST MIGHTY FOREIGN DOMINATION SIDE BY SIDE WITH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND BELOVED INDIA TODAY OWES HER FREEDOM NOT LESS TO HER TINY PRECIOUS NABHA. UNDER YOUR MOST JUDICIOUS AND SAGACIOUS DISPENSATION THEREFORE THE STATE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF NABHA BE PRESERVED INTACT RETURNED TO ME AND HONOURED. OTHERS MAY SURELY UNITE IN HER IMPERISHABLE NAME AND BE PRESERVED. PEOPLE SHALL BE CONTENTED AND STATE PROGRESSIVE UNDER MY REGIME. NABHA MUST STAND FOR EVER INSPIRING MONUMENT OF TRUE INDIAN NATIONALISM! SHE HAS YET TO SERVE INDIA! !

GURUCHARAN KAUR
[MAHARANI REGENT AND GUARDIAN OF NABHA STATE]

539

TELEGRAM

Rishikesh
28 July 1948

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

NATHARAM AND SATYASINGH WORKERS PRAJAMANDAL MERGER PARTY TEHRI ARRESTED 21 JULY WHILE DEMANDING MERGER OF STATE IN UP AT DEVPRAYAG. SINCE THEN NATHARAM ON HUNGER STRIKE IN TEHRI JAIL FOR VERY DEMAND. CONDITION DETERIORATING. IF

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DELAYED ALL OTHER WORKERS OF THE MERGER PARTY LAUNCH SATYAGRAHA SHORTLY. EARLY ACTION AND REPLY SOLICITED. PRAJAMANDAL AUTONOMOUS PARTY AND STATE MINISTERS MAKE PROPAGANDA THAT [support] OF ALL THE LEADERS PARTICULARLY OF SARDAR PATEL AND PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA HAS BEEN SECURED IN FAVOUR OF AUTONOMOUS UNIT AGAINST MERGER. . . . ELECTION FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY QUITE NEAR. PLEASE VERIFY AND REPLY SOON.

PREMLAL VAIDYA
PRAJAMANDAL MERGER PARTY,
TEHRI

540

110 Churchgate Reclamation
Bombay
22 November 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I had asked one of my ministers, Thakur Kishen Singh, MCA, to fix up time with you for an interview. Unfortunately he has not been able to do so, but he has acquainted you with the primary object of my interview.

I was very anxious to make a personal request to you to honour the State by a visit and to inaugurate the State Constituent Assembly and to give it your blessings.

I do hope your medical advisers will let you come to Narendranagar. It is about 3,800 ft. high. You could save time if you fly up to Saharanpur and from there motor up. It is about 60 miles from there and the road is good.

I would have come personally to make this request but unfortunately due to my indisposition, I am going to Bombay for medical treatment and I shall have to stay there for about a month. I presume it will not be possible for you to visit Narendranagar in the second half of December due to the Congress session at Jaipur and the Constituent Assembly session. According to our calculations 15 January 1949 is a good and auspicious day and I hope, with this long notice, it would be possible for you to inaugurate the Assembly on that day. If I may say so, I would request you to make your stay there as long as possible, as I am sure a quiet rest would be a good change for you.

On my way back from Bombay next month I hope it will be possible for me to see you for a few minutes and be able to personally invite you to Narendranagar.

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With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Manabendra Shah
Maharaja
Tehri Garhwal State

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patelji
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

541

New Delhi
24 November 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 22 November 1948 inviting me to Tehri. I am very sorry that neither my health nor my present preoccupations will permit me to accept your very kind invitation. The height of Narendranagar is much above what has been allowed to me by my doctors.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt.-Col. His Highness
Maharaja Manabendra Shah
Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal
Tehri (Garhwal)

542

TELEGRAM

Datia
23 March 1948

Sardar Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

MAHARAJA AFTER RETURNING FROM NOWGONG DISREGARDED MENON'S ADVICE. BROKE SIGNED AGREEMENT. ESTABLISHED REACTIONARY MINISTRY. SUPPRESSION IN FULL SWING. PROPRAJAMANDAL SERVANTS DISCHARGED. KINDLY INTERVIEW IMMEDIATELY OR ALLOW AGITATION.

GENERAL SECRETARY,
PRAJAMANDAL, DATIA

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543

New Delhi
29 November 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Sri Prakasa has sent us a copy of a letter he has received from Nishtar about an abducted Muslim girl. During the last year or more many attempts had been made to recover this girl, whose whereabouts were more or less known. Lady Mountbatten tried her best. As this girl belongs to a well-known family, her abduction and non-return have created a very bad impression and come in the way of our recovering our girls from the other side. Whenever an attempt has been made, the girl has been transferred to some other house. It is believed that the Maharaja of Patiala is connected with this matter.

It would make a difference to our work if we could recover this girl and return her, provided of course she is agreeable to going. How this is to be done at this stage, I do not quite know. But it seems to me the only way is to approach the Maharaja of Patiala direct. Sending a letter is no good because we will get a denial. Somebody should go and see the Maharaja and put the case fairly and frankly before him and ask for his assistance. Mridula has been connected with this matter for some time and she could perhaps go to the Maharaja, or Amtus Salam can go, or some suitable official of the States Ministry might be sent. But the matter is such that only a very tactful and forceful person can deal with it.

I shall be grateful if you could suggest what should be done.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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544

New Delhi
30 November 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 29 November 1948 regarding an abducted Muslim girl.

2. Since the matter seems to involve the Maharaja of Patiala personally, it has to be delicately and cautiously handled. I do not think either Mridula or Amtus Salam can manage it. It is possible the Maharaja will come here. In that case I shall speak to him about it. Otherwise, I will ask [V. P.] Menon to take it up with the Maharaja personally.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

545

New Delhi
20 December 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with my letter of 30 November 1948 regarding an abducted Muslim girl in Patiala.

2. During the Maharaja's visit on the 18th, Menon mentioned this matter to him. The Maharaja has promised to look into it and write to us as soon as he gets back to Patiala. Menon has impressed on him the necessity of restoring the girl and the bad impression which continued failure to get her back is creating. H.H. has appreciated these points and promised to do all he could to help us.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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546

TELEGRAM

16 April 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CUTCH PARISHAD DELEGATION SAW MENON AND DISCUSSED CUTCH CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. HE ADVISED US TO SEE HIM AGAIN AT DELHI ON THIRTIETH. PEOPLE OF CUTCH MEMBERS OF DELEGATION AND MYSELF ARE EXTREMELY GRATEFUL TO YOU THAT IN SPITE OF YOUR INDIFFERENT HEALTH AND PRESSING PREOCCUPATIONS YOU HAVE BEEN TAKING KIND AND SYMPATHETIC INTEREST IN SOLVING OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT NEGLECTED AND UNDEVELOPED CUTCH WILL ENTER INTO A NEW ERA OF PROSPERITY UNDER YOUR PATERNAL CARE. RESPECTS.

GULABSHANKER

547

TELEGRAM

Bombay
5 May 1948

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Care Postmaster
Mussoorie

MENON GAVE ME YOUR HEARTENING MESSAGE. I DESIRE TO CALL AND THANK YOU PERSONALLY FOR THIS AND SEEK YOUR GUIDANCE IN COUPLE OF IMPORTANT MATTERS. KINDLY WIRE WHAT DAY I MAY SEE YOU AT MUSSOORIE AFTER NEXT SUNDAY.

MAHARAO KUTCH
BOMBAY

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548

TELEGRAM

Bombay
9 May 1948

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

KINDLY REPLY MY PREVIOUS TELEGRAM NOW TO BHUJ BECAUSE I AM LEAVING BOMBAY TOMORROW.

MAHARAO KUTCH

549

TELEGRAM

Mussoorie
13 May 1948

His Highness Maharao of Kutch
Bhuj

MANY THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. WOULD BE GLAD SEE YOU ON NINETEENTH AT FOUR PM.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

550

New Delhi
2 October 1948

My dear Buch,

Please see the attached copy of a letter which H.M. has received from His Highness the Maharao of Kutch. Some time ago, we had asked the External Affairs Ministry that no permission should be given to ruling Princes to visit foreign countries without reference to us. It is possible in this particular case, no passport has yet been presented for an endorsement, but we might check up on this point. Perhaps it might be a good thing to let H.H. know H.M.'s reaction about his going out of India

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at this moment. H.M. has commented: 'Why is he going to America when there is a famine in the State?' H.M. also would like all the outstanding points to be taken up before the Maharao leaves for the USA, if eventually it is settled that he should go.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

N. M. Buch, Esq., ICS
Joint Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Bhuj-Kutch
29 September 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You may be aware that my representatives, Messrs. G. N. Joshi and Ashar, met Mr. Buch of the States Ministry on the 30th ultimo and discussed certain points arising from the list of personal properties sent under Article (4) of the Agreement dated 4 May 1948. I was glad to hear from them that there was a large measure of agreement on both sides and the 'differences' were considerably narrowed down. I understand that the procedure for a further consideration of these points has also been settled. As I am proceeding on a tour of the USA on 20 October, it will naturally afford me much satisfaction if I can do so in the knowledge that these remaining points too have been amicably settled.

I shall arrive in Delhi about the 15th, and before leaving for the USA I will see you on 18 or 19 October at any time convenient to yourself.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Madansinghji

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CHAPTER XVI

KARNATAK-MYSORE MERGER

551

Hubli
Camp Bombay
13 May 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I am sending Shri Srinivas Rao to you specially for an important purpose. I would have gone there myself if I had not been held up by the Executive Committee of the INTUC here and the Karnatak University Committee on the 20th at Dharwar.

Re: Union of Karnatak and Mysore: You already know that apart from the formation of Union parts of Karnatak into a linguistic province, attempts are going on for a single province including Mysore State. The former problem will be tackled by the Constituent Assembly of India in due course. I am here attempting to inform you about the latter and seek your guidance.

The Working Committee of the Mysore State Congress has invited the representatives of the Karnatak PCC to meet them on 22 May at Bangalore to discuss this question. We shall all discuss the question threadbare, no doubt, but I am equally sure that we shall not come to any final conclusion. After all the discussions, I am thinking of proposing that representatives both of Union Karnatak and Mysore State should jointly seek your advice.

Generally the Mysore leaders are committed to unification with Karnatak. But the difficulties they point out are:

(a) Mysore State has more powers than any province, because it has surrendered only three subjects to the Centre.

(b) Mysore has a hereditary Maharaja whom most of them want to retain.

(c) Mysore is more advanced industrially, so they feel Union Karnatak would be a drag.

On our part, we are pointing out that the so-called powers are bound to be reduced to those of other provinces. The Maharaja

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will in any case be merely a constitutional head. The advance of Mysore is no doubt marked in some respects. But Union Karnatak is so rich that it can develop in a few years. Moreover, Union Karnatak has a coast line which is a distinct advantage and it is richer in food, forests and minerals.

I am really looking at this problem not only from the Karnatak point of view but also from an all-India point of view. If Mysore and Karnatak come under one administration, based on full responsible government and if it has no more powers than any other unit of the Indian Union and if the only difference is the Maharaja as constitutional head, I think it is a solution of all big States in India and would also pave the way for the formation of Maha-Gujarat and Maha-Kerala.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. Diwakar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

552

TELEGRAM

Camp Mussoorie
20 May 1948

R. R. Diwakar
Member,
Constituent Assembly
Hubli

YOUR LETTER OF 13 MAY. I AGREE THAT BEST COURSE WOULD BE FOR YOU NOT TO ENTER INTO ANY COMMITMENT BUT TO ARGUE OUT THE WHOLE MATTER AND LEAVE IT TO BE FINALISED WHEN BOTH SIDES COME AND SEE ME. YOU ARE QUITE RIGHT IN THINKING THAT MYSORE WILL ALSO HAVE TO TAKE THE SAME PLACE AS OTHER PROVINCES AND THAT MAHARAJA COULD ONLY BE CONSTITUTIONAL HEAD IN FUTURE. THERE ARE HOWEVER OTHER IMPLICATIONS AND IN ANY CASE ANALOGY WITH ANY OTHER AREA WOULD NOT BE QUITE HAPPY.

VALLABHBHAI

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553

3 August 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a letter which I have received from Gopalaswami with its enclosures.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
2 August 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You will be interested to read the enclosure. It is an extract from a private letter to me from a friend in Madras on whose information I greatly rely and for whose judgment also I have a high regard.

Yours sincerely,
N. Gopalaswami

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi
Encl.:

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER RECEIVED BY MR. N. GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR FROM A FRIEND IN MADRAS, DATED 31 JULY 1948

I had recently been to Bangalore. I expect this bit of news from there will interest you. There is considerable dissatisfaction among the local Congressmen that Ramaswami Mudaliar is still being continued. The objection to Ramaswami continuing as Dewan does not seem to be altogether frivolous. Ramaswami Mudaliar is responsible for the engagement of Pothan Joseph as Editor of the Deccan Herald, a daily paper just started in Mysore by the Abkari contractors having business both in Hyderabad and in Mysore. There is also a rumour that the paper has been financed by the Nizam. It is certainly an anti-government paper in Mysore, and Pothan Joseph, apart from his own previous association with the Dawn, has also confessed that his terms of appointment etc. were personally settled by Ramaswami Mudaliar. Another point

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of criticism about the Mysore Cabinet is the presence of a Muslim, Mr. Sheriff, in the Cabinet. Mr. Sheriff, like our Ismail, continues to be a member of the Muslim League, and in a recent by-election in Kolar in a communal constituency, he set up a candidate who won over the Congress candidate who forfeited his security. Congressmen in Mysore feel that there can be no safety in a Cabinet which contains these two men, and which is now concerned in discussing measures against Hyderabad. They are of the opinion that every detail of the Hyderabad measures is leaking out. I met Mr. K. C. Reddy and told him that there seems to be good force in the criticism and that he should advise the Maharaja to drop these two people out of the Cabinet. Mr. Reddy, though he seemed to agree with me, has not taken any decisive step.

In regard to Hyderabad, I understand that the military preparations are going on very well; but that co-ordination with the civilian authorities has not been well thought out. For instance, no arrangements have been made, in the event of conflict, for rendering medical relief to civilians of either community who may suffer in the conflict. It will be necessary to have ready a large medical personnel with a number of nurses and medical equipment, to be rushed into Hyderabad for humanitarian work. Again, while food supplies for the military have been arranged, [food] supplies for the civilian population in Hyderabad have to be arranged for at least two or three days in those areas where trouble is anticipated. More than anything else, civilian co-operation will be necessary to the police and the military to prevent looting, arson and other acts of violence. There is every danger, once the military has pulled the chestnuts, of States Congressmen and other fanatical Hindu elements indulging in an orgy of violence against the Muslims. I am told that there is a possibility of conflict arising in the first week of September. I wonder if you will consider the desirability of having an organisation set up which will work in co-operation between the military and the civilian population and ensure as peaceful a conquest of Hyderabad as possible. We certainly do not want anything like what happened in the Punjab to happen again in any other part of the country.

554

New Delhi
6 October 1948

My dear Chengalaraya Reddy,

Our Mr. Shankarlinge Gowda of the Mysore Assembly has sent a letter in which the following extract occurs:

> In a public meeting, where the Home Minister, Sri Tigali Mariappa, was present, Mysore Congress leader proclaimed

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on 19 September 1948, "I have examined the administration run by the Cabinet Ministers of the Government of India; but the Mysore Cabinet Ministers are governing the country more efficiently than the Cabinet Ministers of the Government of India." When I took strong objection and warned the Ministry for having made an unwarranted and undignified comparison deprecating the high position of Indian Cabinet Ministers, who are all reputed international figures and world known administrators, lawyers and politicians, your Ministry in a meeting of a large gathering of five thousand gullible public held on 26 September 1948 in the interior of the State where the Chief Minister was present, Mysore Congress leader supported his previous reckless allegations made against the noble Indian Cabinet Ministers by challenging that "I can boldly assert that the Indian Cabinet Ministers do not know pretty well the conditions of the villagers; but the people's Government established in Mysore is fully aware of the conditions and difficulties of the ryots; if some of you were to go to Delhi and remain there for about four or six months, you will understand yourselves how the Indian Cabinet Ministers are governing the country!"

Another gentleman has sent me a cutting which appears to bear out the allegation made.

I do not know if the allegation is true, but I should not be surprised if it is. I fully remember that when I came to Mysore some years ago for a settlement of the constitutional issue, you expressed the view that Mysore would lead the rest of India and that Mysore would get freedom first and then India. Taking a narrow parochial view and losing sight of the wider field, you seem to imagine that Mysore State is in the vanguard of progress, while the rest of India lags behind. I would not, therefore, be surprised if you thought that your Cabinet was better than ours. However, even if you thought so, it was most unwise to have expressed it publicly, because the general public is hardly likely to be misled into accepting such a narrow view or such self-praise. Blowing one's own trumpet is seldom a popular pastime.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. Chengalaraya Reddy
Chief Minister
Government of Mysore
Bangalore

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555

TELEGRAM

Mysore
10 October 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

JUST RECEIVED YOUR LETTER 6TH INSTANT. GREATLY DISTRESSED OVER CONTENTS. INFORMATION THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO YOU NOT ACCURATE. LETTER FOLLOWS. DEEP REGARDS.

CHENGALARAYA REDDY
CHIEF MINISTER
MYSORE

556

Camp Ooty
28 October 1948

Revered Sardarji,

I received your letter of the 6th instant on the 10th when I was camping at Mysore in connection with our Assembly session and immediately sent to you a telegram stating how deeply pained I was by the contents of your letter, how the information that had reached you was not quite accurate and that I would follow up the telegram by a letter. Immediately thereafter my health broke down and on medical advice I had to come here for complete rest and recuperation. This explains the delay in my writing to you.

I was perturbed and pained by your letter. Your letter contains extracts from the letter of one Shri Shankarlinge Gowda of the Mysore Assembly. May I be permitted to refresh your memory and point out that this Shri Shankarlinge Gowda is the same person who was writing to you letters frequently when the struggle for responsible government was being actively carried on in Mysore in recent years. He was always criticizing the stand taken by veteran all-India leaders, including yourself,

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regarding the sovereignty of the people as against that of Princes. You had also referred some of his letters to me and I had pointed out that you need not give any particular attention to the erratic outpourings of this gentleman and to ignore his letters. I had also spoken to you about him in person during one of my interviews with you at Delhi prior to our launching the final struggle for responsible government last year. Ever since the new set-up in Mysore, he is continuing to indulge in irresponsible criticisms and to clutch at any straw to bring the present Ministry into disrepute. His propaganda has been a dismal failure here and he is now attempting to poison the ears of all-India leaders. And that explains why he has suddenly become an admirer of all-India leaders while only a few months back he was indulging in an all-out criticism of them. You have only to please look up his previous correspondence and what I have stated will be amply confirmed.

The cutting embodying one Shri Malavalli Veerappa's statement has also been perused by me. This gentleman also is discontented because of the fact he had latterly to be kept at a distance by the Mysore Congress for some very good reasons.

You have been pleased to state in your letter that when you had come to Mysore in 1938 I expressed the view that Mysore would get freedom first and then India. I was taken by complete surprise when I read this. You may remember that I was away in Shimoga jail when you had come to Bangalore at that time and I had no occasion to meet you at all during that period when you brought about a settlement in Mysore. You may be thinking of some such statement made by some other friend of ours here in a moment of enthusiasm.

Sardarji, please take it from me that I consider it not only absolutely improper and imprudent but also egotistic to refer to all-India leaders of your and Panditji's stature in any light-hearted fashion. We, who had the opportunity to participate in the freedom movement in Mysore, have had the inestimable and unerring guidance of Bapuji, yourself, Panditji and other outstanding leaders of the Indian National Congress. And I have no doubt that such guidance is a continuing necessity.

I invite your kind attention to the address I delivered to the Mysore Representative Assembly on the 9th instant. You will see therein my reference to the Government of India, your gifted statesmanship and Panditji's leadership. I am sending you by separate post a copy of the same for your ready reference. I am

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sure a perusal of the address will remove any doubts or misgivings you may have been obliged to entertain by interested communications from certain persons from this end.

Last time when I was at Delhi I told sister Maniben about the probability of some such letters of the kind you have received coming to you and requested her that no conclusions should be drawn therefrom before obtaining authentic information from us. She was good enough to say that I need not worry about it and that no undue weight would be given to such communications without due verification. I am sure she would have told you about it.

Regarding the particular allegation that has been brought to your notice, that a Congress leader compared the Mysore Government to the Government of India and spoke disparagingly about the latter, the "Mysore Congress leader" referred to is Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, Member, Indian Constituent Assembly, and Leader of the Mysore Assembly Congress Party. I am afraid the remarks that he made have been torn from their context and a construction put thereon which it may not bear. It is no doubt true that Shri K. Hanumanthaiya has been strongly opposed to the reintroduction of food control, and some remarks of his in this connection have, I am afraid, given rise to unfortunate misunderstandings. I told Shri K. Hanumanthaiya immediately that any adverse criticism of the Indian Government or of the all-India leaders was absolutely unnecessary, uncalled for and should be avoided. He said that he had been misunderstood and that he would explain the position to you at Delhi when he will be there in connection with the Constituent Assembly sessions.

I am sure that with the currents and cross-currents of politics, particularly in the new set-ups that we have got in the States, all kinds of situations arise now and then which are unwholesome and detrimental to the country's interests. You may be sure that we will do our very best to counteract any such unwholesome developments.

Finally, let me lay bare my heart in a few sentences. India has been immensely fortunate in having leaders of unsurpassable stature. Bapuji is no more. Yourself and Panditji, who are the two pillars of the Indian Government, have shown to the world that the quality of leadership in India is not a whit less than anywhere else in the world but that if anything it is of a higher stature. History will record in letters of gold your marvellous handling of the Indian States problem. You have

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wrought a miracle and brought about a revolution in such an incredibly short time. Mysore is and will ever remain grateful for your constant and unerring guidance and leadership. And it will continue to rely on the same.

I shall give you further details of the set-up here and what is happening when I next have an opportunity of meeting you at Delhi.

I received a letter the other day from Shri Shankar, your Private Secretary, asking me to arrange to send 12 ounces of pure Nilgiri eucalyptus oil for your use. I have sent the same yesterday by registered post to your Bombay address and hope you will receive it there before you leave for Delhi.

I am sorry this letter has become rather too long.

I hope you are keeping good health.

With deepest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Chengalaraya Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp Bombay

557

The Savoy Hotel
London W.C. 2
4 November 1948

Dear Sardarji,

I am leaving today for India by air, direct for Bombay and Bangalore. I hope to be in New Delhi about the middle of November when I shall avail myself of the opportunity of conveying to you in person an account of what has happened here during the last three weeks. I have been on the Continent in connection with Mysore State business, and that is why my return to India has been a little delayed.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
India

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558

Carlton House
Bangalore
20 November 1948

My dear Sardarji,

When I was last in Delhi early in September I had occasion to inform you of the situation in the State arising out of the conduct of some of the judges of the High Court, and particularly of the Chief Justice. Since then during the last three months the situation has worsened primarily in regard to the conduct of the Chief Justice. I understand that Mr. K. C. Reddy, Chief Minister, informed you of some facts when he was at Nagpur. The Ministers have come to the conclusion that it is in the best interests of the State that the Chief Justice should retire. I have therefore submitted to His Highness the Maharaja that the Chief Justice may be retired immediately. His Highness has accepted the recommendation and is retiring him from Monday 22nd. The Chief Minister hopes to be in Delhi on the 29th when he will no doubt take the opportunity of placing the entire situation before you. I hope to be there in the first week of December and I trust I shall have an opportunity of an interview with you on this and other matters.

Please convey my regards to sister Maniben.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,
A. Ramaswami Mudaliar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

559

New Delhi
24 November 1948

My dear Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar,

Thank you for your letter of 20 November 1948.

I shall discuss the matter with Reddy and yourself when you come here.

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I should like to say how much I appreciated the skill and ability with which you represented India's stand on Hyderabad before the Security Council. When you come here, we shall discuss more about it.

With kindest regards from us both,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar
Dewan
Mysore State
Carlton House
Bangalore

560

Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, Hubli

Camp Madras
26 July 1948

Dear Sardarji,

I have spoken to you and written to you about the small State of Sandur in Bellary district, Madras Province. The States Department also had once made enquiries of me about that State. My last letter to you described how the ruler of Sandur has been exploiting the situation created by the introduction of prohibition in Bellary district. Now Mysore also has introduced prohibition in three districts. Chitaldrug, adjoining Bellary, is one of them. Sandur now supplies alcoholic drinks clandestinely to both the districts and [makes] more and more black-market money.

The repression against political agitation in favour of merger is on the increase. A number of complaints of ill-treatment of political workers, evictions from lands of pro-merger ryots, incitement of Harijans to assault these Praja Mandal workers on the promise of leasing out these lands to them etc., are being received by the KPCC office. The KPCC at its meeting on 13 June appointed a sub-committee to enquire into these allegations and this committee have submitted a report. A copy of their letter addressed to me in this behalf is enclosed for [your] kind perusal. The report is in Kannada and deals in detail with the matter. But this letter is a synopsis and I need not worry you with these details.

You were once pleased to remark that the Sandur Chief will merge immediately Karnataka province is formed. But other much larger States with 20 times its population and more (Sandur has

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only 15,000 population) have been asked to merge and with lesser agitation by the people. The continued existence of Sandur without merging is, and will continue to be, a source of dissatisfaction and disappointment to the people and to other princes also. In fact one or two of the Deccan States rulers are trying to set up people to speak against the merger of the Deccan States though without appreciable success. Barring the comparatively larger States of Cochin and Kolhapur it is the only tiny State that has not merged. The popular agitation and feeling against the ruler is growing and but for the letter of your department that they might wait for a while with patience, the struggle would have taken some definite shape. I also feel strongly in the matter and knowing the people's mind, I earnestly request you to take immediate steps to arrange for merger of this State. Sardarji, you know best how to do it.

Will you permit me to remind you of the necessity of changing the Assistant Chief Commissioner of Coorg?

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Nijalingappa

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

561

The Palace
Sandur
Camp Bombay
27 August 1948

Dear Sardarji,

I have today received your very kind letter of 23 August reciprocating my Independence Day greetings to you. I was so much touched with the sentiments expressed therein that I feel that I owe you a reply.

I entirely agree with you in what you say regarding co-operation and goodwill. I reiterate that I am prepared to co-operate and support our Government of which, as a true Indian, I am so proud. But permit me, revered Sardarji, to say that co-operation should be reciprocal and not one-sided, if it is to be willing co-operation.

As a true citizen, who is proud of India and her independence, I desire to co-operate willingly and without mental reservations

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to the greatest extent possible, in so far as I and my State are concerned, provided

(i) such co-operation does not create conditions whereby I have to forfeit my "right to work" in my own homeland and for its people, and thus forced to leave my ancestral home, and,

(ii) the damage done to my personal name and honour by the action of the Madras Government in 'taking over' this acceding and friendly State, without notice, by means of armed force and virtually making me a prisoner for hours, is duly rectified.

It is with this view to co-operate in a spirit of mutual give and take that I have requested Shriyut M. C. Setalvad, (who has been connected with my State for long, and who is more than a mere Constitutional Adviser to me), to discuss on my behalf with the Ministry of States tomorrow the future of my State, particularly with reference to the peculiar situation created by the precipitate action of the Madras Government in taking over the State on 29 July 1948 in the manner they did. I shall be most grateful if you too could kindly give a hearing to Shriyut M. C. Setalvad and help to arrive at a just solution of the situation. I trust you will not misunderstand my not coming there in person—a patient cannot treat himself.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade
Ruler of Sandur State

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

562

TELEGRAM

Trivandrum
2 September 1948

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Statesind
New Delhi

SECRETARY LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION INTIMATES VISIT OF COMMISSION TO TRAVANCORE. FOLLOWING FACTS HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN THIS CONNECTION. NEW POPULAR GOVERNMENT HAS

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BEGUN TO FUNCTION IN TRAVANCORE UNDER EXTRAORDINARILY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS. PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION HAS LEFT A LEGACY OF GENERAL DISCONTENT AND PARTY STRIFE. FOOD AND CLOTH POSITION IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT IN TRAVANCORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN INDIA. SIXTY PER CENT OF OUR NEEDS IN RICE HAS TO BE SECURED FROM OUTSIDE AT HEAVY LOSS AMOUNTING TO ABOUT TWO CRORE RUPEES ANNUALLY. GOVERNMENT ARE THEREFORE CONCENTRATING ON INTENSIVE FOOD PRODUCTION. GOVERNMENT HAVE HEAVY COMMITMENTS IN SEVERAL MAJOR INDUSTRIES REQUIRING CLOSE CARE AND ATTENTION. THE POSITION IS COMPLICATED BY FREQUENT LABOUR TROUBLES INCITED BY COMMUNISTS. COMMUNISTS WHO ARE WELL ORGANISED IN TRAVANCORE ARE PREPARING FOR VIOLENT OUTBURST. GOVERNMENT ARE TAKING EFFECTIVE STEPS TO MEET SITUATION AND CEASELESS VIGILANCE HAS TO BE MAINTAINED. TO ADD TO THE DIFFICULTIES THE TAMIL SECTION OF THE POPULATION HAS RAISED A BITTER CONFLICT OVER THE ISSUE OF CERTAIN AREAS OF THE STATE BEING ADDED TO TAMILNAD IN CASE A KERALA PROVINCE INCLUDING TRAVANCORE IS SOUGHT TO BE SET UP. GOVERNMENT ARE ENGAGED IN NATION BUILDING ACTIVITIES SUCH AS COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION PROHIBITION RURAL DEVELOPMENT. GOVERNMENT NEED AT THIS JUNCTURE UTMOST POSSIBLE CO-OPERATION AND JOINT ENDEAVOUR FROM ALL SECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE. THE GOVERNMENT FACING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES CANNOT CONTEMPLATE PLUNGING THE STATE INTO CONFUSION ARISING FROM ANY ENQUIRY INTO CONTROVERSIAL MATTER THAT MIGHT AFFECT THE INTEGRITY OF THE PRESENT BOUNDARIES OF THE STATE. THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES INVOLVED HAVE ALSO TO BE CONSIDERED. TRAVANCORE HAS ACCEDED TO THE NEW DOMINION BY THE INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION ON THREE SUBJECTS. THE RIGHT OF TRAVANCORE TO EXIST AS AN INTEGRAL UNIT IS NOT OPEN TO QUESTION. THEREFORE THE PROPRIETY OF ANY ENQUIRY BY THE COMMISSION RELATING TO THE POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF TRAVANCORE OR PARTS OF TRAVANCORE IN AN EXISTING OR NEWLY CREATED PROVINCE HAS TO BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED. THE PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA DATED 16 JUNE 1948 RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION SAYS THAT THE COMMISSION IS TO RECOMMEND THE FORMATION OF PROVINCES TO BE CREATED UNDER SECTION 290 OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935 AS ADOPTED. SECTION 290 DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE ACTION WHICH MAY INVOLVE THE ALTERATION OF THE BOUNDARIES OF A STATE LIKE TRAVANCORE. THE QUESTIONNAIRE ISSUED BY THE COMMISSION DOES NOT CALL FOR ANY ENQUIRY BEING MADE IN THE STATE AS NOW PLANNED BY THE COMMISSION. TRAVANCORE

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REPRESENTATIVE BODY HAS BEEN ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF ADULT FRANCHISE TO FRAME A CONSTITUTION FOR TRAVANCORE. THAT BODY IS FUNCTIONING AS LEGISLATURE ALSO. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CANNOT THEREFORE JEOPARDISE THE INTEGRAL EXISTENCE OF THE STATE. IT HAS ALSO TO BE MENTIONED THAT THIS GOVERNMENT WAS NOT CONSULTED IN REGARD TO THE ITINERARY OF THE COMMISSION AS NOW INTIMATED. CONSIDERING ALL THE RELEVANT FACTS GOVERNMENT WISH TO BRING TO YOUR KIND NOTICE THEIR CONSIDERED VIEW THAT THE CONTEMPLATED ENQUIRY IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES [is] LIKELY TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES WHICH GOVERNMENT ARE ANXIOUS TO AVOID IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE STATE.

PRIME MINISTER

563

The Huzur Secretariat
Ernakulam
29 September 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I have the honour to inform you that as leader of the Cochin State Praja Mandal Party which won 43 out of the 53 elected seats in the Cochin Legislative Assembly in the recent general elections, His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to appoint me as Prime Minister. His Highness the Maharaja has also accepted my proposal to appoint Panampilly Govinda Menon, Shri K. Ayyappan and Shri C. A. Joseph as Ministers. My three colleagues and I have assumed charge of our offices.

2. I am very glad to inform you that His Highness the Maharaja has now been pleased to transfer Police, Military and Jails to the control of the popular Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
E. Ikkanda Warrier

Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

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564

10 October 1948

My dear Mr. Warrier,

Both Sardar and myself have received your letters intimating to us that you have been appointed as the Prime Minister of Cochin State by His Highness the Maharaja.

2. It is very gratifying to us that a person of your eminence and integrity has been chosen for this office. We are particularly glad to note that the subjects which have hitherto been reserved to His Highness have now been transferred to popular control.

3. There has recently been a certain amount of criticism about the management of affairs by the Cochin Government which has brought the popular Ministry there into some amount of discredit. In fact an officer of the Central Government is at the moment investigating into a case of embezzlement of State funds. The Government of India earnestly trust that under your stewardship corruption and nepotism would be completely wiped out from the State and Cochin State would continue to maintain the progressive role in standards of administration which it has always enjoyed.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

Shri E. Ikkanda Warrier, B.A., B.L.
Prime Minister of Cochin
Ernakulam (Cochin)

565

Kathmandu
4 August 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

I write to inform you that in response to the request from the Government of India transmitted to me by His Excellency the Indian Ambassador for the loan of some of our regular troops to help in the maintenance of law and order in India we have made arrangements for the despatch as speedily as possible of ten

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battalions of our troops to India. The movement of the troops has already begun, and a Recce party including the Commanding Officers and Quarter Masters of the selected ten battalions have already reached their stations. I have learnt with much pleasure that they were very hospitably received at the frontier by the G.O.C.-in-Chief, Eastern Command, and that all arrangements made in connection with their journey and stay in India were excellent. An advance party headed by Major-General Surendra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, representative at Eastern Command Headquarters of the G.O.C.-in-Chief, Nepalese Contingent, also left on 30 July, and the main body of the troops is being sent in batches starting this week. The whole movement is expected to be completed by the second week of September.

My son, Major-General Sarada Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, has been appointed G.O.C.-in-Chief of the Nepalese Contingent in India, and he will be attached to Army Headquarters, New Delhi. He is leaving Kathmandu today to take up his new assignment, and I take the opportunity to send you this letter by his hands. I am confident that General Sarada will receive your cordial help and assistance in all matters in which he approaches you in the course of his duties.

I need not describe to you the deep gratification felt by my Government and myself in being able to offer our help to India once again in her hour of need. I should much like to take this opportunity to assure you that Nepal has ever been ready and willing to render any help desired by India to the best of her capacity and resources as has been shown on numerous occasions in the past and she will be guided by the same feelings of cordiality, friendship and helpfulness in her relations with her great neighbour in the future.

There is another matter on which I had much desired to write to you for some time past. As you are doubtless aware, Nepal has entered into marriage relations with many Rulers and Chiefs of Indian States, the last notable instance being the marriage of H.R.H. the Princess Royal with the Rajkumar of Sikar (Jaipur) some months ago. My sister, daughters and nieces are, many of them, also married in India. In the new process of the unification and consolidation of the territories of the Indian Union, consisting of diverse States and principalities which had so far been kept aloof from the rest of India, under your brilliant and successful guidance, many of these States have been integrated with the provinces of India or have been merged into Unions. From Press

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reports I have learnt that provisions have been made for the future of the Rulers affected, and privy purses and allowances are being fixed for them out of the revenues of their states. I am now approaching you on behalf of our Princess and of my sister, daughters and nieces in the conviction that with a person of your sagacity, wisdom and statesmanship in charge of the Ministry of States, justice will be done to the due claims of all these ladies, and proper consideration will be shown to their status, condition and needs. Your published speeches in connection with the affairs of the Indian States, and with the part played by the various Rulers in willingly helping you and co-operating with you in your great task of creating the New India to which you have on many occasions referred in terms of high praise confirms me in my belief that no one belonging to that order will ever come to you in vain for justice and fair play.

I append herewith a list of the persons above named, in whom we are so much interested, and I have written to them all also to suggest that whenever they feel they are being denied the justice and consideration which they feel is their due, they should place their case before you for consideration.

I greatly trust that you will appreciate the anxiety in the case of so large a number of my own relatives which has led me to address this communication to you, and I very much hope you will be able to spare some moments in the midst of your other important work to give personal attention to any such case as is placed before you.

With all good wishes and kindest regards,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
Mohan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of States
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

LIST WITH THE NEPAL MAHARAJA'S LETTER DATED 4 AUGUST 1948

A. H.R.H. Princess Royal married to Rajkumar Hardyal Singh of Sikar (Jaipur).

B. My sister married to Maharaja of Balrampur (UP).

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C. My daughters:
   (1) My eldest daughter married to Raja Bahadur of Bansi, UP.
   (2) My second daughter married to Rao of Patan (Jaipur).
   (3) My third daughter married to Maharawal of Samode (Jaipur).
   (4) My fourth daughter married to His late Highness Maharaja Arimardan Singh of Charkhari (CI).
   (5) My fifth daughter married to Rana of Khajurgaon (UP).
   (6) My sixth daughter married to Yuvraj Girish Chandra Deo of Rairakhol (Orissa).

D. My brother, H.E. the Minister and Commander-in-Chief's daughters:
   (1) Eldest daughter married to the late Raja Bahadur of Tiloi (UP).
   (2) Second daughter married to the Raja of Nayagarh (Orissa).

E. Daughters of my cousin, Commanding General Bahadur Shum Shere:
   (1) Eldest daughter married to Kunwar of Berua (UP).
   (2) Second daughter married to Kunwar Surat Bahadur Singh of Lucknow (UP).

F. Daughters of the Northern Commanding General, at present, Nepalese Ambassador to India:
   (1) Eldest daughter married to Raja Bahadur of Ramgarh (Bihar).
   (2) Second daughter married to Raja Bahadur of Panna (CI).

G. Only daughter of General Shanker Shum Shere married to His Highness the Maharaja of Ratlam, Central India.

H. My nephew, Major-General Mrigendra Shum Shere's daughter married to the second Maharaj Kunwar of Gondal (Kathiawar).

I. Daughter of my uncle His Highness the late Maharaja Bhim Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, married to the Kunwar of Sherkote, UP.

J. Daughter of my uncle His Highness Maharaja Joodha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, married to the son of Rao Raja Narpat Sing of Jodhpur.

566

New Delhi
21 August 1948

My dear General,

I am sending herewith a cover addressed to your illustrious father His Highness General Mohan Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana. I should be grateful if you would kindly have it sent to him as soon as possible.

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I am enclosing a copy for your information.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major-General Sarada Shum Shere
Jung Bahadur Rana
G.O.C.-in-Chief, Nepalese Contingent
C/o Nepalese Embassy
Barakhamba Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

New Delhi
21 August 1948

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 4 August 1948 which I received through the courtesy of your son, Major-General Sarada. I am so glad to meet him and I am looking forward to bettering my acquaintance with him. Let me congratulate you on having such an accomplished son whose presence in India in command of his troops will, I am sure, be a great source of help and strength to us.

I should also like to say how grateful we all feel for the help and assistance which Your Highness has so readily extended to us by the loan of ten battalions of your smart and efficient forces to India. The bonds of friendship, which history, geographical contiguity and religion have forged between India and Nepal, will be further strengthened by this generous gesture in India's hour of need. I can assure Your Highness that we, on our side, will never be found wanting in reciprocity.

Regarding your relations who are married in India, I am entirely at Your Highness' or their disposal whenever my assistance is required. Your Highness need have no anxiety on this point and you can ask your relatives to approach me whenever they feel they are in any difficulty. Some of them are married to persons who do not belong to the Princely Order, but in their case also I shall try to assist them as far as possible.

I am availing myself of the courtesy of Your Highness' son for the despatch of this letter.

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With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. General H.H. Ojaswi Rajanya
Maharaja Mohan Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana
Hon. Col. Gurkha Rifles
Indian Army
Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal
Singha Darbar
Kathmandu
Nepal

567

Kathmandu
2 September 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

I write to send you my sincere thanks for your letter dated 21 August 1948, which General Sarada sent to me. I am happy to read the praise you have bestowed upon Sarada, and your belief that his presence in India in command of his troops would be a source of help to you. I hope that his association with you and the other eminent leaders of India who have steered the ship of State in the troubled period immediately following independence with such unrivalled statesmanship will make him better equipped to take up his own responsibilities in later life.

The words which you have used to give expression to your views on the help we have been able to render to India have also gladdened my heart, and I am grateful to you for your assurance that India will never be found wanting in reciprocity. For, as I need not explain, many difficult and complicated problems are always facing Nepal, and the friendliness, help and co-operation that we can obtain from your great country will enable us to meet them better than we otherwise could. Whenever occasion arises I shall write to you for any help that we may need.

I am grateful to you also for the assurance of interest and sympathy to any of my relations who belong to the Princely Order of India, whenever they are in any difficulty, and that you will also try to assist others, though not belonging to that order, as far as possible.

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With best wishes and kindest regards,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
Mohan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

568

New Delhi
25 August 1948

My dear Hiralal Shastri,

Rao Saheb Udaya Singh of Patan (Jaipur), who is the son-in-law of His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal, saw me this morning along with the Nepalese Ambassador. It appears that there is some dispute with Jaipur State. I should like to know what it is and would be glad if you would kindly not create any embarrassment on that account, because, as you know, our relations with Nepal have been and are very friendly and recently we asked them for the loan of 10 Gurkha battalions which they have very readily and very promptly granted. We should not, therefore, like to do anything which might create any unpleasant situation between us and those in authority in Nepal. I do hope you will bear this in mind in dealing with any matter that may be outstanding between Jaipur State and Patan.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Hiralal Shastri
Prime Minister of Jaipur
Jaipur

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Indian Embassy
Nepal
5 September 1948

Respected Sardarji,

I have already written to the External Affairs Ministry but I am writing this to you as advance information. His Highness the Maharaja has again complained regarding the Nepali broadcasts from Calcutta. He has promised to give me a detailed note regarding the objectionable parts in these broadcasts which take place from Calcutta every Friday. As soon as I get it, I will send you a copy of that. But the fact that they have not toned down requires immediate action on your part. I did suggest some time back to the External Affairs Ministry that it would be better if these broadcasts in Nepali are made from Delhi and not from Calcutta because in that case the Ministry could keep a closer watch and control over these broadcasts. The second point which has been orally mentioned by His Highness to me is with regard to one Tankeshwar Upadhaya and his nephew Babu Lal, who own a bookshop in Paltan Bazar, Kunreghat, Gorakhpur. This Tankeshwar Upadhaya is a Nepali as he has got property in West Nepal. He is carrying on, according to the information received by the Nepal Government, subversive propaganda against the Nepal Government. He is inciting Gurkhas who go there for recruitment or pass that place on leave, to rebel against the Government. I do not know what action can be taken in this respect. But I leave it to you to do the needful in this matter.

I hope this finds you regaining your normal health very soon.

Before I finish my letter, I would like to mention that I did ask Rajaji and Panditji to preside at the forthcoming golden jubilee celebrations of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, of which I am President. I have today received a letter from Panditji that in view of the present political and economic situation, it will not be possible for either Rajaji or himself to grace the occasion. In case you could come and preside, then we could hold the celebrations otherwise I would like to put it off till a time that it can be done. But I will have to consult the managing committee

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before reaching a final decision. This celebration is due for 14 and 15 November. On hearing from you on this point, I will take the necessary step. As advised by you, I intend visiting Delhi some time in October, most probably towards the end, and I hope I will have the pleasure of meeting you there.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Surjit Singh Majithia

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

570

New Delhi
11 September 1948

My dear Surjit Singh,

Thank you for your letter of 5 September 1948.

I am looking into the two matters on which His Highness the Maharaja has complained to you.

I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to preside at the golden jubilee celebrations on account of the Constituent Assembly session and also for reasons of health. The doctors have advised me not to undertake any tours for the present.

I am looking forward to meeting you in October.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia
Ambassador for India in Nepal
Kathmandu

571

New Delhi
25 October 1948

My dear Surjit Singh,

I am writing with reference to your letter in which you said that His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal had mentioned to you about two men, Tankeshwar Upadhaya and Babu Lal. We have made enquiries. It appears that Tankeshwar is an educated

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man of independent views and encourages Gurkhas to educate their children and make social reforms amongst themselves. So far there is no information regarding his inciting the Gurkhas coming for recruitment or passing through Kunreghat, against the Nepal Government. The Officer Commanding Gurkhas Recruiting Depot has also no complaint of this nature to make against him. A watch is, however, being kept over his activities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia
Kathmandu

572

EXTRACTS

Camp Cosy Nook
Bank Road
Patna
17 October 1948

Dear Revered Sardarji,

From reports that I have, the Communists are contemplating to extend their activities into Nepal, which had so long been at least free from this menace. During my last visit to Darjeeling I had an occasion to meet a leader of the Communist Party of India, Mr. Ratanlal (MLA, Bengal), who threw a hint to me that he was entering Nepal for political work there. Then, local members of the Communist Party are negotiating with our local units on the border to permit them to use our organisation. We have, on our part, issued strict instructions to our local units not to hobnob with them.

In Burma there is a Nepali population of about 60,000, which is bound to be affected by the present civil war. The All-Burma Nepalese Association has, however, called upon the Nepalese of that place to be loyal to the Government.

The Communist Party in Darjeeling has a measure of strength too; and from there to Nepal, it is just one short hop.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. P. Koirala
Working President,
Nepal National Congress

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CHAPTER XVII

INDIA & THE WORLD

573

Claridge's
London W. 1
11 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned last night from Broadlands where I had a very restful week-end, riding and walking in the lovely countryside. Incidentally, I saw numerous prefabricated houses being put up in all stages. I also saw various types of tractors at work. I was greatly impressed by a small tractor called the Ferguson Tractor. This is small, cheap and consumes very little petrol. It does practically all the operations of farming. In fact, it practically replaces the farmer.

This Ferguson tractor seemed to me far more suited to Indian conditions than the big tractors I have thus far seen and at the same time, it is far cheaper than the others. I propose to see Ferguson, the man responsible for this tractor. I shall write more fully about this to our Agricultural Department. Meanwhile, I intend ordering some such tractors as samples to be sent to India.

Mountbatten spoke to me about two matters about which I shall probably write to you separately, or I may write to the Ministry concerned. One is about Jaipur House being acquired by the United Kingdom Government for the British High Commissioner in New Delhi. Mountbatten is frightfully anxious about this and he has been carrying on negotiation with Stafford Cripps, Archibald Nye, the Maharaja of Jaipur and others. Apparently, the State Department of the Government of India or maybe the States Ministry, have come in the way although the Maharaja of Jaipur had ultimately agreed, even to the price. I told Mountbatten that we were rather averse to these princes' houses being sold to foreign ambassadors, etc. Also, that the land was given at special rates to the princes and we see no reason why they should profit entirely by the appreciation. To this, he replied that the British High Commissioner's case should

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be considered as a special one and he had great difficulty in getting Nye to accept the job. He wanted more space not only for his work but for British guests who in future need not necessarily go to Government House. As for the second point, it appears that Jaipur has rather a peculiar position in regard to the land in Delhi. In fact, the land belonged to Jaipur before New Delhi came into existence and it was he who gave it to the Government of India, keeping some for himself. So that he has a free hold on that land and certain special claims which other princes have not got. In view of this, I think we might treat this case as a special one and allow the United Kingdom Government to purchase it for its own use. This would please the United Kingdom Government and Mountbatten specially. The price I believe has been fixed at 39 lakhs. Stafford Cripps has agreed to give this and has further made it clear that this sum will not come out of our portion of the sterling balances.

The second matter which is exercising Mountbatten is some payment to be made to his own surgeon in the Viceroy's House, who used to be in the IMS but left on the winding up of that service. He is a Canadian and has gone back to Canada. There is no question of the sum to be paid to him; that is settled. The only question is whether we can pay him in Canadian dollars which he wants. Normally, of course, we will pay him sterling or in rupees. In the present case, the sum involved is relatively small and Mountbatten's wishes might be given effect to and payment made in dollars.

At Broadlands, I had a long talk with Stafford Cripps who came over for the day. We discussed every subject including Kashmir, Hyderabad and India's relations to the Commonwealth. On the whole, his approach was a friendly and co-operative one. He has grown with the years. I shall see him again and I hope to discuss certain economic planning matters with him and his advisers.

Previously, I had met Attlee and had a general discussion with him.

This morning the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference opened. Nothing important was done today. I met for the first time some of the Premiers who were friendly. Liaquat Ali Khan was there as also Zafrullah [Khan]. Liaquat Ali came to me in a very friendly and effusive way.

In the course of the next few days I shall probably meet some of the Dominion Premiers separately and perhaps Liaquat

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Ali also. I have to see some of the important British Ministers also, separately.

I am going to Paris on Friday evening for the week-end, and hope to meet [George] Marshall, Vishinsky and some others. Evatt has invited me to attend a special session of the General Assembly but we have not fixed the date yet.

I received a letter from Sir Walter Monckton, a copy of which I enclose as well as a copy of my reply. I shall probably meet him also. A small retainer has been given to him regarding the Westminster Bank affair.

I shall keep you informed of developments here.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

574

TELEGRAM

FOLLOWING FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM SARDAR PATEL. YOUR LETTER DATED 11 OCTOBER. HAVE ALREADY REPLIED TO YOU REGARDING MONCKTON. AS REGARDS JAIPUR HOUSE MATTER HAS NOT COME UP TO STATES MINISTRY AT ALL. I SAW KRISHNAMACHARI YESTERDAY AND HE TOLD ME THAT HE HIMSELF HAD TWICE REFUSED THE OFFER, BECAUSE JAIPUR HOUSE ACCOMMODATED 150 REFUGEES AND ONE OR TWO GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND THE REST OF ACCOMMODATION WAS RESERVED FOR OCCUPATION OF HIS HIGHNESS AND FAMILY AND THEREFORE JAIPUR HOUSE COULD NOT BE SPARED BY HIM FOR SALE. WE CONSIDERED THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PRINCES' HOUSES YESTERDAY AT INFORMAL MEETING OF CABINET. CONSENSUS OF OPINION WAS IN FAVOUR OF OUTRIGHT PURCHASE BY US OF ALL AVAILABLE PRINCES' HOUSES AND LEASE TO EMBASSIES WHERE NECESSARY PENDING MATERIALISATION OF DIPLOMATIC COLONY PROJECT IN WHICH EMBASSIES WILL BE GIVEN PLOTS AND CAN BUILD HOUSES ACCORDING TO THEIR PATTERN AND REQUIREMENTS AND FOR WHICH AREA IS ALREADY ISSUED IN DELHI DEVELOPMENT PLANS. THE ONLY APPROVED EXCEPTION WAS BAHAWALPUR HOUSE, TRANSACTION RELATING TO WHICH WAS COMPLETED IN OCTOBER 1947 AND WHICH IS VIRTUALLY AN EVACUEE PROPERTY. QUESTION WILL BE FORMALLY DISCUSSED IN CABINET ON YOUR RETURN.

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REGARDING MOUNTBATTEN'S SURGEON, AM LOOKING INTO CASE. MATTER WILL HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED BY FINANCE MINISTRY. SHALL LET YOU KNOW RESULT.

REGARDING TRACTORS, JAIRAMDAS [Doulatram] CONSIDERS THEY WOULD BE UNSUITABLE FOR LARGE-SCALE USE BECAUSE THEY RUN ON PETROL. HE IS REPLYING TO YOU IN DETAIL SEPARATELY.

575

Claridge's,
London W. 1
13 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 6 October sending me a copy of an article in the Statesman about Burma. There is no doubt that the situation in Burma is a very grave one. We are getting in External Affairs frequent reports from our ambassador there; often they give much more information than the newspapers. It is because the situation is bad that it is difficult to refer to it in public. You know the old adage 'the greater the truth, the greater the libel.'

I do not myself think that any considerable number of persons will infiltrate into Assam and Manipur from Burma. Communists and others in Burma have their hands full dealing with the situation there. The revolt in Burma is a very mixed affair in which the Communists have taken the lead, but many other people and groups, chiefly Karen supporters, are participating. Of course, when there is chaos on the border, adventurous elements are likely to cross over and all precautions should be taken.

If Burma goes to pieces, this will undoubtedly have a serious effect on India. Not so much because it will be made the base for operations in India but because our trade and people there will suffer.

Our conference and conversations are proceeding here. There is much to tell you but it can wait. I am going to Paris the day after tomorrow for the week-end.

I have had bad reports about the Kashmir Commission in Geneva. I do not know how far these reports are true. I shall find out in Paris.

I wrote to you in my last letter about Jaipur House. Mountbatten is terribly keen about this house being sold to the

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British Government. He has again spoken to me about it. I enclose copy of a letter which Mountbatten has sent to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

The Mountbattens are going to Malta on the 26th of this month.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S LETTER TO THE COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

13 October 1948

With reference to Jaipur House, the Maharaja of Jaipur came to see me at my request. He explained in great confidence that the Government of India had first of all refused him the right to receive the payment in sterling, and secondly withheld permission for the sale, for they said that if it were available for sale, it should be offered to them.

The line which he took up was only to try and avoid being discourteous to HMG whilst also avoiding getting himself in the wrong with the Government of India.

He gave me permission to explain the true position to Nehru, and this I did.

Nehru had never heard of the case but said that in principle, an embargo had been put on the sale of all princely houses, except by permission of and in consultation with the Government of India. The Government of India own all the plots of land which had been given free to the princes to build [their] houses on. The Government of India now wish to share in the appreciation of the ground value of the site. They also wish to be assured that no Maharaja was claiming as his personal property a house in Delhi built and kept by his State.

Also in principle they do not like Indian citizens receiving direct payment in sterling.

I appealed to Nehru to make a special gesture of goodwill to the British and to his friend [Archibald] Nye by overriding the existing rules and permitting the sale of Jaipur House to HMG for the High Commissioner, and further, permitting Jaipur to receive payment in sterling in London.

Fortunately, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was present at the latter part of the discussions and was immediately able to give his word that any

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payment made in sterling to the Maharaja of Jaipur would not be counted against the allocation of sterling to the Government of India.

I was also able to explain to Nehru that Jaipur House differed from any other princely house since the Maharaja actually owned his own land on which the house was built.

This was because most of the land on which New Delhi is built originally belonged to the late Maharaja of Jaipur, and in return for his giving the land to the Government of India, the latter erected the famous Jaipur Column outside the Viceroy's House commemorating this fact and let him retain outright a plot of land on which to build his own house.

The Maharaja agreed that the house in fact belonged to the State, but he was arranging with his Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, for the necessary financial adjustments to be made within the State so that his own Government got the benefit of the sale whilst he got the use of the sterling in England where he has a house and property to keep up.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Pandit Nehru, Nye and Jaipur since up to date, I have been acting merely as a verbal mediator and feel that I must now fade out of the picture and let the principals deal with each other.

Mountbatten of Burma

Sir Archibald Carter, KCB, KCIE
Commonwealth Relations Office
Downing Street
Whitehall
London, S.W.I

576

Paris
27 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am dealing herewith some matters referred to in your letter of the 15th.

My visits to London and Paris have helped me not only to understand the international situation a little better but also and more especially the position of India in relation to it. I do not think there is any danger of war in Europe in spite of the very great tension that prevails. Very probably some temporary arrangement will be arrived at between the Soviet group and the Western group of Powers about Berlin and some other matters. This will relieve the immediate tension, but of course extreme

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suspicion of each other will continue and what is worse rearmament on both sides. Nevertheless I look forward to a progressive lessening of tension and a certain armed stability arising.

Almost everything conducive to war has been present during the last few months. The political crisis has been acute but fortunately the military preparations of the Powers were not adequate for a war. That is to say the political crisis did not synchronize with military preparedness. Hence there was no war and there will be no war from some considerable time, unless some extraordinary event occurs. It is acknowledged that the Soviets do not want war for 8 years or more simply because they are not ready for it. On the other side also there is, of course, no desire for war but there has been a slight danger of some incident inducing military chiefs to jump in. This has been prevented by unpreparedness. Now preparations are going on at some speed to mobilize the strength of various countries for war. Much of the war talk in the USA and elsewhere has really been directed to creating conditions which would enable Parliaments to vote large appropriations for the Defence Services.

In a sense it has been a good thing that the political crisis came long before a military crisis or preparedness. If the two had synchronized there would undoubtedly have been war. Now there is a fair chance of the political crisis fading off gradually. We have a few years to work to this end. The outlook is not very cheerful, but it is better than I expected.

About India's position in relation to the world, I doubt if many persons in India realise what other people and other countries think of India now. Definitely India is considered as a potential great Power and specially as a dominant Power in Asia, apart from the USSR in the north. There is full realization of this and therefore a desire to cultivate India. The UK and the Commonwealth countries were very conscious of this fact. The USA progressively realizes it, the Middle Eastern countries and other Asian countries also appreciate this. In Asia, everyone knows that China cannot play an effective part for a long time. The only other country in Asia is India capable of playing this part. Pakistan, of course, does not come into the picture in this sense at all.

All this was rather a vague appreciation previously. My visit here has crystallized this idea in peoples' minds. In London, in the various conferences it was evident that India was looked upon as making a great difference in the future and her voice

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was listened to with respect. Here in Paris to some extent the same thing is in evidence among the representatives of various countries. I am meeting many of these separately and in groups.

Both Hyderabad and Kashmir have troubled people a lot here and in London. It is recognized, of course, that the Hyderabad affair is over from the international point of view. It was very fortunate that we could dispose of it rapidly. Otherwise reactions would have been very much adverse to us as it is difficult to explain everything and the simple fact of a large country attacking a small one impressed people unfavourably. So far as Kashmir is concerned, I think it is generally recognized that our case is a good one; nevertheless this business of a plebiscite and the conditions governing it fills peoples' minds. Of course people cannot get rid of the idea that Kashmir is predominantly Muslim and therefore likely to side with Muslim Pakistan. They say that if it is agreed that there should be a plebiscite, why is there any difficulty in having a cease-fire and truce? Liaquat Ali has laid stress on one fact only, i.e. that the conditions of the plebiscite should be fixed now and then he will gladly agree to the cease-fire, etc., in accordance with the UN Commission's resolution. He says those conditions should be according to the Security Council's resolution. I have made it clear that we cannot accept this for obvious reasons. The next suggestion is to come to some other agreement about the conditions. I do not think all this will lead to anything at present at least. We cannot possibly agree to any outside intervention in the Government of Kashmir.

I am mentioning all this to you just to keep you in touch with the developments here. I might mention also that the position I have taken up about Kashmir is either a full acceptance of the UN Commission's resolution on cease-fire, or a partition on the lines we have previously talked about, i.e. Western Poonch, etc., Gilgit, Chitral, most of Baltistan, etc. to go to Pakistan. Neither of these is acceptable to Liaquat Ali.

The whole point I should like to impress upon you and my colleagues is that the Kashmir affair as well as Hyderabad developments are being very closely followed in other countries, though they may not say much about them. They follow them in order to judge of what India stands for and is going to be. We have therefore to keep this fact in mind in regard to any steps that we take in both these places.

The question has often been asked me by representatives of various countries as to what the future of Hyderabad is going to

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be as also that of the Nizam. I have replied that so far as the Government of India are concerned they do not propose to make any radical change and the Nizam is continuing as a kind of constitutional head. It is for the people of Hyderabad to determine by democratic process their future constitutions, etc. India is chiefly interested in the establishment of democracy in Hyderabad and in three principal subjects being Central—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

You sent me a copy of a letter of Akbar Hyderi about Hyderabad in which he expressed his views about the Nizam as well as the future of the State. Those views are logical but I am quite sure that if we as Government of India took any steps in that direction, we would suffer very greatly in prestige and in public and governmental estimation abroad. We have a hard problem to tackle in Hyderabad and unfortunately the local people are very second-rate. I think it would be dangerous for us if we even hinted at the present moment at a possible division of Hyderabad into various linguistic areas or at the removal of the Nizam.

In your letter you mentioned that the influx of Hindu refugees from East Bengal continued. You further said that it might become necessary for us to take firm and resolute action. You suggest that we might have to consider giving a clear indication to the Pakistan Government that if this immigration continues we would have no alternative left except to send out Muslims from West Bengal in equal numbers.

It is perfectly true that this continuing migration is a tremendous problem for us and I cannot suggest an obvious remedy. It is largely due to deteriorating economic conditions and the Pakistan Government is hardly capable of improving these conditions. But I am quite clear in my mind that any suggestion about Muslims being sent from West Bengal to East Bengal would lead to disastrous consequences. Even an indication of this would injure our case very greatly without in the least affording us relief from the migration.

A suggestion of this kind was made some time back by Bidhan Roy and I wrote to him rather strongly on the subject. I felt that such an idea would completely put an end to a stand we have taken as a secular State and it would create communal trouble all over India and the great gain to us of the Hyderabad affair would vanish. Every Muslim in India would feel an alien and in effect we would have established a Hindu State. Our world position, which is high at present, would suffer irretrievably.

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Every action that we have taken in the past, every declaration that we have made will be judged from a new standpoint and we shall be condemned and isolated. Our enemies would of course say that they were right, throughout, our friends will remain silent in a shame-faced way. All kinds of new problems and difficulties would arise and the consequences in every direction will be bad.

Then again how would one pick out Muslims, who are undoubtedly citizens of India, to be sent to East Bengal? None of them will want to go voluntarily and we would have to employ force. Neither international nor domestic law could justify this pushing out of our own citizens to a foreign country which does not want them.

If there is no other alternative, it will be better to stop receiving refugees from East Bengal, i.e. just put up a barrier against all of them unless there is some special reasons that permit could be granted.

Regarding the RSS, there is a widespread impression in England that they are fascist, communal-minded people and any action we take in regard to them will be considered from this point of view. We shall have to be a little careful about this both from the point of view of domestic law and order and because of other reactions. We are criticized considerably for our detentions without trial and other repressive activities of the State, in so far as trade unions and labour people and the like are concerned. There is a strong feeling against the Communists in England but still I was asked why we were putting people in prison without trial. Even Lady Mountbatten told me that she was very worried about it. Many Labour Members of Parliament also spoke about it although they had no sympathy whatever with the Communists and others.

If at this juncture we remove the ban on the RSS and continue it on other groups, this will be widely interpreted as our encouraging certain fascist elements in India.

The RSS have a definite ideology which is entirely opposed to that of the Government and the Congress. They oppose definitely the idea of a secular State. In fact their ideology strikes at the root of our constitution, present and future. If they continue to hold that ideology, their activities are definitely unconstitutional. The least they can do is to make clear publicly that they renounce this ideology and all activities to further it.

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I remember Bapu telling me after his first meeting with Golwalkar [RSS leader] that he was partly impressed by him but at the same time he did not trust him. After his second or third meeting he expressed a very strong opinion against Golwalkar and the RSS and said that it was impossible to rely upon their word. They appear to be highly reasonable when talked to but they had no compunction in acting in exact contradiction to what they said. My own impression has been the same. I believe that we have been receiving reports from various parts of the country telling us of undesirable activities by the RSS. I suggest therefore that we should be very careful in taking any new step about the RSS at the present juncture.

Regarding the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill, if our Advocate-General's view is correct, which I doubt very much, then we shall have to face a major crisis all over India in regard to zamindari abolition. If payment has to be made in cash that simply means that compensation cannot be paid. No Government in the wide world can make payment in cash in such circumstances, much less our provincial Governments. This means that we give up this whole business of zamindari abolition. That again means inviting trouble apart from breaking our own promises.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

577

George V Hotel
Paris
29 October 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I want to write to you to tell you that Jamsaheb's work here has been satisfactory. He has done this quietly and without any fuss. He has not been in charge of any vital matter from the political point of view. He was put on the Budgetary Committee of the United Nations. Both in this committee and in outside work, he has been very useful.

Vijaya Lakshmi has an outstanding position in the United Nations. She knows how to get on with everybody and is respected by them. Of course, having come to the United Nations for three years, she is well known, and she knows others.

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B. N. Rau did good work in the Atomic Energy Commission and people have a high opinion of him. Unfortunately, for entirely irrelevant reasons, he was not elected to the International Court of Justice. This shows how merit is put aside in making such appointments. Everybody privately agreed that B. N. Rau was far the more suitable choice but then, the rival groups were eager to gain the goodwill of Yugoslavia.

Many of our delegates and others are individually good. But somehow it is not easy to develop team spirit in them and they function rather individually, unlike some of the other major delegations. Many of the other delegations are semi-permanent. The same persons come year after year and are usually officials. The result is that they know the whole background and can work as a team.

We are thinking of sending back some of the members of our delegation soon to reduce expenditure. No one knows how long the United Nations Assembly will last. Various estimates are made, some of which take it up to the middle of December.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

Papers below were considered by the Nizam's Executive Council on 31 August 1947. The amendments required by the Council have been incorporated.

Covering Note by C. Brunyate, Solicitor

The negotiations with the Dominion of India have to be begun in earnest on a detailed basis towards the end of the present week at the latest.

2. With this in view, the attached Notes have been prepared for the assistance of the Hyderabad negotiations. In the case of railways, air communications, posts and telephones, I have been able to take into account the views of the representatives of the departments whom I have seen. I have not yet had an opportunity of similarly discussing the question of telegraphs.

3. It is anticipated that the negotiations will be delicate and very difficult; but the two factors which may induce the dominion to make a settlement are

a. The dominion's own interests;

b. The fear of affronting public opinion elsewhere.

4. From the last mentioned point of view it is important to make Hyderabad's detailed suggestions look as attractive as possible. The crux of the negotiations will be (a) the political issue of accession or non-accession; and (b) external affairs (this last subject being very difficult indeed). From the negotiating point of view it would appear to be unsound tactics to include more than absolutely necessary reservations and qualifications in relation to the easier subjects. For instance, a few relatively unimportant qualifications may make the railway proposals look unattractive. We need to make the railway proposals look attractive, so that public opinion will say, "Considering all that the dominion is getting under communications and other subjects, surely it need not have been so sticky on the political issues involved in accession and external affairs which appear to be matters of presitge rather than of practical importance."

5. It appears important from the practical point of view that there should be uniformity of law on certain subjects. For instance, difficulties would arise if dominion law forbade the carriage of matches in postal packets and Hyderabad law permitted such carriage.

6. Further, there is in fact a close uniformity of law between Hyderabad and British India in all fields covered by the attached Notes.

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7. The dominion requires that uniformity of law be achieved by accession so that dominion laws on these subjects apply within the State. We refuse accession. Where uniformity of law is essential, Hyderabad will have to say that it will produce uniformity by itself enacting legislation on the lines of dominion legislation. In the attached Notes, the words "conform" and "conformity" are used with this implication, viz., that Hyderabad undertakes to conform if necessary by passing legislation on the lines of dominion legislation subject to adaptations necessary to suit local conditions.

8. As a reminder of the subjects, in the communications field, on which the dominion considers that uniformity of law is essential, it is thought that it will be useful to set out the heads on which the dominion has required accession from other States. They are as follows:

COMMUNICATIONS

1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.

2. Federal railways: the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; admiralty jurisdiction.

4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimination of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation: the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organisation of air traffic and of aerodromes.

7. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway areas outside that unit.

31 August 1947

(Sd.) C. Brunyate

SECTION D—CURRENCY AND TRADE

1. In the view of the Hyderabad Government it is desirable, in the interests of harmony and good neighbourliness, to come to a mutual agreement in the field of currency and trade. Broadly, the Hyderabad view could be stated thus. Hyderabad should have reasonable opportunities to develop

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itself. On the other hand, it should not wantonly, or through lack of provision, unduly complicate the dominion currency and trade position.

2. No specific proposals are being made at the present moment as the whole matter is one which requires expert consideration. The present position, so far as Hyderabad is concerned, is that normal Hyderabad exports exceed, by a small amount, normal Hyderabad imports. It should therefore be able to finance its current trade. On the other hand, although it has a considerable holding of Government of India securities, it has not substantial resources overseas which it could devote to the purchase of capital goods. Hyderabad justifiably feels that part of the British Indian sterling and overseas balances represents, and is in a sense attributable to, Hyderabad's holding of Government of India securities, and that therefore a fair share of those overseas balances ought to be made available to Hyderabad. This does not mean that Hyderabad expects a gift of sterling. It means that Hyderabad should be entitled to its pro rata share of existing dominion overseas balances on surrender of an equivalent amount of Hyderabad's Government of India holdings.

3. There is a further point. It has become normal for trade to be conducted through a system of quotas. Quotas allotted by the UK and other countries to the Government of India will presumably have to be divided between, amongst others, the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Similarly, there should be an allocation to Hyderabad of its pro rata share of such quotas.

4. Hyderabad of course hopes to draw on certain British India commodity surpluses, e.g., steel. Likewise, it assumes that the dominion will expect to draw on certain of Hyderabad's commodity surpluses, e.g., coal and oilseeds. There is room here for a mutual arrangement.

5. Mention has not been made of general freedom of trade, shipping facilities, etc., as it is thought that these matters can most conveniently be discussed under the question of a port.

Customs

6. An inland country is normally afforded the right of importing goods in bond. It is clear that immense confusion will be caused if Hyderabad charges on goods imported in bond rates of duty different from those charged by British India. In this event, both parties would be put to the intolerable labour and expense of maintaining a customs frontier round the dominion and Hyderabad border. It seems clear, therefore, that an arrangement must be made that Hyderabad will follow the dominion lead as regards duties on goods imported through British India in bond to Hyderabad.

7. The question arises as to whether Hyderabad ought to be permitted to import all goods in bond, or only certain categories, e.g., goods on Government account, and possibly capital goods. This is probably tied up with the general question of the cost of the defence of India. The Hyderabad force will

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be a relatively small contribution to that defence, and the dominion may contend that it is fair for Hyderabad to make a further contribution through customs duties.

Taxation

There will also be a number of matters relating to taxation which require expert examination and settlement, for instance, freedom from double taxation, the ruler's immunities, etc.
1-9-1947

Section E—Hyderabad—Dominion Co-ordination Commission

We are in danger of getting too many tribunals, arbitration boards, etc. It occurred to me that we might cover them all in one commission and give it a power of delegation to ad hoc bodies or otherwise as required.

Article 3 of the draft Anglo-Egyptian Treaty published in British White Paper Egypt No. 2 (1947)—Command Paper 7179—makes provision for a joint board of defence. We might perhaps adopt this article to suit a general commission covering communications, trade, commerce, water rights and harmony generally. The article reads as follows:

Article 3

In order to ensure the mutual co-operation and assistance of the high contracting parties, and in order to permit of the effective co-ordination of the measures to be taken for their mutual defence, the high contracting parties agree to establish a joint board of defence composed of the competent military authorities of the two Governments, assisted by such other representatives as the two Governments shall appoint.

The Board is an advisory body whose functions are to study, with a view to proposing to the two Governments the measures to be taken, problems concerning the mutual defence of the high contracting parties by land, sea and air, including questions of material and personnel connected therewith and, in particular, the technical requirements of their co-operation and the steps to be taken to enable the armed forces of the high contracting parties to be in a position effectively to resist aggression.

The board shall meet as often as may be necessary in order to carry out these functions. If need arises, the board shall also examine, on the invitation of, and on the information supplied by, the two Governments, the military repercussions of the international situation, and, in particular, of all events which may threaten the security of the Middle East and shall make in this respect suitable recommendations to the two Governments, who, in the case of events threatening the security of any one of the neighbouring countries of Egypt, will consult together in order to take in agreement such measures as may be recognised as necessary.

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Note: "Conformity" is defined in the covering note. The qualification reference adaptations is to be repeated on these details.

SECTION 3—COMMUNICATIONS

RAILWAYS

1. (a) No new line shall be constructed within the territory of a Government unless the consent of that Government has first been obtained;

(b) If it is proposed to construct a new line within the territory of either Government and the new line would or might substantially affect the traffic on the railways of the other Government, at least six months notice of the proposal together with all necessary plans and traffic estimates shall be given to the other Government before work is begun;

(c) After receipt of such notices the other Government, if dissatisfied with such proposal, shall endeavour to negotiate a settlement by mutual arrangement, and may at any time not more than six months after receipt of such notice apply to the tribunal for a declaration that the proposed construction would result in unfair or uneconomic competition with the railways of the other Government; and if the tribunal shall so decide the proposal shall not be proceeded with or shall be proceeded with only in such modified form and under such routing and rating arrangements as shall in the opinion of the tribunal avoid such unfair or uneconomic competition;

(d) The provisions of this clause shall apply to the alteration of the alignment or gauge of an existing line in like manner as they apply to the construction of a new line.

2. Hyderabad to conform to physical and operational standards of safety prescribed as general standards for the railways of the Dominion of India.

3. The dominion at request to render Hyderabad any necessary assistance for the inspection of railways and the investigation of accidents.

4. The railways of each Government to afford all reasonable facilities for the receiving, forwarding and delivering of traffic upon and from those railways, including the receiving, forwarding and delivering of through traffic at through rates. There is to be between one railway system and another no unfair discrimination by the granting of undue preference or otherwise and no unfair or uneconomic competition.

5. a. Interchange of traffic

b. Standard conditions of carriage of goods and passengers

c. Maximum and minimum rates and fares and terminal charges.

(i) As regards interchange of traffic and standard conditions of carriage, Hyderabad believes that these matters are, in practice, more a matter for inter-railway arrangement than for the exercise of legislative powers.

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They are, in fact, regulated today by the Indian Railway Conference Association, and Hyderabad is content that this practice shall continue so long as the IRCA carries on its functions on approximately the same lines as heretofore. Again, provided that maximum and minimum rates and fares and terminal charges are fixed without unfair discrimination, Hyderabad is prepared to conform to the maximum and minimum rates and fares and terminal charges laid down by the dominion for its own railways.

(ii) It may be, however, that a time will come when some different arrangements can be legitimately required, and it is suggested that the treaty shall make provision for the setting up of a joint co-ordination committee representing the two sides, for co-ordinating the activities of the two Governments and their respective railways in respect of the above three heads and also "the maintenance and improvement of railway communication between the territories of the two Governments, and the convenience of the public using the railways."

(iii) The marrying of the two ideas, namely:

(a) recourse to the IRCA and conformity as regards maximum and minimum rates and fares and terminal charges with:

(b) the setting up, in case of need, of a joint co-ordination committee requires detailed working out which has not yet been attempted.

6. Each Government to use its executive and legislative authority to ensure the carrying out of the agreement.

7. There will be some special cases to consider, the most important of which is the acquisition of the Kulali-Tungabhadra section of the line. There are also other outstanding cases to consider.

8. Provision for constitution of the tribunal on the basis of equal representation plus an umpire.

Air Communications

1. Hyderabad to conform with the dominion standards of safety in regard to aircraft and aerodromes, and standards of qualifications for air crews, ground engineering and controlled personnel.

2. Dominion certificates of competence of personnel, air-worthiness and like matters to be recognised in Hyderabad, and Hyderabad certificates on like matters to be recognised in the dominion subject to dominion standards being maintained.

3. The two Governments to secure that full mutual facilities are ensured for the passage of air traffic over and between the two territories and between Hyderabad and other countries. Arrangements to be by agreement or in default of agreement by arbitration and to be subject to the police laws of the two territories.

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4. The mutual facilities under the preceding paragraph must include W/T and R/T air communication facilities.

5. There should be power to declare prohibited areas.

6. The agreement should provide for the dominion to assist Hyderabad, on request, in the matter of competency examinations of personnel, inspection of aircraft and investigation of accidents.

7. Hyderabad to be entitled, if it wishes, to maintain its own register of aircraft, subject to its first obtaining any necessary international recognition.

8. Service aircraft—dealt with under "Defence."

9. International Conventions: dealt with under "External Affairs."

Posts (Other than Savings Bank)

1. All post offices and postal equipment within the State to belong to and to be run by the State with a suitable financial arrangement covering transfer (including staff).

2. There to be a full mutual exchange of postal matter, services and facilities between the dominion post office and the State post office, with full co-operation and reciprocity in all respects.

3. Hyderabad law to conform to dominion law on

(a) the regulation of what matter may be sent by post and the definition of different categories of postal matter;

(b) the rates of all postal charges (except for internal traffic) and the recovery thereof;

(c) the fixing of the amounts of postal money orders and the rates which may be charged in respect of the same;

(d) the disposal of undelivered postal matter;

(e) the definition of postal offences and of the maximum penalties which may be imposed in respect of the same.

4. Hyderabad stamps to be used (subject to advice from experts on the exchange question) on communications starting from Hyderabad [to] places within India or to such parts of the Continent of India as recognise Hyderabad stamps. The stamps for communications to other places to be considered, but it appears that dominion stamps must be used (possibly with a surcharge "Hyderabad") until Hyderabad joins the International Postal Convention.

Note: Paras (b) & (c) need further consideration by experts. Para (e) should not prevent additional offences.

Telegraphs and Telephones

1. All lines and equipment within the State to belong to and be run by the State with a suitable financial arrangement covering transfer (including transfer of staff and stores).

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2. No new lines to be erected within the State except by its consent. An arrangement may be necessary to cover the erection of a new through line which one party desires but which the other party considers unremunerative from its point of view (details are a matter for experts).

3. The State to maintain all lines, equipment and services to the dominion standard of efficiency, but the dominion to loan personnel and to assist with equipment for 2-3 years.

4. Provision for inter-connection of the dominion and the State systems on the basis of each rendering to the other full mutual facilities and co-operation. Mutual provision for priority calls.

5. Hyderabad law to conform to dominion law on

a. the regulation of the form and content of telegrams and the definition of different categories of telegram;

b. the rates of all telegraphic charges (except for internal traffic) and the recovery thereof;

c. the fixing of the amounts of telegraphic money orders and the rates which may be charged;

d. the charges for inter-Dominion-State telephonic services;

e. the disposal of undelivered telegrams;

f. the definition of telegraphic and telephonic offences and of the maximum penalties which may be imposed;

Note: Paras b, c and d require further consideration by experts. Para f should not prevent additional offences.

6. Provision for through telegraph and telephone services: If required Hyderabad will conform to dominion standards of transmission and reception of speech and messages to ensure effective inter-communication.

7. All financial terms to be settled on the basis of mutual reciprocity.

8. Hyderabad would be glad of a seat on the Tele-Communications Board.

APPENDIX TWO

Minutes of a meeting held in the States Ministry on 28 September 1949.

PRESENT

V. P. Menon
M. K. Vellodi
Major-General J. N. Chaudhuri
Shavax A. Lal
D. S. Bakhle
S. Narayanaswamy

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The following decisions were reached:

1. Trial of Laik Ali Ministry: Mr. Shavax A. Lal explained that he had carefully examined the material put up by the IG of Police, Hyderabad, and that in his view, unless the Military Governor could produce further evidence to support the case, there is not sufficient evidence to establish conspiracy on the part of Laik Ali and the Ministers in respect of the various acts complained of. Mr. Jetley's report assumed conspiracy without producing evidence. The Military Governor stated that there is no further evidence which he could collect on any point against the Laik Ali Ministry. He also stated that as the Ministers were appointed individually by the Nizam, there was no question of joint responsibility of the Cabinet. Only the Prime Minister was responsible. In the circumstances, it was considered that a case had not been established for the prosecution of the Laik Ali Ministry.

After discussion it was agreed that these Ministers, including the Depressed Classes representative, Mr. Venkat Rao, should be released but that after release their movements should be restricted by the use of appropriate regulations. A suitable announcement will be made by the Military Governor. It was felt that as he had very large assets in Hyderabad Laik Ali might not wish to go to Pakistan.

It was also agreed that the 235 Muslim politicals under detention should be released as no case had been established against them. Their release should be staggered and they should be required to report themselves periodically to the police.

2. Trusts: Mr. Shavax Lal explained that the trust for Prince Muzzamjah and Princess Niloufer was complete and that the trust deeds would be signed very shortly. Under these trust, the amounts paid to Prince Muzzamjah and Princess Niloufer would be free of Indian income-tax and the Government had agreed to pay interest at 1% on the corpus of the trust. We have so far agreed to create three trusts, namely, the Muzzamjah and Princes Niloufer Trust, the Grandsons and Basalatjah Trusts. It was agreed that the Military Governor should go ahead with the creation of the trusts for grandsons and Basalatjah. The question of trust for the Prince of Berar would be taken up after the other two trusts are completed and would be in I.G. currency.

3. Inventories of the Nizam: The Military Governor explained that he was doing his best to expedite the matter and that he had been able so far to get out of the Nizam an inventory of currency, gold, jewels to the value of Rs. 76 crores. He stated that he was doing his best in this respect and that the Nizam was gradually reconciling himself to the situation.

4. Death Sentences Passed by the Special Tribunals: The Chief Civil Administrator explained that 41 persons had been condemned to death by the special tribunals for murder and other acts and that although these sentences had been passed about three months ago, excepting four or five persons,

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others had not yet submitted their appeals to the High Court. He thought that this might be due to the fact that the people were ignorant that appeals could be made to the High Court. He had been informed that copies of judgments etc. had been called for by the condemned persons. He also stated that under the rules in force in Hyderabad, appeals had to be submitted within 15 days of the passing of the sentences but that he had arranged with the High Court to admit all appeals which are likely to be filed in the next few days. The Military Governor explained that he would provide adequate legal assistance for these condemned persons when their appeals are heard by the High Court.

He also explained that the difficulty was that according to convention, death sentences were not executed in Hyderabad and that the Nizam was averse to this. The Military Governor therefore enquired as to what should be done. It was decided that the petitions for mercy submitted by the condemned persons need not be considered by the Military Governor at present. This question should be examined by the Military Governor after the High Court had heard and decided the appeals. The petitions for mercy could be considered on the same basis on which such petitions are entertained and considered by the Provincial Govts. and if necessary, suitable instructions may be prepared for the purpose. It was agreed that a decision on this question should await the result of appeals to the High Court.

5. Integration of Hyderabad Administrative Services with Those of India: The Chief Civil Administrator explained that subject to the examination of the fact that the present Government of Hyderabad was competent to enter into the scheme of the All-India Administrative Service, the Govt. of Hyderabad fully concurred in the proposals of the Ministry of Home Affairs. A detailed letter will be sent in due course.

6. Settlement of Displaced Persons: The Military Governor explained that the Hon'ble Minister of State for Rehabilitation had approached one of the Cabinet Ministers, Raja Dhondiraj Bahadur, for the settlement of 2 lakh displaced persons from Pakistan in Hyderabad. The Military Governor was against such a settlement as he considered that the decision in this matter should be left to the popular Government as and when set up. He had therefore written to the Hon'ble Mr. Mohanlal Saksena in the matter and suggested that the matter should now be settled in discussion between the Adviser and the Minister of State for Rehabilitation. General Chaudhuri stressed the view that rehabilitation of these refugees in Hyderabad was in the present circumstances impossible. He has promised to address a further communication to the States Ministry.

7. Representation of Hyderabad in the Constituent Assembly of India: Secretary informed the Military Governor that H.M. was averse to the representation of Hyderabad in the Constituent Assembly of India at such

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short notice. Consequently, no further action need be taken at the present moment. It was decided that the decision should be communicated to the President of the Constituent Assembly of India.

8. Visit of H.E. the Governor-General of India to Hyderabad in December: Secretary informed the Military Governor that H.E.'s visit to Hyderabad is likely to take place between 10 and 13 December and that he would inform Col. Chatterji that he should settle the dates and programme in direct consultation with the Military Governor.

9. Export of Groundnut and Groundnut oil from Hyderabad: Secretary explained that he had received a request from the Commerce Ministry that the restrictions by way of export duties etc. on groundnut and groundnut oil, which was impeding its movement outside, should be raised so that groundnut oil may be freely exported. Mr. Bakhle explained that in addition to an ad valorem duty of 5% there was a specific duty of Rs. 3/6 per palla (3 maunds) of groundnut exported from the State; that the proposal would involve considerable sacrifice of revenue and could be considered only in the context of federal financial integration. The Military Governor undertook to furnish a note on the subject for the information of the Commerce Ministry.

10. Use of Hyderabad House as a Guest House: Secretary explained that both Adviser and H.P.M. wanted to utilise Hyderabad House as a guest house for distinguished foreign visitors and for Maharajas when they were on a visit to Delhi. He stated that owing to lack of hotel accommodation and its unsuitability, the need for a guest house was really urgent. The Military Governor stated that he was quite prepared to accommodate distinguished foreign visitors and Maharajas in Hyderabad House. This could be arranged with him either by phone or by telegram. He did not see that it was necessary for the Hyderabad Government to place the house at the disposal of the Government of India. He also apprehended that the Military Government would be strongly criticised for this action. The matter was not pressed.

The Military Governor agreed, pending any other arrangement in Jaipur House, to spare the Indian dining room and the ante-rooms for the use of the Indo-Middle-East Cultural Association.

11. Future of Osmania University: The Military Governor explained that a provisional decision had been taken that the Centre should take over Osmania University. The main hitch was in regard to finance and he therefore wanted to discuss the matter further with Mr. Dandekar before putting up his proposals.

12. Maintenance Charges of Sabe Palace, Calcutta: The Military Governor explained that shortly before the police action, the West Bengal Government had requisitioned the Sabe Palace of the Nizam at Calcutta.

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After the police action, the Nizam had requested the Military Governor to get the palace derequistioned and had suggested that, as in the case of the British Government he would let the Government of West Bengal have the use of the building provided the building remained in charge of his Agent and the maintenance charges of the building were paid by the West Bengal Government. The West Bengal Government were approached to derequisition the building and to agree to the terms; they have derequisitioned the building but are not carrying out the terms at all. They are not paying the maintenance charges of the building and are not paying any rent although it is stated that two of their Ministers are living in the House. He wanted to bring this matter particularly to the notice of the Government of India so that they may take up the matter with the West Bengal Government. It was agreed that the West Bengal Government should be asked to replace the house at the disposal of the Nizam's Government. The House is His Exalted Highness' private property.

13. ABOLITION OF JAGIRDARI: It was agreed that this matter would be discussed with Military Governor by Adviser on his next visit to Hyderabad. Meanwhile the Military Governor could hold informal consultations with the jagirdars and frame tentative proposals.

14. CHANGE IN THE ELECTORAL ROLLS SUGGESTED BY MR. G. M. SHROFF: Copy of Mr. Shroff's letter had been sent to the Military Governor who promised to communicate his views at an early date.

15. EMPLOYMENT OF JAGIRDARS AND THEIR SONS AND RELATIONS IN THE HYDERABAD STATE SERVICES: Secretary pointed out that the jagirdars and their sons should be recruited in Government service relaxing the rules where necessary provided they were fully qualified. He was of opinion that the Hyderabad Government had an obligation to provide for these people since they had dispossessed them of their jagirs. The Military Governor and the Chief Civil Administrator undertook to consider these cases sympathetically, specially the case which was brought to the Secretary's notice by the Raja of Wanaparti.

16. REFORMS IN THE HYDERABAD CURRENCY: The Military Governor explained that it was necessary to take immediate action in regard to the introduction of I.G. currency and the gradual withdrawal of Halli Sikka. It was explained that the proposals of the Hyderabad Government had been sent to the Finance Ministry for their comments.

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APPENDIX THREE

DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT

The effect of the accession of Junagadh State to Pakistan and the policy of the Government of India to deal with the situation thus created were set out in a Press communique dated 25 September 1947.

The Government of India remain of the opinion that, in the circumstances in which it was made, they cannot accept the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan. They disagree entirely with the claims and contentions of Pakistan in regard to Babariawad and Mangrol. They consider the stationing of Junagadh forces in Babariawad, which has acceded to the Indian Dominion, as an unjustified and provocative act of aggression and must ask that the forces must be withdrawn.

2. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have declared their determination in the joint statement issued on 20 September 1947 to rule out war, and the Government of India, true to this declaration, have no desire to take any steps which might aggravate an already difficult situation. It is their wish to find a solution of this problem of friendly discussion with the Dominion of Pakistan and the State of Junagadh. That solution must necessarily be one which enables the Government of India to discharge their responsibilities to the States acceding to the Indian Dominion.

3. The Government of India have an obligation to protect the interests of those States which have acceded to the Indian Dominion and this responsibility they must fully and faithfully discharge. In view of the policy adopted by Junagadh State and in particular the act of aggression in Babariawad, a number of States in Kathiawar which have acceded to the Indian Dominion have specifically asked for help and protection from the Dominion of India. In response to these requests the Government of India have decided to send some detachment of troops to Kathiawar. These troops will proceed immediately to Porbandar. Other armed forces belonging to the States acceding to the Dominion of India will also be employed for guarding the frontiers between Junagadh and other States. The purpose of this despatch and allocation of Dominion troops is to reassure the people of the States which have acceded to the Dominion of India and to convince them that the Government of India will do all that lies in their power to protect their legitimate interests. Both the forces of the Dominion and the acceding States have been instructed not to enter the territory of Junagadh, or to seek passage through Junagadh territory, even to reach those States within Junagadh which have acceded to the Indian Dominion. Instructions have also been issued not to enter for the present

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Mangrol or Babariawad territories, although the Government of India hold that these territories belong to the Indian Dominion and have to be protected. These decisions are designed to avoid all possibility of conflict between the forces of the Government of India and the co-operating States on the one hand, and the forces of Junagadh on the other. The Government of India trust that the forces of Junagadh will be withdrawn from Babariawad and will also refrain from attempting to gain access to islands of Junagadh territory in the States which have acceded to the Dominion of India, by passing through the territory of these States.

4. In conclusion, the Government of India wish to reaffirm that they are entirely opposed to war and wish to avoid it. All that the Government of India seek is an amicable settlement of the Junagadh issue as well as the connected issues of Babariawad and Mangrol. Any decision involving the fate of large numbers of people must necessarily depend on the wishes of these people. This is the policy which the Government of India accept in its entirety and they propose accordingly that whenever there is a dispute in regard to any territory, it should be decided by a referendum or plebiscite of the people concerned. This is a method at once democratic, peaceful and just. They suggest, therefore, that the issues regarding Junagadh and Mangrol should be decided by a referendum or plebiscite of the people concerned. Such a referendum or plebiscite should be held under impartial auspices, to be determined by the parties concerned. The Government of India, therefore, invite the Pakistan Government to comply with their suggestion that the deadlock that has arisen in regard to Junagadh should be resolved by a plebiscite or referendum of the people concerned.

APPENDIX FOUR

REPORT BY SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF STATES, ON JUNAGADH

I left Delhi by air on 18-9-1947 accompanied by His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar and Mr. Buch and reached Rajkot the same evening. On arrival I sent an immediate telegram to His Highness the Nawab Saheb of Junagadh as follows:

> "I HAVE ARRIVED TODAY IN RAJKOT FROM DELHI WITH A MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO DELIVER TO YOUR HIGHNESS PERSONALLY FROM GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND I AS THEIR REPRESENTATIVE DESIRE TO SEE YOUR HIGHNESS TOMORROW MORNING. I SHALL LEAVE RAJKOT AT 8 O'CLOCK TOMORROW MORNING AND WOULD BE IN JUNAGADH AT ABOUT 11 O'CLOCK. REGARDS."

2. I had discussions on the situation first with Brigadier Smith and Colonel Houghton, officers in command of our battalion in Rajkot, and then with our Inspector-General of Police and the officer in charge of the Central Armed

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Police Detachment at Rajkot. On the 19th I proceeded by car to Junagadh, accompanied by the Regional Commissioner, Mr. Buch, and the Deputy Regional Commissioner, Mr. Banesinhji. We were cordially received and the Inspector-General of Police, Junagadh, Khan Bahadur Naqvi, met us outside Junagadh and escorted us to the Guest House. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the Dewan of Junagadh, came to see us at the Guest House. I told him that I had been sent by the Indian Dominion Cabinet to deliver an important message to His Highness personally. The Dewan said that His Highness had received my telegram but he had been in bed for the past ten days and was not fit enough to see anyone; and even the Dewan had been unable to meet him for four days. I again emphasised to the Dewan that the message was most important and meant to be delivered personally to the Nawab and that I would like to see His Highness for a few minutes even if he was indisposed. The Dewan said that His Highness' condition was such that it was absolutely impossible for him to see me. I may add that this did not come to me as a surprise as I had been warned at Rajkot that the Nawab would avoid meeting me.

3. I had a long talk with the Dewan. I pointed out to him the geographical position of Junagadh, the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population was non-Muslim and desirous of joining the Indian Union, the existence within Junagadh territory of pockets of States which had acceded to India and of pockets of Junagadh territory in our areas. Junagadh State was so situated that by acceding to Pakistan a pocket of foreign territory was created right inside Kathiawar. This situation could not be tolerated and was not in the interests of the people as suggested by Junagadh State in the announcements made at the time of accession. Junagadh had never made any attempt to negotiate with the Indian Dominion and till the very last day proclaimed their belief in the solidarity and integrity of Kathiawar.

4. The Dewan said that his Constitutional Adviser, who attended the Delhi conference on 25 July, advised the State that its interests lay in its acceding to Pakistan. Similar advice was given by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan who was also consulted by the State. (I have no doubt myself that the deciding factor in Junagadh's accession to Pakistan was Sir Muhammad Zafrullah's advice). The Council of Ministers of the State which, according to the Dewan, consisted of members of all communities, came to the unanimous decision that the State should join Pakistan. It was apprehended that the Congress Government would soon find itself unable to resist the inroads of extreme Communist views, and Junagadh had not been treated properly lately. I pointed out that neither of these arguments could bear any scrutiny. If Communism was to pervade the neighbouring territories, neither Junagadh nor even Pakistan could escape the influences permeating from these areas, particularly when Junagadh's situation was such that it was surrounded on all sides

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except on the sea front by States acceding to us. Apart from the fact that the fears entertained were in themselves groundless, accession to one Dominion or another could not make any difference in this matter. Junagadh's representatives never discussed the matter at Delhi. In reply to the Dewan's argument that the Junagadh representative was not given a hearing at the Delhi conference, I pointed out to the Dewan that far from this being the case, the Junagadh representative asked a number of questions at the conference of the 25th and that these questions were fully answered by His Excellency the Viceroy. I myself saw the Junagadh representative separately and had full and frank talks with him. I asked whether the Constitutional Adviser was present in Junagadh since I could then confront him with this. The Dewan said that he (Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux) was no longer in Junagadh service.

5. The Dewan complained about various orders passed stopping supply of commodities to the State. I pointed out that no action was taken at all till Junagadh informed the Government of India definitely that it had decided to accede to Pakistan.

6. During the course of the discussions Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto regretted the decision that India was to be divided, but agreed that

(i) he had made a mistake in not making a further approach to the Government of India before finally making an announcement regarding accession;

(ii) there was now no doubt that the majority of the population of the State was for joining the Indian Dominion although their opinion was greatly influenced by the passions raised and the virulent writings in the Gujarati Press;

(iii) the interests of Junagadh, the premier State in Kathiawar, were bound up with the rest of Kathiawar; and

(iv) personally he would favour the proposal that the issue should be decided by a referendum.

7. At the same time, the only two ways of dealing with the situation which had now been created were either the use of force or by proceeding in a constitutional manner. In his opinion only the second alternative was possible. The suggestion he had to make was that discussions should now be held between the two Dominion Governments at which he should also be invited. He would be quite prepared to tell this conference that his views were those summarised above. He suggested however that if his personal opinion was at all known outside, his position in Junagadh would become untenable and he might not be able to be of any help.

8. I asked him plainly whether if the Pakistan Government took up the stand that Junagadh must stick to its accession to Pakistan and that no referendum should be held, he would be prepared to hold a referendum despite Pakistan.

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Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto's answer was that he knew that Jinnah was an obstinate man but he himself would in such circumstances be willing to hold a referendum, though he could not commit the Junagadh Government in this matter.

9. I pointed out to the Dewan with all the emphasis at my command the serious consequences likely to accrue from Junagadh's accession to Pakistan and the fact that the Indian Dominion cannot, after agreeing to the partition of the country, further allow pockets of foreign territory to be created within its own territory. I told him that I would make a report to the Cabinet on my return to Delhi.

10. We then left Junagadh and reached Rajkot in the afternoon. At Rajkot I had discussions with H.H. the Maharaja Jam Saheb who had come over from Jamnagar, Brigadier Smith, Col. Houghton and other officers at Rajkot, and a number of rulers and Talukdars of Kathi States and public men, including Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Rasiklal Parikh. At 8 p.m. I held a Press conference where I pointed out that I had gone to Junagadh to see the Nawab Sahib under instructions from the Cabinet, that I was unable to see H.H. on account of his indisposition but was cordially received and met by the Dewan with whom I had discussions. The Dominion Government was fully alive to the needs of the situation. On my raising the matter, the Junagadh Dewan had assured me that the Nawab was determined to protect and look after the interests of his Hindu subjects who should not feel panicky. I would submit my report to the Cabinet, but I could give an assurance that the Government of India was fully determined and prepared to protect the States and areas which had decided to accede to it.

11. There is no doubt that there is considerable panic among non-Muslims in Junagadh and Hindus in large numbers are leaving the State. The Kathi States and areas round about and in the middle of Junagadh territory are feeling nervous and want arms as well as protection. The Jam Saheb had already sent some of his troops to Gondal and Jetpur States at their request.

12. Junagadh State has recently moved additional police and troops, rather less than 200 strong, to Babariawad, whose accession we have accepted recently. More men, nearly 200 again, are reported to be ready to go to their assistance from Una. We have nearly 150 men, of whom 120 belong to the Central Armed Police, and 30 to other police, at Dedan. They have not moved into Babariawad as they apprehend conflict and would like support from the military. I discussed the whole situation with our Army officers. Their view is that, instead of dispersing our forces in Babariawad, Bilkha and other pockets in Junagadh, the better course would be to concentrate our troops at one place. If there was any resistance in Babariawad or elsewhere the battalion could proceed there. The battalion is not yet complete and some men and equipment, as well as transport, have yet to arrive. I thought it would be best if

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Brig. Smith and I flew over to Bombay with the Jam Sahib, in order to have an opportunity of discussing the whole situation with General Richardson.

13. On the 18th evening I also sent telegrams to the Khan Sahib of Manavadar and the Sheikh of Mangrol asking them to see me on the 19th at 5 p.m. The Dewan of Manavadar came as the Khan Sahib was suffering from boils. I told him, however, that I wished to see the Khan Sahib himself. Accordingly the Khan Sahib came to see me the next morning in spite of his indisposition. I told him that the position of Manavadar was identical with that of many States which had acceded to the Dominion of India and asked him for a clarification of his attitude. He replied that he had already entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan and had asked that Manavadar should accede to the Pakistan Dominion. I explained to him that from the point of view of the Indian Government it was intolerable that pockets of foreign territory should be created in Indian soil. I found him puzzled and quite unable to argue his own case. Apparently I was later told that before he came to see me he had a telephonic talk with Karachi and had been advised to stand firm. I asked that his final decision one way or the other should be communicated to me the next morning. He promised to think about the whole question and come and see me again on the 20th at 11 o'clock. I have been informed that he tried to put a call through to Karachi immediately he left me, but that this call was stopped by the postal authorities. Eventually the Khan did not come to see me as promised.

14. Mr. Bapubhai Buch saw me on behalf of Mangrol. Junagadh considers that Mangrol is its vassal. The State consists of 42 villages, in 21 of which the Sheikh of Mangrol exercises full jurisdiction. In the other 21 the administrative arrangements are carried on jointly with Junagadh. This is an arrangement which had been recognised by the paramount power. On 15 August, however, Mangrol declared its independence and Junagadh issued a Press note in a Gazette Extraordinary on 18 September which reads as follows: "The Sheikh Sahib of Mangrol, who has been a vassal of Junagadh for many generations, has intimated that he has declared independence. This declaration is entirely unconstitutional and illegal and has not been recognised by the Ruler of Junagadh who will take such steps as may be necessary to enforce his rights over his dependency. It is hoped that the Sheikh Sahib will realise the wrong step he has taken and will withdraw his decision to avoid any unfortunate or unpleasant consequences."

15. My interview with the Sheikh of Mangrol has an interesting history. On the day that I left for Rajkot the Sheikh had sent his constitutional adviser to Delhi to see the Prime Minister. When I told Mr. Bapubhai Buch that I wanted to see the Sheikh himself, he replied that the Sheikh is not allowed to travel by car through Junagadh territory and that although he was very anxious to meet me, his car would be stopped by the Junagadh authorities. I

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accordingly sent him a car with the Nawanagar name-plate. The Sheikh came to see me and showed me a telegram from his constitutional adviser from Delhi strongly advising him to accede to India. The only condition which he made was that we should recognise his independence of Junagadh. I assured him that this would be in accordance with the new constitutional set-up, since with the lapse of paramountcy and its obligations Junagadh could no longer enforce its sovereignty. He then dictated a letter and signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement. It appears that he has now made out that he put his signature without a full realisation of the implications of accession. This is clearly absurd. I think what must have happened was that the Junagadh State officials intercepted him on his way back to Mangrol and forced him to write in this strain. But however this may be, we have taken action as soon as I arrived back in Delhi yesterday to announce Mangrol's accession to the Dominion of India and the Dominion Government's acceptance of this accession.

16. We left for Bombay with the Jam Saheb on the 19th. In Bombay a number of Press representatives were waiting for us. I told them that from the point of view of Government I had nothing to add to what I had told Pressmen in Rajkot but I asked the Jam Saheb to give them a talk explaining the point of view of the Kathiawar States. This was widely reported in the Bombay Press.

17. We had a discussion with Gen. Richardson, General Officer Commanding, Southern Command. With his permission His Highness the Jam Saheb was also present at these discussions. Gen. Richardson told us that he was not particularly strong in personnel and equipment but he did not see any difficulty from the military point of view in tackling the Junagadh problem provided there was no flare-up in Bombay and Ahmedabad. I promised to speak to the Home Minister, Bombay, about this. I impressed on Gen. Richardson the need for hundred per cent co-operation from everyone in pursuance of whatever decisions Government may take.

18. After dinner we had discussions with several representatives both of the Congress and of the Indian States peoples organisations in Kathiawar. I may say that these persons represent practically the brains trust of the Kathiawar world. They were one and all emphatic that we have not done enough to secure a sense of safety in Babariawad and that the Junagadh issue was a most vital one on which if we gave in the whole prestige of the Government would suffer badly. I explained generally how the matter stood. I also outlined to them the course of action which they would be well advised to take. They went away quite satisfied.

19. On the 20th morning I met Mr. Morarji Desai. Home Minister. He told me that he would be able to hold the position in Bombay and Ahmedaqad provided the arms and ammunition which the Provincial Government have

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asked for were supplied immediately. I have since spoken about this to H.M. and understand that this has been done. Mr. Desai also informed me that both the Bombay Govt. and the Bombay public were concerned that we should take a firm line in this matter. The position of the Bombay Government will also to a great extent depend on our attitude in the Junagadh affair. He asked me to mention this to the Cabinet with as much emphasis as I could.

20. Incidentally I may mention two points in relation to Kathiawar. In the first place a number of railway police personnel in Rajkot have been kept on even though they have opted for Pakistan. This has greatly affected our economic boycott of Junagadh since our control measures were being enforced with a great deal of laxity. Also several P & T officials who had opted for Pakistan continued to work in this area with the result that they tapped our telegraphic messages and passed them on to Junagadh State. I issued immediate instructions that everyone who had opted for Pakistan should be relieved of his duties at once and early arrangements should be made to send them to Karachi. This has been done. I may also mention that though the Deputy Inspector-General has 31 years of service he has not got sufficient initiative.

21. Again several States are sending sugar, petrol etc. into Junagadh thereby greatly diminishing the effect of our economic boycott. Mr. Buch, our Regional Commissioner, is fully aware of this position and will take strong measures to counter this. The whole of our economic measures will now require to be co-ordinated and a definite plan of action laid down. This would be looked into immediately. We have already issued instructions that aeroplanes should not stop at Junagadh and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was complaining to me about this when I met him. I understand that Pakistan has supplied some amount of coal to Junagadh but that no soldier has yet been brought into Junagadh territory. The sloop Godavari is however standing by. Pakistan has informed Junagadh that all assistance will be rendered to the State if there is a conflict with the Indian Government.

22. To sum up, I think it will be correct to say that there is complete unanimity of opinion in Kathiawar that we should take adequate action to prevent Junagadh from becoming a part of Pakistan. The rulers of States, the organisations of the States subjects and the Congress are all agreed in this matter. Hindus in Junagadh are very apprehensive. Taking a general view it may even be that the whole of Kathiawar will disintegrate if we yield on this issue.

23. At the last meeting of the Cabinet it was decided that we should keep our troops in our own territory or in States which have acceded to the Dominion of India. Our business then would be to repel any offensive action that Junagadh might take against us. This decision requires, I think, to be reconsidered

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in the light of my visit to Junagadh. If our battalion is spread out in scattered areas, it is bound to weaken its striking power and this may prejudicially affect any military operations that we may have to carry out, should they be forced on us. The Junagadh military and police forces under the command of Mr. Harvey Jones are already right inside Babariawad and the latest information is that Mr. Harvey Jones is trying to persuade the Mulgirasias to change their accession from the Indian Dominion to Junagadh and Pakistan. In view of the fact that the Sheikh of Mangrol has since been influenced by the Junagadh authorities I have no doubt in my mind that the Junagadh forces will also enter and occupy Mangrol. Both these will be hostile acts. It is for the military authorities to consider the measures that are necessary to repel these attacks on our acceding States and to maintain our integrity. If I may make a suggestion, it is essential that military and naval action should be co-ordinated. It is absolutely necessary to have one more battalion sent to Rajkot at once. Secondly, two of our sloops should be kept in the territorial waters of Mangrol. It would certainly have a steadying effect on the Sheikh of Mangrol. The presence of one reconnaissance plane operated from Rajkot in that locality will also facilitate our action.

25. From the international point of view our case would have to be prepared separately, but I have no doubt in my mind that our action would be fully justified because the offensive action is not taken by us but by Junagadh State. It is obviously essential that if any action is forced on us, we should take quick and effective measures. I would therefore suggest to H.M. that a Cabinet meeting should be held at once to consider this matter and that the C-in-C should be invited to be present at this meeting.

APPENDIX FIVE

JUNAGADH STATE

Junagadh is the premier, and the largest, State of the 300 and odd States in Kathiawar, the next biggest States in that locality being Nawanagar and Bhavnagar. The area of Junagadh is about 3,500 sq. miles. The population is roughly 82 per cent non-Muslim and 18 per cent Muslim. The total population is approximately 6.3/4 lakhs. To the south it is flanked by the Arabian Sea, to the east by Bhavnagar State, to the west by Porbandar and Nawanagar States and to the north by Gondal, Rajkot, Jetpur and Baroda States. It is not a compact area as parts of the State are detached and are situated as islands in the States of Gondal, Bhavnagar, Nawanagar and Baroda. Similarly parts of the States which have acceded to the Indian Dominion are situated so as to be interspersed with Junagadh territory and there is quite a large island of such territory right in the heart of Junagadh State. Part of this territory is plain, but part is covered by hills of reasonable heights (Girnar

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hills), and by dense forests to the north of a place called Una. It may, however, be said that the entire territory is such as would make troop and motor movements easy even where pucca roads are not available.

2. The State owns its own railway which is based on Rajkot and which has important railway junctions, viz., Junagadh, Jetalsar (Gondal State), Talala and Veraval. It is a metre gauge railway, the gauge in the entire Kathiawar being the metre gauge. There are two ports on the sea-coast, viz., Veraval and Mangrol but these are undeveloped and not open to regular steamships until after the monsoon, i.e., after 15 September and should be after 1 October this year owing to the late rains. There is one aerodrome at Keshod on the line between Junagadh and Veraval which is owned by the State and which, though small, is big enough for the landing of Dakota aircraft. An air service runs between Bombay and Karachi with halts at Junagadh, Jamnagar and Bhuj. The service is run by Air Services of India which have their headquarters in Bombay. The halt at Junagadh has been recently suspended owing to disturbed conditions in the State.

3. The Ruler of Junagadh is a Muslim. The entire administration is Muslim, 80 per cent of the higher offices being held by them. The State is at present being dominated by Muslims from Sind. The leading officials are Mr. Shah Nawaz Bhutto, who is the Dewan, Mr. Abrahani, who is the private secretary to the Nawab of Junagadh, and Mr. N. Naqvi who is I.G. of Police. There is an Englishman, Mr. Deat, who is in the service of the Nawab as Port Commissioner at Veraval. The State Forces are wholly manned by Muslims, mainly from Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab and the Frontier. The Nawab is reported to be a good man except that he is mad after dogs. He is said to be virtually a prisoner of the Dewan who has put a cordon of Sindhi troops around the palace so that he may not have any contact with the outside world. The heir-apparent is a grown-up boy and has lined up with the Bhutto clique in its alliance with Pakistan.

4. When the future constitutional set-up of the Indian States was under consideration, authorities on behalf of the Junagadh Government made repeated declarations to the effect that Junagadh stood for the unity and solidarity of Kathiawar and that the State would make common cause with the other Kathiawar States to maintain peace and security in that tract. A representative of Junagadh State attended the conference of Rulers convened by the Viceroy on 26-7-47 and also took part in some of the committee discussions which followed that conference. It is only at a later stage that the State began to drift away from the Indian Union and declared its intention to join the Pakistan Dominion. Even now the exact position is not quite clear. The latest telegram received from the Pakistan Government says that a standstill agreement has been signed between the two Governments. As for accession, the communication says that Pakistan has decided to accept the

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request of Junagadh to accede to Pakistan. The Government of India have been informed by Junagadh that having regard to the interests of the State and the people, it has decided to join Pakistan. The will of the people has, of course, never been ascertained and we have good reason to believe that the entire non-Muslim population is opposed to joining Pakistan.

5. We made two formal efforts to obtain a declaration of the intention of the Pakistan Government in regard to this matter but to no effect. Eventually we sent an important telegram from the Prime Minister of India to the Prime Minister of Pakistan pointing out that as Junagadh was not geographically contiguous to the Dominion of Pakistan, as the population of Junagadh was over 80 per cent Hindu, as no attempt has been made by the Junagadh Government to ascertain the wishes of the people as to the two alternatives of joining the Indian or Pakistan Dominion and as India could not agree to Pakistan having any foothold on Indian territory in defiance of all recognised and accepted principles governing the accession of States, the Indian Government would not acquiesce in the proposed accession of Junagadh to Pakistan. The message was sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan through Lord Ismay who flew to Karachi on 12-9-47.

6. Since it became evident that Junagadh was trying to drag the 80 per cent Hindu population of the State into Pakistan, a professedly Muslim State, the people of Junagadh, though meek, submissive and suppressed, began to raise their voice against the intentions of the State. One portion of the State to the southeast, called Babariawad, raised the banner of revolt. This tract comprises over 50 villages held by guaranteed landholders called Mulgirasias. On detaching themselves from Junagadh State and on declaring their own independence based on the guarantee afforded to them by the Crown Representative, they approached the Indian Dominion with a request for being treated as Thanas and Talukas who have been given the privilege of acceding to the Dominion by means of a simple instrument of accession. Through a rough and ready means of ascertaining the wishes of the villages concerned, the Indian Dominion found that the request of the Mulgirasias was shared by the people of the villages and it was accordingly decided by the Indian Government to permit these Mulgirasias to accede to the Dominion. An announcement of this decision was made on the Radio, in the Press and in the villages concerned. The Government also stated that as a consequence of the accession, defence of the villages became a responsibility of the Indian Dominion. Suspecting that the Junagadh authorities might wish to penalise these Mulgirasias for their courage to resort to the principle of self-determination and to assert their rights, the Mulgirasias asked the Indian Government to make necessary arrangement for their protection. We have accordingly moved two platoons of Central Armed Police which is almost as good as military in efficiency to Dedan, an acceding State which just borders on Babariawad.

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We have also made arrangements for the Bhavnagar State Force to be at Rajula, again on the frontier of Babariawad, in the event of their being required to come to the assistance of our force. Bhavnagar has acceded to the Dominion of India and has placed its forces at our disposal to safeguard our frontiers. It is open to the Regional Commissioner, who will be the main representative of the States Ministry at Rajkot, to call in the assistance of the Bhavnagar force at any time when the Indian military forces operate in that area. The Bhavnagar forces will operate under the command of the Officer Commanding the Indian armed forces in Kathiawar. Very soon our armed police, which is at present stationed at Dedan, will move into Babariawad in the discharge of our obligation to protect that territory. It is possible that the Junagadh forces may attack our police when it is actually operating within the four corners of Babariawad. If this happens, our armed police will have to be supported by the Indian Government military operating from Rajkot.

I am not a military officer and am not competent to speak on the requirement of our forces in Rajkot. I have, however, made a detailed study of the situation and gathered information which impels me to say that it would be better if our battalion in Rajkot is supported by a unit of the artillery and a plane, at least a reconnaissance plane. This will help in speeding up the operation and reducing the casualties, if any, on both sides.

7. Although we have no complete and most up-to-date information regarding the extent of the Junagadh State forces, we know that the Junagadh State force consists of one battalion of about four hundred men, one and a half squadron of horse, armed police of about 700 and armed forest guards of about 300. There are reports that between one and two thousand rifles have been distributed to Sindhis, Makranis and Pathans in the State although they are not members of the regular State army. On the other hand, arms of the Hindus and non-Muslims have been taken away in spite of their holding licences for the same. The present location of the State forces is one company at Veraval, one platoon at Prabhas Patan, one platoon at Kutiana, one platoon at Una and the rest at Junagadh itself. Arms and equipment are those which have been supplied by the Military Adviser, Indian States Forces, except that it is said that recently some new arms have been smuggled into the State. There is no information about the existence of machine-guns and sten-guns and certainly there could not be any, even small tank in the State.

8. In this connection, it is interesting to know what is the strength of the armed forces of the surrounding States, viz. Baroda, Nawanagar, Bhavnagar and Porbandar. Baroda has two battalions, the bulk of which are camped at Dhari not far from Junagadh and one company of which is located at Kodinar on the seacoast right across Junagadh territory. It is doubtful if the Baroda

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forces will be available to the Indian forces even for purposes of co-ordination, but they are already there to protect Baroda territory against any incursion or attack from Junagadh forces. Nawanagar has a battalion of infantry, a company of horse, and a detachment of wireless and motor transport and its equipment is said to be fairly good. His Highness the Jamsaheb is himself a soldier, takes interest in his army and may be expected to put up a force as good as may be expected of a State of that size. The Jamsaheb can be counted upon cent per cent to co-operate with the Indian forces and has agreed that when the operations start, if at all, his force will work under the command of the Officer Commanding the Indian Government Forces at Rajkot. He has moved all his forces towards the Junagadh frontier and will be locating them at Jam Jodhpur to the west, and at Jetpur and Jetalsar to the east. The Jamsaheb has made arrangements with the States of Gondal and Jetpur to go into their territories and operate from there and thereby give protection and support to these two small States which have no forces of their own. Porbandar has just a company which will be sufficient to neutralise the small force of Junagadh kept at Kutiana on the Porbandar frontier. We can move our own troops to our own Thanas right in the middle of Junagadh State without territorial infringement of Junagadh or without being guilty of any aggressive action on our part.

9. Although the railway in the State belongs to the State, its policing is in our hands and must be retained in our hands. It will be necessary and desirable to strengthen our railway police along with the entire line so as to prevent any sabotage on the line when our troops are to move for any particular purpose. The bridge at Nawagadh near Jetalsar will have particularly to be guarded.

10. Posts and Telegraph offices in the State are also in our charge notwithstanding any standstill agreement or accession signed by Junagadh with Pakistan. Instructions have been issued to reinforce the staff in these post offices in view of the truculent attitude of Junagadh. The protection of these offices may also become an important responsibility of our forces in Kathiawar, both police and military. The military may have to come to the aid of the police in the guarding of both the railway line and the post and telegraph offices which are and will be retained in our hands.

11. All reports received from Junagadh indicate that a reign of terrorism, akin to martial law, prevails in the State. The Hindu population is panicky and fleeing. Business is at a standstill. Prices of properties and commodities are falling. Conversions of Hindus to Muslims are being resorted to. The Begum of Junagadh is said to have taken a vow that she will not have her dinner at night unless she has converted at least six Hindu girls. Dacoits are being released from jail, supplied with arms and ammunition and let loose on the Hindu people and the adjacent Indian States. Temples are being desecrated

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and Islamic slogans are being raised in loud voices to frighten and intimidate the local population. All this is deeply resented by the Rulers of adjoining States who find it difficult to restrain their own Hindu people from perpetrating similar atrocities on small pockets of Muslims in their States. If the mischief in Junagadh is not checked in time, we shall have a repetition of the Punjab situation in Kathiawar, Gujarat and Bombay in which Muslims will be the greater sufferers.

15. There are certain places where there are large congregations of Muslims and where therefore lives of the Hindu population may be in special danger. One such place is Veraval. In any operation, the earliest possible seizure of Veraval should therefore be an important objective. It is an important prize, being a port, as also to prevent a massacre of Hindu population, with its inevitable repercussion of massacre of Muslims in the adjoining Hindu States. It is on the direct line from Rajkot to Junagadh, being of course beyond Junagadh and right on the sea.

13. Action has been taken to prevent supplies of coal and petroleum being made to any places within Junagadh State. In view of our activities however in Kathiawar, arrangements have to be made for adequate quantities of coal and petroleum at Rajkot or as near as possible to that place. Warnings for this purpose have been already given to the departments concerned. The Indian Meteorological Department station at Veraval is being shifted. The Regional Commissioner at Rajkot will have powers to intercept messages from and to Junagadh and if necessary to suspend the entire post and telegraph system of the State.

14. Our principal representative at Rajkot will be our Regional Commissioner, Mr. Buch, a senior officer of the Indian Civil Service. In emergency, he will have full discretion to take any action or pass any order which is competent to a provincial Government. Arrangements have been made to enable him to book most immediate telephone calls to Delhi. When the military wish, or have to consult a civilian officer, they should consult the Regional Commissioner who will be the highest civil authority in the territory.

15. The above note gives a complete picture of the Junagadh case in so far as it has developed up to date and in so far as information is available. The note has been compiled primarily to acquaint the officer in charge of the battalion proceeding to Rajkot with the full background of the case. It should be treated as a top-secret document, not to be quoted in any conversation or reference. A map is attached to illustrate the various references and a fuller map of Kathiawar will be available in the office of the Regional Commissioner at Rajkot.

16. The officers of the States Ministry in Delhi to be contacted in an emergency will be Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary, Telephone: Residence 3151, Office

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2415 or Mr. Desai, Additional Secretary, Residence: No. 40325, Office 2467. The telegraphic address of the States Ministry is "Statesind—New Delhi." Ministry of States

APPENDIX VI

Rajkot
24 January 1949

Inaugurating the Saurashtra Constituent Assembly here this morning, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of States, urged the Princes and the people of India to co-operate in the task ahead.

Sardar Patel paid a tribute to the sacrifices of the rulers which had resulted in the creation of the Assembly and "the opening of a new chapter in the history of Saurashtra."

He said: "Some of the rulers prefer to remain neutral and think that after having surrendered authority they have no responsibility. Such an attitude would be detrimental to the interest of the country. My appeal to the Princes is: If you find any shortcomings in the people or their leaders you must not flinch from your duty. If we find fault with each other and indulge in disputes, it will lead us nowhere. But, on the contrary, we should try to love each other and be friendly."

Sardar Patel appealed to Saurashtra to follow the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and give a correct lead to the whole country.

A large and distinguished gathering heard Sardar Patel in pin-drop silence. The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Raj Pramukh of Saurashtra, and Ministers of Saurashtra received Sardar Patel when he arrived at the hall where the Assembly met and conducted him to the dais amidst cheers. Among those present were Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Government of India's Minister for Works, Mines and Power, the Raja of Dhrangadhra, officials and non-officials.

The following is the full text of Sardar Patel's address:

I have come on this historic occasion at the invitation of the Raj Pramukh, Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. He was very keen on my coming here to inaugurate the first Constituent Assembly of Saurashtra. Ordinarily, it would not have been necessary for me to come here. I came here to inaugurate the Saurashtra Union and to administer the oath of office to the Jam Saheb last year. Now, broadly, the integration of Saurashtra has been completed and an obstruction in the way of complete unification of Saurashtra has been removed (Sardar Patel made a reference obviously to Junagadh). The danger of balkanisation, which threatened us in India, is now over. The rulers can take justifiable pride in having played their part in the writing of this new history of India.

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A new chapter in the history of Saurashtra is being written at the juncture and we must understand the aim of it. There were about five to six hundred states in India. It was no easy task to bring the new order into the states. But we can all congratulate ourselves that though the significance of these changes may not be fully realised by us now history will record it in unmistakable terms. If we shall play our part well, the future of India will also be bright. The manner in which we achieved the independence of India has astonished the whole world. Without having gone to war we secured it by a new weapon. It was Mahatma Gandhi who brought that new technique. A new weapon was created in a world full of violence. One hopes that the day will come when the salvation of the whole world will also be achieved through that medium. The world is placing its trust on our technique of non-violence. It now depends on us to increase and further demonstrate its efficacy. We should not forget the great lesson taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi. The whole world should be converted to that way of life and thought.

We are unfortunately not fully prepared to follow that path. Our prestige has gone high because of Mahatma Gandhi. People are praising the manner in which we have achieved the integration of states without violence or bloodshed and by peaceful means and co-operation and in a spirit of cordiality. In this one and all of us have a hand. We must understand clearly the responsibility that we have to shoulder. The Congress, the party that fought the battle of freedom and won independence, must not think in terms of loss or gain in elections. We are all collected here with a spirit of service. The voters have cast their votes in the interests of Saurashtra. This is the first democratic Assembly in Saurashtra, for which we must thank God. We should not think in terms of parties and petty rivalries. We must pray to God to give us strength to fulfil our duty. May He bless us to enable us to fulfil the work ahead of us.

There have been many elections before in the world and election fever has always been there. If anybody has done anything undesirable during the elections and spoilt the atmosphere, such things must be placed in oblivion and forgotten. Everyone has a right to stand for election and get elected and once we are here there should be brotherhood amongst all of us to march on the common path. Up to now the Princes had their responsibility. They were doing their jobs in their own way and they liked it. We were very critical of them at that time. Whatever you might call it, the right to serve or authority or power, it has been taken away by us from them. I have often repeated that without the co-operation of the Princes the country would have been in a very sorry plight and untold hardships would have ensued. I have always paid them tributes for the co-operation the Princes have offered.

Recalling the critical days of Mahatma Gandhi's fast in 1938, Sardar Patel said: "In those days we were thinking that it was no use fighting with the Princes because they themselves were not free agents under foreign rule.

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In those days I believed with Mahatma Gandhi that the minute they became independent they too would play their patriotic part. Everyone wants the kumkum and not a black mark to be placed on his forehead. As independent rulers they also preferred the same.

"Generally speaking, my experience of the Princes during the last year has convinced me that what Mahatma Gandhi thought has turned out correct. Today the Union of Saurashtra and the solidarity of India are a fact. Our task in the future will be easier if we have the sincere co-operation of the rulers. If some of them prefer to remain neutral and think that after having surrendered authority they had no responsibility it will also be detrimental to the country's interest. Abandonment of power involves a huge sacrifice and they have surrendered their states willingly, voluntarily and consciously. It is not a new thing in the history of India for the rulers volunteering to give up their gaddis [thrones]. In India there have been innumerable instances of such abnegation. History will take cognizance of these rulers for their acts of sacrifice. I appeal to them: 'If you find any shortcomings in the people or their leaders you must not flinch from your duty. If we find fault with each other and indulge in disputes it will lead us nowhere but on the contrary we should try to love each other and be friendly.' On this occasion of the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly of Saurashtra I want the best wishes and sincere co-operation of those who have made it possible for us to have a democratic Union of Saurashtra.

"Mahatma Gandhi was very keen on the formation of Saurashtra. He was talking to me about it only a few hours before his death and he expressed his great joy in this achievement. We must remember one thing. What would he have expected us to do if he were in our midst? We must live as one family in Saurashtra. The downtrodden people of Saurashtra have many expectations from us. To fulfil their hopes should be our first aim. If Saurashtra is to digest the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, Saurashtra must think in terms of giving a lead to India. With pure hearts and in a spirit of service alone we should start our work here today. The whole world is in misery. All the adjoining countries around us are unstable. In their midst is our country. The whole world is looking to us for inspiration because ours is a country with an ancient culture. The future generations will think of you in terms of respect if you will keep your objectives in mind and do your duty creditably.

"I am indebted to you all and the Raj Pramukh for having given me this opportunity to speak to you. I consider it to be a religious duty to complete the still unfinished work of Gandhiji and that has inspired me to come here. Please try to remember always what I have said about your duty and responsibility. March on the path in the spirit of service and without harbouring notions of distinctions, high and low.

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INDEX

ABDULLAH, SHEIKH, if—comes to Hyderabad, he should be turned back, 77

Abstract of Intelligence, from CP & Berar Police, 540

Accession, its unqualified acceptance alone in case of Hyderabad would be acceptable to us, 212

Adibasis, 508, 513, 526, 529, 535, 536, 543

Adibasi Mahasabha, 525; —problem, 546

Adibasistan, 525

Administrative arrangement, for Rajasthan, 530-32

Administrative set-up, tentative plan for Hyderabad, 216

Adult franchise, 593

Advisory Committee, its reorganisation, 258

Advisory Councils, in Rajasthan, 418

Agrarian Commission, in Hyderabad, 324

Agreement, its breach between Bihar & CP Premiers, 543

Ahmed, Sir Sultan, 58, 68, 69, 70, 79, 83, 97

Ahmed, Zahir, 190; his flight to Karachi with blank papers with Nizam's signature for UNO petition, 192

Aiyangar, Aravamudh, 49-54, 64, 239; asserts Nizam's tributary States like Gadwal etc. should be merged with Union Government, 66; informs N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar about communal incidents in Hyderabad, 46-48

Ajitsinhji, Lt. Col., 500

Ajmer-Merwara, 418; its political Conference, 216

Akali Sikh members, their merging with Congress Party, 617

Aland Hindu Rayats, complain to Sardar Patel about Hyderabad atrocities, 207-08

Ali, Aruna Asaf, 148

Ali, Asaf, writes to Sardar about Eastern Indian States, 529-31

Alikhan, Iftikhar, congratulates Sardar on Hyderabad success, 247

Ali, Laik, 51, 58, 67, 103, 105, 136, 147, 161, 193, 211, 260; is personally responsible for Council resolution, 259; urges Nizam to accede to Indian Union, 194; with family disappeared from Hyderabad, 356-57

Ali, Laik Ministry, 258

Ali, Liaquat, 271

Ali, Mir Asghar, 271

Alizaheer, congratulates Sardar on Hyderabad success, 246

Allen Berry & Co, Messrs., have struck with Hyderabad about military vehicles, 112

All-India Dalit Jatiya Sangha, 332

All-India State Peoples' Conference, 409

Alwar Administrator, writes to V. P. Menon about Alwar Kisan Sabha agitation, 600-01; writes about State affairs, 597-99

Alwar Sabha, 597-99

Alwar State Praja Mandal, 596-97

Ambedkar, Dr., 238

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Amritsar Golden Temple, 603
Andhra Sangam, 56
Ansari, A. Q., his statement, 517, 518
Arbitration Act of 1899, 82
Armed forces, in India, 273
Arya Samaj Satyagraha, 247
Attlee, 264, 663; his remarks about Hyderabad in Parliament, 208
Aundh Raja, wires to Mahatma Gandhi resolution of eight Deccan States, 464; writes to Mahatma Gandhi its details, 465-67
Ayyangar, N. Gopalaswami, 49-54, 64, 129, 239-40; his letter to Sardar reg. Mysore, Hyderabad & activities of Ramaswami Mudaliar, 639-40; second batch of Hyderabad letters received by—& passed on to Sardar, 68-76; writes to Sardar about Hyderabad, 42-43
Azad, Maulana, 95, 148
Azamjah, Prince of Berar, prays for health of Sardar, 327

BABU LAL, 659, 660
Bagal, Madhavrao, 562, 565, 566; his representation to Maharashtra Pradesh Cong. Com., 557-59; sides with Maharaja to fight against merger, 561
Bahujanwadi Party, 561
Bahujan Samajvad, 566
Bajpai, Girja Shankar, 384, 385
Bakhle, D. S., 259; complains in details to V. Shankar in protest of general massacre & atrocities of Muslims in Hyderabad, 274-76
Bapna, S. M., 570-71
Bardoloi, Gopinath, 550
Baroda, accedes, 449-507; succession to throne of, 455
Baroda Maharaja, 452, 460, 461; his privy purse, 455-57; his speech at inauguration of Responsible Government in Baroda, 462-63; signs draft, 449; writes to Sardar on varied State problems, 455
Baroda Prajamandal, 450; resolution passed by, 453-54
Baroda State Dhara Sabha, resolutions passed by, 454-55
Bastar State, 30, 33; to be ceded to Nizam, 11
Bengal, East, large-scale influx of Muslims & non-Muslims in W. Bengal from, 260
Berar legislation, 67, 110
Bhakra Dam project, 403, 620
Bhalja, G. S., congratulates Sardar on Hyderabad success, 246
Bhandari, 246
Bharatpur State, 599, 601, 602
Bhargava, Gopichand, on Himachal Pradesh & East Punjab States, 619-20
Bhargava, Mukut Behari Lal, 418
Bhatt, Gokulbhai, 397, 484
Bhavnagar Maharaja, 483
Bhide, M.V., Prime Minister of Indore, requests Sardar to confirm arrangement done by him reg. Indore administration, 568-69
Bhopal, 1, 2; its army, 136
Bhutto, Sir Shah Nawaz, wires to Sardar to allow to take steps for people's govt. in Junagadh, 390
Bihar, lays claim on Surguja & Jashpur, 518
Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill, 260
Bikaner Maharaja, 405-06
Bikaner State, 404
Bilaspur State, 620
Bilgrami, Said Megi, 240

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Bindu, D.G., & other leaders absent themselves from oath-taking in Hyderabad, 352
Birla, Ghanshyamdas, 149
Biyani, Brijlal, 21, 22, 26, 545; requests Sardar to make position of Berar clear in India Independence Bill, 23-24; sends Berar All-parties' Conference resolutions to Sardar, 16-17; sends resolution of Free Berar Committee to Sardar, 28; wires for messsage to Sardar for Berar All-parties' Conference protesting against Berar's retrocession to Nizam, 15
Bombay Governor, has confidential talk with Kolhapur Maharaja that Kolhapur State will have to merge with Indian Union, 561
Bose, Sarat Chandra, 547-48
Brelvi, 278
Bren Gun Factory, 29
British Commonwealth of Nations, 90, 93, 94, 221, 222, 264
British Missionary Society, 194
British press, never put Hyderabad case, 246
Broadcasting Service, 404
Brunyate, prepares standstill agreement on behalf of Hyderabad, 56, 57
Buch, N. M., discusses Bhuj-Kutch problems with Joshi & Ashar, 636; his letter reg. Shoebullah Murder case, 367-68; writes two letters to Military Governor, 298-304
Buch, Regional Commissioner, 386
Bucher, General, 273
Burma situation, 665
Business concerns, in Hyderabad, 379
Butler, Cabinet Minister in UK, 208
CALCUTTA, presents a serious problem, 260; Corporation, 252
Central Indian States, 35
Central Intelligence Bureau, 531
Central Ordnance Depot, informs smuggling of valuable Govt. stores, 114
Central Press Advisory Committee, 610
Chambal Hydro-electric scheme, 216
Chambers of Commerce Deputation, 268
Chanda, A. K., 262
Chaudhuri, Major-General, 137, 322, 326, 331-33; his suggestions, 258; his telegram to States Ministry reg. Vinoba's goodwill mission in Hyderabad, 313; Sardar's telegram to—, 308; relinquishes his appointment as Military Governor of Hyderabad, 347
Chavan, Parliamentary Secretary to Bombay Govt., 565
Chetty, Shanmukham, Sardar can persuade—to agree to revival of Information Films of India, 477
Chhatari, 49, 53-54, 58, 67, 69, 83, 139, 206-07, 255
Chhattisgarh groups, 508, 526
Chhattisgarh States, 35, 509-10, 527-28, 537; their integration in CP & Berar, 525
Chhota Nagpur State, 508, 517
Chief Civil Administrator, Hyderabad, 313-14
Chorvad Hindu public, protest against Junagadh's thinking of joining Pakistan, 382
Chowdhury Harpal Singh, 627
Christian missionaries, in Jashpur State, 525
C.I.D. Officers, 252
Civil Disobedience Movements, 270

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Cochin Prime Minister, writes to Sardar about State affairs, 651
Colateral agreement, 86
Commonwealth Countries, 82
Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, 262
Communal Fanaticism, 328
Communists, 130-31, 139, 259, 281, 321, 324; contemplate to extend their activities to Nepal, 661; their front in Hyderabad, 209; their front in Kolhapur, 563
Communist-Razakar alliance, 324
Congress split, creates confusion in Hyderabad, 281
Congress Working Committee, its resolution on Hyderabad Reforms, 5
Constituent Assembly, 1, 2, 109, 191, 211, 218, 328, 408, 505, 527-28, 534, 538, 567-68, 630; in Hyderabad, 328; its elections, 322
Constitutional Adviser, 75
Cooch Behar, 547-48, 550, 554-55; its State Prajamandal's resolution on its merger with Central Govt., 551-52
Corfield, Sir Conrad, 30
Cotton, Sidney, 191
Coyajee, Justice, 566
CP, its Chief Minister is asked by Hyderabad Prime Minister to take back refugees, 90
CP-Bihar controversy, 541
CP Government, its abstract of intelligence, 539
Cripps, Stafford, Sir, 662, 663
Custodian of Evacuee Property, 272
Cutch Parishad Delegation, 634
Cypher Bureau, in London, 258
Czechoslovakian Government, 38, 41; informs Indian Govt. that Hyderabad has approached them for arms & ammunition, 56
DAHEJIA, V. T., receives information reg. atrocities in Hyderabad, 276
Dalmia, Seth Ramkrishna, 112, 570
Damodar Das, 289
Daryapur, its Bar Association suggests inclusion of Berar in British India, 24-25
Das, Bishwanath, 524; helps agitation started by Seraikella Raja, 522, 523
Datia Prajamandal, informs Sardar that Maharaja has broken agreement, 631
Dawn, 235, 260, 263; publishes article on Hyderabad, 297-98
Deb, Jaladhar, complains that Orissa States are in besieged condition, 535-36
Deccan airways, 258-59
Deccan area, its internal security, 117-19
Deccan States, note on their political situation, 469-70
Deendars, 192
Defence Committee, 115
Defence Ministry, 115
Democratic Govt., in Dumas State, 485
Deo, Shankarrao, 20, 23, 27
Depressed classes, 191; their federation, 96
Desai, Bhaktilaxmi, 503
Desai, C. C., secretary to Ministry of States, 607, 608
Desai, Dhirubhai, 241, 242
Desai, Gopaldas, 504
Desai, Janardanrao, 334; writes to Sardar about Hyderabad Congress affairs, 337-39
Desai, Kanjibhai, writes to Menon on Baroda & Gujarat States, 449-51
Deshmukh, Punjabrao, 20-22

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Deshpande, P. Y., asserts exclusion of Berar from Indian Dominion is affront to Beraris, 24
Deshmukh, Ramarao, Rewa Chief Minister, 593; writes to Sardar about Mir Laik Ali's escape, 356-57; writes to Sardar on many problems in State, 583-85
Dharam Prakash, 330, 331; receives representatives from Harijans, 332
Dharmadhikari, Nana, 567-68
Dhebar, U. N., 504, 507; writes to Sardar about "dissipations" & private properties of Gondal Maharaja, 502
Digvijaysinghji, Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, congratulates Sardar on success in Hyderabad, 241-42
Director-General of Police, 94
Diwakar, R. R., 342-44; writes to Sardar about union of Karnatak & Mysore, 637-38
Dogra, Prem Nath, 331
Dumas Nawab, is fully prepared to hand over State to India Govt., 488-89
Dyarchical System, 323

EAST PUNJAB GOVERNMENT, 405-06
East Punjab States, 619
Eastern Garjat group, should have opportunity to express themselves, 535
Eastern India States, 508-555
Eastern States Union movement, 512, 529
Economic blockade, in Hyderabad, 191
Economic sanctions, 140-47
Edroos, El, 258
Edroos, General, 165, 193
Edroos, Syed Ahmed, his activities for arms in Europe, 135, 136
Edwards, Rev., presses upon Munshi to request Sardar to take early action in Hyderabad, 194
Elections, 450; fair & democratic, 344; in Rewa, 593
Englishmen, in Hyderabad are pro-Muslim & pro-Pakistan, 67; & Americans are given all facilities to leave Hyderabad safely, 193
External Affairs Ministry, 384-85, 635
Extraordinary powers, their abuse, 511
Extra-Provincial Jurisdiction Act, 514

FAMINE, in Madras, 130
Ferguson tractor, 662
Food levy system, 329
Free Berar Committee, 25-28
French Indian Settlements, 261

GADGIL, N. V., 404, 592
Gadwal Samasthan, 72
Gandhi, Devdas, suggests to Rajaji to write to Vinoba reg. Hyderabad tour, 280
Gandhiji, memorial to—in Dumas, 485
Gandhi, Shamaldas, has not adequate co-operation from U. N. Dhebar, 503
Gangpur State, 546
General strike, of 22 socialist-controlled labour unions in Hyderabad, 350
Gerber, Dr., 242
Ghorpade, Y. R., Raja of Sandur, writes to Sardar reg. Hyderabad, 122-24

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Ghosh, Dr. Profulla Chandra, 550
Goa, 255, 259; supplies arms to Hyderabad, 135, 136
Goddard, General, 137
Godse trial, 249, 321
Golwalkar, M. S., 261
Gondal Maharaja, 502
Goondaism, in Hyderabad, 122
Gopalaswami N., protests against public flogging in Hyderabad, 273; suggests names of good 3 Hindu & 2 Muslim officers to Sardar, 239-40
Government of India, 212; their discussion with Hyderabad delegation, 70; Act, 260
Gowda Shankarlinge, 640
Gujarat States, 537; to merge with Bombay State, 450
Gulbarga, its police roughly handle railway passengers, 45
Gupta, Ghanshyam Singh, 247-48
Gurkhas, their Recruiting Depot, 661
Gwalior-Indore-Malva Union, in May 1948, 579
Gwalior Maharaja, takes Gandhiji's *asthi* to Amar-Kantak, 584; thanks Sardar on behalf of himself & other princes for grant of liberal privy purse, 582
Gwalior Ministry, decides in favour of merger of Gwalior with India, 578

HARIJANS, 328
Hasan, Dr., ex-minister of CP, 35; transmits information to Jinnah, 77
Health Department, of Hyderabad, pleads helplessness about health of the city, 85
HEH, 49, 52, 66, 70, 84, 93, 105, 110; orders holders of Hindu Samasthans should give written assurance that they would not join Indian Union, 71
Henderson, Arthur, 220-21
High Courts, 511
Himachal Pradesh, as centrally administered province, 616; its negotiating committee, 615
Hindu evacuees, their houses are given to Muslims, 69
Hindu hooligans, 257
Hindu Mahasabha, 92, 96, 504
Hindus, destruction of their property is very great in Hyderabad, 49
Hindu refugees, 670
Hindu Samasthans, in Hyderabad intend to accede to Indian Union, 71
Hindustan Air Factory, 149
Hire, President of Maharashtra Prov. Cong. Com. 565
Holkar Maharaja, 568-69
Home guards, 129
House of Commons, on Hyderabad, 209
Hussain, Dr. Yusuf, 261
Hussain, Dr. Zakir, 95, 261
Hydari, Akbar, his letter to Rajaji, 266-67; on Cooch-Behar, 549-50
Hyderabad, 58, 84, 92, 106, 209, 220, 241, 250-56, 669; Agreement has been signed, 125, 136; amnesty, proposed by Padmaja, 268; atrocious incidents in, 78; complete evacuation of troops from —is desired by Nizam, 75; English people have a very soft corner for, 107; goondas in—create trouble, 36; if—accedes, its several demands would be granted, 70; if—accedes, rioting, mass assaults & killings of

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majority community would follow, 71; if—joins union, there would be man-slaughter on a large scale, 54; is complete war camp, 191; is purchasing large number of ex-military vehicles from Bombay & Calcutta, 112; it cannot have right to appoint diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, 82; its independence is demanded, 147; its military administration remarkably wins Muslims confidence, 258; its Muslim population is unco-operative, 321; its police force is being increased, 54; its popular movement is of recent origin, 323; its 16 representatives to Indian Parliament, 363; its tradition of corruption, intrigue & inefficiency, 322; makes Pakistan its agent for procuring arms, ammunition to be smuggled, 87; may request Dominion of India to supply it with arms & ammunition, 82; parity between Hindus & Muslims in—is untenable, 1; prohibits Indian Flag & Union Jack 54; reforms in—, 1-4; Hyderabad Administration, 321

Hyderabad Delegation, 78, 124

Hyderabad Government, does not seem to honour standstill agreement, 129; English translation of its Urdu notification, 45-46; have come to an arrangement with Birmingham small arms company of Britain, 38; have encouraged a fascist organisation which is a serious menace to Indian Dominion, 212; is about to incarcerate all State Congress leaders, 49; places order for ammunition with Czechoslovakian Govt., 38

Hyderabad Princesses, 264, 265

Hyderabad ruler, English translation of his ghazal, 248-49

Hyderabad Settlement, accepted in presence of Sardar, 290

Hyderabad situation, 129-31

Hyderabad State Congress, 286-88; its resolution on Hyderabad Reforms, 8-10

Hyderabad State Ministry, 328

IENGAR, H.V.R., on House of Commons' debate on Hyderabad, 209

Independence Progressive Party, 92

India & the world, 662-73

Indian army, 273

Indian Dominion, 82-84, 89-90, 212; has many troubles like Punjab, Kashmir & Junagadh, 89

Indian Government, reply to Czechoslovakian Govt. that their supplying arms & ammunition to Hyderabad would be regarded as an unfriendly act, 56

Indian Independence Act, 94

Indian National Congress, 342, 343, 513

Indian Princes, 79

Indian States, 500; their cultural heritage, 626

Indian Union, 58, 68-69, 96, 98, 147, 251-53, 625

Indo-Hyderabad relations, 149

Indore Congress Committee, 573

Indore Legislative Council, 572; passes resolution favouring union of Madhya Bharat States, 572

Indore Maharaja, fails to implement agreement accepting Indore's accession, 569; is in hot waters, 570; writes to Sardar reg. land improvement scheme in his State, 576-77

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Indravijaysinhji, 503
Information Films of India, 477
Instrument of Accession, contains four points, 84
International Aryan League, Delhi, 248-49
Ismail, Sir Mirza, 8, 10, 18, 19, 33, 210, 230-32; presses Nizam to settle with Indian Union, 164
Ismay, Lord, 383
Ittehad leaders, 164
Ittehad Majlis, are arming every Muslim in Hyderabad, 119
Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, 49, 50, 64, 95, 105, 109, 126; its president's statement, 80-81

JAGIRDARS, 409; in Kolhapur, 563-65; their problem in Hyderabad, 324
Jain, L. C., 259
Jaipur House, 265, 662, 665
Jaipur Maharaja, 662
Jairamdas Doulatram, 131; asserts 40% representation to Muslims in Hyderabad would be fatal, 209
Jaisoorya, Dr. N. M., 321, his letter to the Press, 320
Jamiat-i-Ulema, offers to Sardar administrative & economic analysis of Hyderabad, 377-81
Jammu, its situation worries Sardar, 126, 331
Jashpur State, 525, 539, 541-47
Jats, 597-99, 602; —Kisan rally, 408-09
Jayaprakash Narayan, 361; arrested in Hyderabad along with Prabhavatiben, 18
Jedhe, 561, 566
Jetpur, its Darbar congratulates Sardar on Junagadh success, 392-93
Jharkhand, 508, 526, 529, 546; movement, 541
Jinnah, 44, 50-51, 77, 100-01; asserts troop concentration on Junagadh borders would amount to a hostile act, 383
Jodhpur State, 481-82
Joshi, his report to Bombay Govt, reg. Hyderabad situation, 227-29
Joshi, J. V., 188, 194
Joshi, Liladhar, Gwalior Chief Minister, 579
Joshi, Wamanrao, protests to Sardar that Berar might be transferred to Nizam, 14
Junagadh, its affinity with Gujarat & Kathiawar 387; its perfidy, 382-94; should act in interest of India & join Dominion of India, 387; its Dewan, favours linking with Pakistan, 382-83; its Rajya Praja Mandal thanks Mahatma Gandhi for reverting—from Pakistan to India, 390-91; its trouble, 72, 76, 86, 106
Jung, Ali Nawaz, 59, 66-67, 83, 112
Jung, Ali Yavar, 49, 50, 52, 67, 257
Jung, Moin Nawaz, 97, 165, 191, 239
Jung, Sir Ameen, 66
Jung, Sir Nizamat, 66
Jung, Zain Yar, 191, 255, 257, 259

KALAHANDI, its Rajya is centre of movement, 530-33
Kapurthala Maharaja, his letter to Sardar reg. an Adviser, 604
Kashmir, 129, 137, 147, 210, 220-21, 251, 254, 265, 281, 669; its unwholesome repercussions in Hyderabad, 123
Kasim Razvi, 321

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Katju, K. N., on development of Cooch-Behar, 554
Keskar, a Hindu Mahasabite, 351
Khalsa College, 659
Khan, Chaudhri Zafrullah, on place of Muslims in Indian Union, 250-54
Khan, Liaquat Ali, 76, 111, 383, 388, 477, 663
Khan, Nawab Ismail, 206, 207
Khan, Sidi Haidar, assures Menon of full co-operation of his State, 486-87; requests Sardar for increment in his privy purse, 487-91, 493-98
Khan, Zafrullah, 663
Kharsawan, 517-24, 537
Kher, B. G., 135, 307, 566, 567; suggests to give our people suitable military training with the least possible delay, 114; writes to Sardar about Nizam making large purchases of arms in England, 114
Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed, 95, 246, 404
Kolhapur Maharaja, has been asked by Administrator to refund Rs. 65 lakhs, 366; his telegram to Sardar, 556; launches intensive campaign against merger, 561
Kral, Karel Bedrech, in league with Hyderabad, 38, 40
Kulkarni, Narsingrao, 338
Kumbhar, Ratnappa, 307; asserts time for merger of Kolhapur is ripe, 365
Kutch Maharau, should clear all points before he leaves for USA, 636

LATTHE, Prime Minister of Kolhapur, 561-64
Licence-holders, both Hindus & Muslims from CP & Berar should return their arms, 36
Lingayats, 191, 328
Lohia, Kantilal, opposes retrocession of Berar to Nizam, 24
Lohia, Dr. Rammanohar, his statement & resolution of Rajasthan Movement Committee, 425-28
Lunawada, its Dewan thanks Sardar for his success in Junagadh, 391; its Raja writes to Sardar on problem of Gujarat States, 478-80

MADRAS-HYDERABAD FRONTIER, creates serious situation, 129
Maharatta States, 536-37
Mahtab Harekrushna, 510, 529-38; his telegram to Sardar reg. States' separate union, 516-17; informs Sardar of a movement in Bihar to get back Orissa States, 31, 517-18; replies to Rajendra Prasad's charge, 512-13
Majithia Surjit Singh, Sardar, 659-60
Majumdar, Dr. R. C., 188, 189
Malerkotla Nawab, joins Amritsar Union, 603
Malviya, Ratan Lal, 527-28
Malwa & Vindhya Pradesh, 556-602
Mangrol, 388, 389; its Sheikh signs Instrument of Accession to India, 389
Mashruwala, Kishorelal, 279-80
Matsya Pradesh Union, 599-602
Matthai, Dr., 113
Mayurbhanj, 531; its integration with Orissa, 537, 538
Mayurdhwaj Sinh, requests Sardar to take him into confidence reg. Jodhpur's future, 482
Mehta Balwantray, writes to Sardar about election position in Saurashtra, 503-05

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Mehta, Bhagwat Sinha, his letter to Rajpramukh of Udaipur on question of special allowances to Rajamatas, 403

Mehta, Jivraj, 449, 453; thanks Sardar for his message on new ministry taking up reins in Baroda, 460

Mehta, N. C., his dismissal by Holkar Maharaja is resented by Sardar, 568, 569

Melkote, Dr., 278, 279

Menon, V. P., 67, 71, 111, 125, 250, 385, 397, 398, 401, 408, 416, 455, 462, 479, 517, 524, 533, 545, 559, 561, 622, 624, 626, 631; assures Mayurdhwaj Sinh that 'no drastic intervention' is contemplated in Jodhpur, 482; his talk reg. formation of greater Rajasthan, 428-30; interviews citizens & explains to them policy of Ministry of States reg. States in general & Rampur in particular, 626; prepares draft for Baroda which is signed by Baroda Maharaja, 449; on privy purses of Princes, 491-92; sends a copy of his letter to Rewa Maharaja to Sardar, 594-95; writes to Rewa Maharaja about his Cabinet etc. 593; wires to Sardar reg. formation of a single Kathiawar State, 475

Merger issue, in Kolhapur, if postponed, would complicate matters, 566

Milgov Bolarum, 306

Military Governor, 259, 273, 326

Military officers, from Hyderabad are contacting Americans, 149

Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, 582

Mir Osman Ali Khan, Nizam VII & Sardar exchange mutual photographs, 372-73

Mirza Bakar Ali, congratulates Sardar on his great speech at Gwalior, 281-82

Mishra, D. P., informs Sardar about situation in CP & Berar, 34-35; informs Sardar that Berar & Marathi CP do not want to join united Maharashtra, 34; suggests formation of Mahavidarbha & Mahakoshal, 34

Mishra, Pandit, 589

Misra, Pandit Prajapati, helps pro-Oriya movement, 523

Monckton, Sir Walter, 49, 53, 68, 71, 74, 83, 86, 87, 88, 98, 107, 132, 138, 206, 212, 255, 256, 261, 265; asserts generosity towards Muslims would be a wise policy, 255; assists Hyderabad Govt. to prepare case for UNO & also at UNO, 261; explains to Nizam significance of standstill agreement & collateral agreement, 86; his opinion on Hyderabad situation, 59-62; his secret telegram to Nizam, 127; is not straightforward in his negotiations, 76; letters prepared by— reg. Hyderabad are handed over to His Majesty, Attlee & other prominent members of British Cabinet, 68

Monckton-Chhatari draft, 94

Mookerjee, Syama, 549-50; his letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, 238-39

More, carries on communal organisation, 561, 566

Morvi Maharaja, his telegram to Sardar granting responsible Govt. to his people, 483

Mountbatten, Lady, 632

Mountbatten, Lord, 50, 59, 71, 97, 102, 221, 222, 283-85, 408; conducts negotiations reg. Hyderabad,

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125; congratulates Sardar on unification of Kathiawar, 476; his letter reg. Jaipur House to Commonwealth Relations Officer, 666-67; suggests impartial tribunal reg. Junagadh & Babariawad, 388; writes strongly to Nizam criticising his attempt to get arms through Pakistan, 56
Mountbatten draft, 191
Mridula, 632, 633
Mudaliar, A. Ramaswami, complains to Sardar of Mysore developments, 645-46
Mudhol State, its Dewan writes to V. Shankar reg. merger of the State, 474-75
Munshi, K. M., 42, 449, 452, 453; gives detailed information to Sardar reg. Hyderabad developments, 186-87; his 'brief' reg. points raised by Nizam's Govt. during 4 months, 166-72; his conversation with J. V. Joshi sent to Sardar, 188-89; his letter to Nizam & his reply to—, 157-58; his letter to V. P. Menon, 159-61; his note reg. standstill agreement, 173-86; his note on Hyderabad events between 1 & 7 August, 201-04; Nizam on—, 128; on Communist activities in Hyderabad, 195-201; on economic sanctions in Hyderabad, 140-47; on his talk with Laik Ali, 137, 162-64; on Hyderabad, 147-48; protests preparations for war & smuggling go on in Hyderabad, 165; sends General Rajendra Singhji's telegram to General El. Edroos to Sardar, 190; sends to Sardar a detailed appraisal of Hyderabad situation, 150-56; suggests some high C.I.D. officer from Central govt. should come to Hyderabad for managing military factory, 149
Munshi, Pranlal, wired to Sardar responsible govt. is proclaimed in Baroda, 457
Muslim Deputation, 312
Muslim League & Leaguers, 50-55, 253-54, 541; in Hyderabad are about to attack Hindus with arms, 53
Muslim Princes, 79
Muslims, & even non-Muslims are encouraged to stay out of Bengal, 260; in Delhi obtain arms from Hyderabad, 122; support action of Indian Union against Hyderabad, 251; supposed to be fifth-columnists, 251
Mysore, its union with Karnatak, 637-38; Assembly, 640; Cabinet, 641; government, 148, 149

NABHA, KAPURTHALA & FARIDKOT Maharajas form Amritsar Union, 603
Nabha State, its Maharaja claims authority to decide for the State, 629
Nagpur Imperial Bank, 225
Naidu, Padmaja, 257
Naidu, Sarojini, 206
Nangal Project, 620
Nanjappa V., asserts majority of Kolhapur people await merger, 565; complains in details against Kolhapur Maharaja, 561-63; writes to A. B. Latthe reg. withdrawal of Jagirdars' powers, 559-60
National Flag, 44-46
National guards, 514

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Nawanagar, its Jam Saheb, 387; its Jam Saheb is called to Delhi by Sardar, 484; its Maharani makes a speech in infantry lines, 505-06
Nawaz, Moin, 137
Nazimuddin, Khwaja, Sir, 259; his interview to a B.B.C. correspondent is published on 18-10-1948, 262-63
Negotiating Committee, 2, 91
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 95, 129, 135-36, 147, 164, 249, 254, 257, 550, 659; advises Manekyalal Varma to take oath as Prime Minister & rest sure that he would have Ministry of his choice, 395; congratulates Bhavnagar Maharaja on his granting responsible govt. to his people, 483; dislikes inclusion of communal principle in Hyderabad legislature, 210; his letter to Sardar on a variety of subjects, 264-65, 667-72; his telegram to Sardar, 664-65; meets representatives of Jagirdars, Kshatriyas & Kisan Sabha, 396; pleads to Sardar to arrange to recover an abducted Muslim girl, 632; suggests to Sardar to send a message to British Govt. reg. Junagadh affair, 385
Nepal, its loan of ten Gurkha battalions to India, 652, 658; its Maharaja complains against Nepali broadcast from Calcutta, 659; writes to Sardar about his State affairs, 652-55
Nijalingappa, 342, 343; writes to Sardar about Karnatak Cong. affairs, 647-48
Nizam, 50-58, 70, 86, 92, 106, 111, 130, 240, 256, 257, 270; arms himself to crush Hindus, 56; arranges to arm Muslims, 114; asserts he is not prepared to negotiate on basis of accession, 59, 111; asserts Sardar's great personality is a valuable asset for India, 315; desires mass attack on Hindus in Hyderabad, 75; his agent at Nagpur, 225; his aggressive designs, 33; his contribution to Chittagong Relief Fund is Rs. Fifty Thousand, 52, 54; his Govt. have put up people to claim separate electorates, 191; his intransigence, 38-108; his letter to Lord Mountbatten, 62-64; his men freely shoot terror-stricken people of Hyderabad, 120; his telegram to Jinnah, 103-05; his telegram to Rajaji reg. Hyderabad, 231-32; his telegram to Sir Walter Monckton reg. K. M. Munshi, 128; his telegram to Sir Walter Monckton, 99, 101-03, 133-34; his telegram to Zahid Hussain, 103-04; his Fifty Thousand troops are well-equipped, 119; his troops will cross over to Bastar State, 120; is anti-Hindu, 247, 248; is made Raj Pramukh, 352; is not agreeable to a referendum being taken reg. accession to Indian Union, 52; issues firman that only Muslim refugees should be allowed to enter Hyderabad, 59, 111; issues ordinance reg. government of Berar, 67; states Hyderabad must have responsible govt., 164; tries to get arms from Pakistan, 56
Nizam's State Railway, 191
Noel-Baker, 221, 222
Non-Ittihad Muslims, 148
Nye, Archibald, 662

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ORDINANCE, placing ban on disposal of vehicles of military type, 113
Orient Press correspondent, 234, 235
Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1948, 509, 510, 530
Orissa Praja Mandal, 511, 513
Orissa Public Safety Law, 513, 514
Orissa Special Branch Officer, his report, 32
Orissa States, 31, 533, 536-37; their union, 509, 516
Oriya language & culture, 521-23

PAKISTAN, 56-58, 68, 87, 106, 255, 261, 270, 281, 387, 563, 669; cholera in, 66
Pakistan Government, India's telegrams to—are sent through External Affairs Ministry, 385; recognises accession of Junagadh to Pakistan Dominion, 111
Pakistan Times, 135
Pandya, Anant, is first-class organiser of Hindustan Air Factory, 149-50
Panikkar, K. M., complains to Sardar that Bastar is handed over to Nizam, 29-30
Pannalal, Industrialist of Hyderabad, 147
Parikh, Rasiklal, 503
Parsis, 191
Pataudi, its Nawab comes to interview Sardar, 620-22
Patel, H. M., Defence Secretary, 242, 258
Patel, Maniben, sends letter of Kapurthala Maharaja to Jawaharlal, 603
Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai, about Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, 109; advises Brijlal Biyani not to take any action about Berar without consulting him, 26; advises Punjabrao Deshmukh not to accept any donation from Nizam, 23; advises Ramrao Deshmukh to have direct elections & no upper chamber in Rewa State, 587-88; advises Udaipur Maharaja to accept Manekyalal's suggestions reg. interim ministry, 396; appreciates Ajanta & Ellora beauty, 368-69; appreciates how skilfully Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar represented India's stand on Hyderabad, 646-47; approves of S. K. Sinha's policy, 524; approves of Shukla's action, 37; approves of Swami Ramanand Tirtha's suggestion to boycott Hyderabad Reforms, 7; arranges to have the Muslim girl recovered through efforts of Patiala Maharaja, 633; asserts he cannot concede to vicious weightage in Hyderabad, 211; asserts High Courts are not competent to go into such legal questions, 514; asserts Jai Prakash Narayan be pulled up, 213; asserts large-scale killings of Muslims in Hyderabad are emphatically refuted by Swami Ramanand & Dr. Melkote, 278-79; asserts Nizam's accession to Indian Dominion, 109; asserts only in Orissa merger is attended by unseemly controversies, 533; asserts Pakistan should seek arbitration in support of its claim against Mangrol & Babariawad,

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389; asserts question of Justice Mahajan's services primarily concerns East Punjab Govt., 407; asserts to Seraikella ruler that transfer of Seraikella to Orissa is out of question, 520; assures Udaipur Maharana that he would arrange everything satisfactorily, 401; assures Wamanrao Joshi that Berar will not be transferred to Nizam, 15; calls Hyderabad people for discussion & settlement, 286; clears important points to D. P. Mishra, 35; complains Bastar State is being ceded to Nizam without our knowledge, 11; decides to take Rampur State as centrally administered area, 626; describes plane crash as 'variety entertainment', 291; directs R. R. Diwakar that union of Karnatak & Mysore should be left to be finalised by himself, 638; disapproves of Lord Mountbatten's suggestion for arbitration reg. Mangrol & Babariawad, 389; disapproves of Pandit Ravishankar Shukla's suggestion of posting of 'observers' in Junagadh, 389; disapproves of Bindu & other leaders' absenting themselves from oath-taking in Hyderabad, 352; discusses in Bhopal representation of States to Constituent Assembly, 1-2; explains to Dr. Pattabhi delicate political situation in Rajasthan, 417-19; expresses his gratitude to His Highness Shahaji of Kolhapur, to Maharana of Udaipur & to Maharaja Sir George Jivaji Rao Scindia of Gwalior, for helping in Hyderabad, 243; expresses his gratitude to Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja of Jodhpur, to Maharaja of Travancore & to Maharaja of Baroda for helping in Hyderabad, 244; favours formation of centrally administered separate Himachal Pradesh, 618; his letter to Arthur Henderson, 221-22; his letter to Baldev Singh reg. insufficient military equipment round about Hyderabad, 121; his letter to Nizam reg. terrorist activities of Razakars, 116; his message on inauguration of Gwalior-Indore-Malwa Union, 580-81; his message on occasion of taking over of Rampur State, 628-29; his message to Berar All Parties Conference, 16; his message to Cooch Behar on its coming to Central Govt., 553-54; his message to Hyderabad State Congress, 372; his statement on Hyderabad in Constituent Assembly, 235-37; hopes Berar would stand solid, 19; improves in health, 327; informs Pandit Jawaharlal about Nizam's desperate attempts to get arms from Czechoslovakia, 41; informs Pandit Jawaharlal of intercepted telephonic conversation between Nizam & Col. Ali Mohd., 121-22; is prepared to abide by result of referendum, 110; maintains Delhi is unsuitable as a capital, 218; objects to Nizam's Agent maintaining office in Nagpur, 224-25; on Ajmer-Merwara problem, 217-18; on his visit to Ajanta & Ellora, 369-70; on Razakars' atrocities & Govt. actions taken against them, 269-72;

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on Security Council debate on Hyderabad, 325; opines Kasim Razvi should be tried in Hyderabad State Jail, 250; opines Sirohi should go with Gujarat, 396; providentially escapes in plane crash, 291; refuses to negotiate with Holkar, 569; replies to Baroda Maharaja on various problems of the State, 456-57; replies to Nepal King, 655-57; replies to Rajendra Babu that decision to merge those States with Orissa is taken after due consideration, 536-37; replies Rajendra Babu's legal questions, 513-14; sends message on inauguration of Vindhya Pradesh, 592; sends message to Baroda Maharaja at the time of Durbar, 458-59; sends to Pandit Jawaharlal draft of an ultimatum to Hyderabad, 211-13; sends to Nizam VII his autographed photograph, 374; sends to Rajaji & Pandit Nehru extracts from Sir Mirza Ismail's letter, 232-33; sides with N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar in objecting to flogging, 274; suggests ex-military vehicles to be bought by Defence Ministry, 113; suggests sending out Muslims from W. Bengal would goad Muslims to some salutary action, 260; suggests to Pandit Jawaharlal Britain's supply of arms to Nizam should be regarded as most serious, 41; suggests to Morarji to arrest Kral as soon as he comes to Bombay, 38; suggests to Rajaji to write to Vinoba to go to Hyderabad, 278; thanks Nizam for his goodwill, 316; thanks V. T. Krishnamachari for successfully tackling Jodhpur problems, 416-17; warns B. Ramkrishna Rao that he should submit to Swami Ramanand's discretion, 288-89; will not be bamboozled into a surrender, 105; writes to Lord Mountbatten fully about Hyderabad, 109-10; writes to N. V. Gadgil about Bikaner's claims reg. Bhakra Dam project, 404

Patel, Shivabhai Umedbhai, 226

Patiala, & East Punjab States Union, comes into being, 610, 611; its president's letter to Sardar, 612-14

Patiala Maharaja, 632, 633; his letters to Sardar, 605-07, 611-12; opines ban on Sikh papers should be removed, 609

Patiala Praja Mandal, 605-06

Pattabhi, Dr., 216, 218

People, their will would be deciding factors in all States, 211

Pillai, Chief Secretary to Bihar Govt., assured Bihar would not lay claim on any other State in Orissa, 517

Plebiscite, in Gwalior, 579; in Pataudi, 623

Plot, to assassinate Orissa officials, 516

Political detenus, in Hyderabad, 379-80

Porbandar Maharaja, 392

Praja Mandal, in Orissa, 536; in Rajasthan, 418; in other states, 409

Prime Ministers, their Conference report, 264

Princes, in Orissa, 532

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Private properties, of Rulers, 538
Privy purse, 530
Provincial Extra Jurisdiction Act, 510
Publicity machinery, in Hyderabad, 323
Public opinion, 536, 593; in Kolhapur in favour of merger, 562-63; its suppression, 511
Public Safety Ordinance, 597
Punjab Forest Department, 619
Punjab Hill States, 615

RAGHUBIR PRASAD, informs Pandit Ravishankar Shukla about Bastar State being made over to Nizam, 11-13
Rahbar-e-Deccan, translation of its extracts, 64-65, 72-73, 85-86
Raiders, in Jammu, 126
Raj, Raja Dhoondi, 259
Rajaji, 659; as Governor-General, 95; asks Kishorelal Mashruwala to request Vinoba to proceed to Hyderabad for promotion of communal harmony, 279-80; his letter to Nizam suggesting peaceful settlement of Hyderabad problem, 229-31; informs Sardar that Ramanand Tirtha would help him with a large number of Muslims, 382-83; on Razvi's fasting, 284; Sir Akbar Hydari's letter to, 266-67; strongly protests against allegations of U.P.I., 223
Rajaram Rifles Battalion, of Kolhapur, 564
Rajasthan, note on, 432-40; its Ministry, 398
Rajasthan Praja Mandal, 396
Rajasthan Union, 418, 419, 448
Rajendra Prasad, 420-21; asserts people should be given opportunity to express their opinion on merger, 535; informs Sardar of Communists' action in Hyderabad, 214; opines Govt. should not use special measures to suppress public opinion, 509; thanks Sardar reg. Bikaner elections, 417; writes to Sardar reg. Orissa States, 534-35
Rajpramukhs, their conference in N. Delhi, 500
Rajputana Praja Mandal, 395-96
Rajputs, in Rajasthan, 417
Raju, Alluri Sita Rama, rebellion led by—in 1922-24, 120
Ramamurthi, Sir, as Adviser to United States of Rajasthan, 398
Ramanand, Swami, Tirtha, 148, 278-79, 332, 335, 337-39; 341, 343, 351; asserts sovereignty of people should be recognised, 8, 53; has well-knit organisation of over 2 lakh members, 282-83; his life work among Muslims, 283-84; his statement on Hyderabad Reforms, 6-7; in central jail, 52; starts weekly 'Vision' from Hyderabad, 354; & Janardanrao Desai, their joint statement reg. Hyderabad settlement, 286
Ramdurg, its Raja writes to Sardar reg. his State problems, 471-74
Rampa rebellion, 120
Rampur Legislative Assembly, its inauguration, 625
Rampur Nawab, asserts his & his people's interests are safe in Sardar's hands, 625; makes suggestions to Sardar reg. future administration of his State, 626-28; to be administered centrally, 626

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Rao, A. Kaleswar, extracts of his letter to Rajendra Prasad, 214-15
Rao, Ramakrishna, 192; on Hyderabad Congress rift, 285; promises Sardar Congress programme, decided upon, would be carried out, 192, 290
Rao, Venkat, ex-Minister of Nizam, 331-33
Rau, B. N., did good work in Atomic Energy Commission, 673; his detailed report reg. Hyderabad question in Security Council, 317-19
Razakars, 147-48, 192-93, 251-52, 269-71, 278; 1500—are in custody for murder, arson & loot, 321; their activities are opposed by Hyderabad Hindu Ministers, 192, 194, 215; prisoners, 323; & Ittehad, 206-37
Razvi, Kassim, 53, 139, 164, 193, 250, 252, 256, 270-71; & his clique, 257-58; his trial should be short, 249
Reddy, C. P. Ramaswamy, informs Sardar of Hyderabad's military preparations, 119-20, 219-20; stresses for more arms & ammunition, 129-31
Reddy, K. Chengalaraya, Sardar writes to—reg. Mysore merger 640-41 & gets its reply, 642-45
Referendum, 536
Refugees, 69, 78-79, 84-85; number nearly 60,000, 84; provided with blankets, 77; their situation gets worse, 77
Reserve Bank, its officials, 259
Resettlement schemes, in Hyderabad, 379-80
Retrenchment, in Hyderabad, 380
Rewa Maharaja, as Raj Pramukh of Vindhya Pradesh, 593, 596; writes to Sardar about State affairs, 592-93
Rewa Ministry, 596
Rewa Praja Mandal, favours joining Indian Union, 591
Roy, Dr. Bidhan, 670; reg. Cooch Behar, 547-48, 550
RSS, 671, 672; its secret activities, 261; leaders are rounded up in Rewa State, 585
Rulers, of Gujarat & Central Indian States view with concern Junagadh accession to Pakistan, 387

SACHIN STATE, 489-98
Sadul Singh, on Rajput rallies in States, 409-11
Sahay, Vishnu, 331
Salam, Amtus, 632, 633
Samasthans, 72, 106
Sandur State, its ruler is prepared to put at disposal of Indian Govt. Ramgad for military operation, 123; seeks protection from Indian Govt. from evil designs of Nizam, 123; writes to Sardar on his States affairs, 648-49
Sanjeevi, T. G., informs Sardar about Karel Bedrech Kral, 39
Sarvodaya Samaj, its conference in Indore, 577
Satyagraha, in Hyderabad, 120
Saurashtra Constituent Assembly, its elections, 503, 507
Saurashtra, its Rajpramukh writes to Sardar on various problems of Saurashtra, 500-01
Scheduled castes, 165; their deputations, 312
Scindia, George, Jivaji Rao, 243

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Security Council, 241, 647
Separate electorates, 191
Seraikella, 517-19, 520-24, 533, 537; its Adibasis pass resolution opposing grafting of Orissa from—& Kharsawan, 526-27; its Raja is leader of opposition movement, 516-17, 530; its Raja pleads to Sardar to transfer his State to Orissa, 519-20
Shah, A. N., Hyderabad's legal adviser, 321
Shahaji, of Kolhapur, 243
Shankar, 268, 272, 326-27, 331-33, 377, 532-33; asserts matter of Laik Ali's escape appeared in print far too soon, 359; informs N. M. Buch about Hyderabad disturbances, 293; invites Baroda Maharaja for discussion to N. Delhi, 463-64; wants Kutch Maharao to clear some points before he leave for USA, 636
Shastri, Hiralal, is glad Udaipur joins Rajasthan Union, 397
Shiromani Malwa Riyaste Akali Dal, opposes Master Tarasingh's activities, 614
Shri Shivaji Arts College, 21
Shroff, G. M., informs Sardar about Hyderabad election developments, 328-29; writes to Sardar about Umri Bank affair, 334-36
Shukla, Ravishankar, 224-25, 253, 508, 510, 539, 541; fully replies Bihar's claim to merge Surguja & Jashpur with Bihar, 546-47; informs Sardar about Bastar State being ceded to Nizam, 11; informs Sardar about subversive movements in Bihar, CP & Orissa, 525; writes to Sardar about Berar's future, 25-26
Sikh Sangat, 603
Simla Hill States, their memorandum presented to Sardar, 615-16
Singh, Baldev, 219, 273, 348; seeks Sardar's opinion reg. some newspapers espousing Sikh community's cause, 609
Singh, Captain Avadesh Pratap, 595
Singh, Chaudhri Ram, detained under Public Safety.Ordinance, 597
Singh, General Rajendra, 243
Singh, Jaipal, 508; his ambition to form a Chhota Nagpur State, 526; pleads for getting back 9 Chhota Nagpur States, 517-18; wants to establish Adibasistan, 525
Singh, K. Bahadur, writes to his brother from London, reg. Hyderabad army, 41-42
Singh, Ratan, writes to Rewa Administrator about Kisan Sabha, 601-02
Sinha, Dr. Anugraha Narain, 539, 541
Sinha, Sri Krishna, assures Sardar steps are taken in States of Seraikella & Kharsawan to ensure they have no reasonable cause for grievance, 521-22
Sirohi, its joining Rajasthan is inevitable, 397; its Maharaja opines on his people's deputation to Sardar, 484
Southern Command, its battalions are incapable to meet onslaught from Nizam, 119
Sri Prakash, 632
Standstill agreement, with Nizam, 93, 97, 106, 129, 136, 165, 173, 212; objections against—, 91
State Praja Parishad, 565
States Department, 54, 55, 67-68, 79, 90, 93, 106, 386; is firm reg. import of arms & ammunition, 94

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States Ministry, 395, 396, 411, 450, 476, 489, 517-18, 525, 563, 569, 607-08, 440-48
States Rulers, seem reconciled to view that merger is final & absolute, 534; squander money & properties & sell away grains, 451
Steel Kukris, their manufacture in Jodhpur State, 415-16
Suhrawardy, Shaheed, congratulates Sardar on Hyderabad success, 250
Surguja State, 539, 543, 546-47

TALUKDARI ELEMENT, in Jamnagar, 507
Tarasingh, Master, his activities are prejudicial to Hindu-Sikh unity, 614
Tehri Garhwal, its Maharaja requests Sardar to come to inaugurate State Constituent Assembly, 630-31
Thakore Sahib, of Limbdi, 503
Thakore Sahib, of Wadhwan, 503
Thakur, B. T., his note on political & economic conditions in Pakistan, 262
Tungabhadra Project, 72
Travancore, its Prime Minister's telegram to Sardar, 649-51
Trivedi, C. M., on formation of Himachal Pradesh, 616-17

UDAIPUR MAHARANA, 399
Umri Bank, 334-36
United Deccan States, 468-69
United Nations Assembly, 673
UNO, 58, 137, 222

VARMA, MANEKYALAL 395, 400-01
Vellodi, 268, 271-72, 326, 377
Vertig factories, 241-42
Vindhya Pradesh Union, 595
Vinoba, 278-80, 314
Vyas, Jainarain writes to Sardar on various problems in Jodhpur State, 415-16

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, in Saurashtra, 501
Works, Mines and Power Ministry, 404

ZAMINDARS, 504, 537
Zamindari abolition Bill 672

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